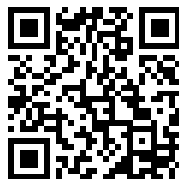

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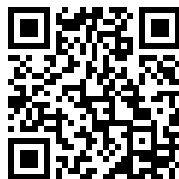
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MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION
OF
AMERICA

EDITED BY
CARLETON BROWN
SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

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MARCH, 1924

AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1923*

Members of the Association are requested to see that copies of monographs, studies or dissertations in the field of the Modern Languages which may appear in University series during the current year be sent to the editor of the appropriate section of the American Bibliography.

I. ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Of interest to English philologists are two titles in the general Germanic field, F. A. Woods, "Morphological Notes" (*SP*, xx. 99-109) and S. Kroesch, *Germanic Words for 'deceive': A Study in Semantics* (Johns Hopkins). Fr. Klaeber prints "Eine Bemerkung zum altenglischen Passivum" (*ES*, LVII. 187-95). R. G. Kent's *Language and Philology* treats largely of the Latin element in English. O. B. Schlut-

* Italics indicate book titles; quotation marks indicate articles. Periodicals are referred to by the following abbreviations: *PMLA*, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America; *MP*, Modern Philology; *MLN*, Modern Language Notes; *MLR*, Modern Language Review; *JEGP*, Journal of English and Germanic Philology; *MLJ*, Modern Language Journal; *SP*, Studies in Philology; *PQ*, Philological Quarterly; *Archiv*, Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen; *ES*, Englische Studien; *AnglB*, Anglia Beiblatt; *RR*, Romanic Review; *RHL*, Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France; *RLC*, Revue de Littérature Comparée; *ZRP*, Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie; *Hisp*, Hispania; *RFE*, Revista de Filología Española; *SS*, Scandinavian Studies and Notes; *ASR*, American Scandinavian Review. Titles appearing as theses or in the publications of universities are followed where possible by the name of the university.

ter continues his "Weitere Beiträge zur Altenglischen Wortforschung" (*Anglia*, XLVII. 34-52; 244-63; 287-8) and contributes brief notes to *Neophilologus* on "OE. *pillsaþe*, Soap for Removing Hair," "Is There Any Evidence for OE. *weargincel*, 'bird'-bird?" and "Is There Any Real Evidence for an Alleged OE. *whytel* (quail)?" H. R. Patch and R. J. Menner have compiled "A Bibliography of Middle English Dialects" (*SP*, xx. 479-95) and Menner has reported "An Etymology for ME. *olypraunce*, AN. *oriprance*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 348-52). S. H. Bush prints an interesting list of "Old Northern French Loan-Words in Middle English" (*PQ*, i. 161-72). Among more general etymological studies are F. A. Wood, "Augurs and Omens, Gods and Ghosts" (*Manly Anniversary Studies*, 328-39) and E. S. Sheldon, "Observations on Some English Etymologies" (*Ibid.*, 362-73). Early occurrences of words are noted by O. F. Emerson, "Some Old Words" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 378-80) and R. H. Thornton, "Soumarkee" (*N & Q*, 12 S xii. 489). G. H. McKnight has published a volume with the title *English Words and Their Backgrounds*. R. Withington briefly notes the lack of "*Anywhich*, *Anywhy*, and Similar Words" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 375-6) in our vocabulary. Tucker Brooke calls attention to "An Anomalous Elizabethan Relative Form" (*Ibid.*, 373-4), *whom* constantly used as subject in a translation of Machiavelli. Various syntactical matters are dealt with by J. F. Royster and J. M. Steadman, Jr., "The going-to Future" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 394-403), A. H. Tolman, "Sign-words and Pro-words in Modern English" (*Ibid.*, 404-14), and K. Malone, "Finite Verb Categories" (*Ibid.*, 374-82). C. M. Lotspeich, "The Trend of English Sound-Changes" (*JEGP*, xxii. 428-32), maintains that the changes in short vowels are the result of the same factors as those he fixed upon as responsible for the changes in long vowels (Cf. *JEGP*, xx. 208-12). G. Dewey investigates *The Relative Frequency of English Speech Sounds* (Harvard) and E. W. Scripture writes of *The Study of English Speech by New Methods of Phonetic Investigation*. C. D. Buck discusses "The Letter Y" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 340-50) and

W. F. Bryan contributes "Notes on the Founders of Prescriptive English Grammar" (*Ibid.*, 383-93). R. H. Griffith quotes from an eighteenth century pamphlet in which consonantal correspondences are discussed "Before Rask and Grimm" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 371-3). T. A. Knott considers some "Aspects of Linguistic Research" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 415-24). Among studies concerned with American English mention may be made of F. L. Mott, "A Word-List from Pioneer Iowa and An Inquiry into Iowa Dialect Origins" (*PQ*, i. 202-21; 304-10); E. C. Hills, "New Words in California" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 187-8) formed on the analogy of *cafeteria*, *bakery*, *sanatorium*; and W. A. Read, "Some Phases of American Pronunciation" (*JEGP*, xxii. 217-44).

American scholarship still shows a very limited interest in metrical studies. G. R. Stewart has published a dissertation on *Modern Metrical Technique, as Illustrated by Ballad Metre, 1700-1920* (Columbia) and M. W. Croll has again raised the question of "Music and Metrics: A Reconsideration" (*SP*, xx. 388-94). J. Routh's "Prose Rhythms" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 685-97) may be included here.

In an effort to demonstrate the probable indebtedness of Old English literature to the early churchmen who came to the island A. S. Cook has published papers on "Theodore of Tarsus and Gislenus of Athens" (*PQ*, ii. 1-25), "Hadrian of Africa, Italy, and England" (*Ibid.*, 241-58), and "Theodebert of Austrasia" (*JEGP*, xxii. 424-7), a note suggested by *Beowulf*, 1202 etc. O. F. Emerson's "Notes on Old English" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 266-72; *Archiv*, cxlv. 254-8) both concern Ælfric's *Hexameron* and the *Apollonius of Tyre*. J. W. Rankin insists on the native and popular character of "The Hymns of St. Godric" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 699-711) and S. I. Rypins, defends the scribe of "The Old English *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 216-20) and suggests a way of accounting for the Anglian forms. Fr. Klæber makes a contribution "Zu König Ælfreds Vorrede zu seiner Übersetzung der *Cura Pastoralis*" (*Anglia*, xlvii. 53-65). Various Teutonic legends, found in some form in Old English, are studied in A. H. Krappe, "The Legend of Walter

and Hildegund" (*JEGP*, xxii. 75-88), the same author's *The Legend of Rodrick, Last of the Visigoth Kings, and the Ermanarich Cycle*, Heidelberg, and "A Romance Source of the Samson Episode in the *Þiðreks Saga*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 164-8) also concerned with the Ermanarich legend; E. G. Bashe, "Some Notes on the Wade Legend" (*PQ*, ii. 282-8); and H. Larsen, "Wudga: A Study in the Theodoric Legends" (*PQ*, i. 128-36).

J. E. Wells has published his *Second Supplement to a Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, containing additions and modifications to January 1923. J. S. P. Tatlock notes a surprising number of "Epic Formulas, Especially in *Lajamon*" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 494-529) and further discusses "*Lajamon's Poetic Style and its Relations*" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 3-11). In the field of the romance one of the most important contributions for many years is the late J. Douglas Bruce's *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance from the Beginnings down to the Year 1300*, of which the first of two volumes has appeared (*Hesperia*, Ergänzungsreihe, 8). Shortly before his untimely death Professor Bruce had suggested certain "Desiderata in the Investigation of the Old French Prose Romances of the Arthurian Cycle" (*MP*, xx. 339-46). N. E. Griffin has published an important paper on "The Definition of Romance" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 50-70) showing that romance is often transplanted epic, among a people of different race or culture. J. R. Hulbert wrestles with "The Name of the Green Knight" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 12-19) and in the same paper discusses the source of the Arthurian background in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. R. S. Loomis has provided his translation of *Tristram and Ysolt* with an introduction and several valuable plates. The late Gertrude Schoepperle (Loomis), "Arthur in Avalon and the Banshee" (*Vassar Medieval Studies*, 3-25), traces parallels to the passing of Arthur in earlier Celtic tradition and T. P. Cross, "The Passing of Arthur" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 284-94), independently points to the somewhat similar tradition in the *Táin bó Fráich*. W. A. Nitze continues his work "On the Chronology

of the Grail Romances" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 300-14), and Cordelia S. Staring discusses *The Mystic Meaning of the Grail Legend*. M. W. Beckwith records some rather distant "Polynesian Analogues to the Celtic Otherworld and Fairy Mistress Themes" (*Vassar Med. Studies*, 29-55). Other papers dealing with Celtic traditions are A. C. L. Brown's "The Wonderful Flower That Came to St. Brendan" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 295-99) and W. F. Thrall's "Clerical Sea Pilgrimages and the *Imrama*" (*Ibid.*, 276-83). A. H. Krappe redirects attention to the similarities between "The Legend of Amicus and Amelius" (*MLR*, xviii. 152-61) and the tale of the *Two Brothers* in Grimm and believes that some features of the latter indicate the older form of the Amis story.

J. M. Steadman, Jr., "The Authorship of *Wynneere and Wastoure* and *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*: A Study in Methods of Determining the Common Authorship of Middle English Poems" (*MP*, xxi. 7-13), argues against the common authorship urged by Gollancz and Kölbing, and in "Notes on *Wynneere and Wastoure*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 308-11) considers matters of text and vocabulary. Ruth W. Tryon prints with comment the more important "Miracles of Our Lady in Middle English Verse" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 308-88) and R. E. Parker publishes "A Northern Fragment of *The Life of St. George*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 97-101) from Univ. of Minn. MS. Z 822 N. 81 (formerly Phillipps 8122). H. E. Allen calls attention to "Some Fourteenth Century Borrowings from *Ancren Riwe*" (*MLR*, xviii. 1-8). J. W. Thompson, "The Origin of the Word *Goliardi*" (*SP*, xx. 83-98) supplies important references before 1200 and suggests an etymology. J. Hinton offers extensive "Notes on Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*" (*SP*, xx. 448-68). L. B. Hessler notes occurrences of "The Latin Epigram of the Middle English Period" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 712-28) and J. R. Hulbert "Some Medieval Advertisements of Rome" (*MP*, xx. 403-24). C. H. Beeson writes on "Roger Bacon and the 'Dialogues' of Seneca" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 243-53).

On the early drama Karl Young, "Concerning the Origin

of the Miracle Play" (*Ibid.*, 254-68), suggests a modification of Coffman's views, and G. R. Coffman in "A Note Concerning the Cult of St. Nicholas at Hildesheim" (*Ibid.*, 269-75) shows a logical reason for its popularity in that place. W. K. Smart contributes an important paper on "The Castle of Perseverance: Place, Date, and a Source" (*Ibid.*, 42-53) and A. C. Baugh, "The Chester Plays and French Influence" (*Schelling Ann. Papers*, 35-63), offers evidence that the Chester plays had felt the influence of French tradition.

Chaucer receives his usual attention. Edith Rickert would answer in the affirmative the question "Was Chaucer a Student at the Inner Temple?" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 20-31). E. P. Kuhl revives Tyrwhitt's identification of "Chaucer's 'My Maistre Bukton'" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 115-32) and supports it from the public records. J. S. P. Tatlock announces the completion of "The Chaucer Concordance" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 504-6). Anna T. Kitchel, "Chaucer and Machaut's *Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse*" (*Vassar Med. Studies*, 217-31), gives a useful outline of the poem, but her conclusion that Chaucer probably was influenced by it needs to be supported by additional evidence. W. P. Reeves suggests an interpretation of "Romance of the Rose, 1705" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 124). W. C. Curry continues to draw the last full measure of deduction from Chaucer's scientific allusions, in "O Mars, O Atazir" (*JEGP*, xxii. 347-68) centering his attention upon *The Man of Law's Tale* and in "Astrologising the Gods" (*Anglia*, xlvii. 213-43) upon *The Knight's Tale*. In "*Fortuna Maior* [*Troilus*, III. 1420]" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 94-6) he differs with Skeat in his astrological interpretation, and in "Chaucer's Science and Art" (*Texas Rev.*, viii. 307-22) states some general considerations in his views of the relation of Chaucer to medieval science. R. M. Garrett, "'Cleopatra the Martyr' and her Sisters" (*JEGP*, xxii. 64-74) and D. D. Griffith, "An Interpretation of Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 32-41) both attempt explanations of the poem, the latter considering it a martyrology of Love

constructed with many analogies to Christian worship. A. S. Walker, "Note on Chaucer's *Prologue*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 314) reasons from A. 276-7 that the date should be put 1385 or 1386. O. F. Emerson, "Some Notes on Chaucer and Some Conjectures" (*PQ*, II. 81-96) suggests textual interpretations and an explanation of the 'preestes thre.' T. A. Knott, "Chaucer's Anonymous Merchant" (*PQ*, I. 1-16), illustrates from contemporary evidence the class to which Chaucer's merchant belonged. Carleton Brown, "William Herebert and Chaucer's *Prioresses Tale*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 92-96) finds a pre-Chaucerian instance of the miracle in the form used by Chaucer, and E. P. Kuhl publishes "Notes on Chaucer's Prioress" (*PQ*, II. 302-9) interpreting allusions. Other textual points are discussed by G. L. van Roosbroeck, "Under the Sonne he loketh" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 59) and H. R. Patch "Under the Sonne" (*Ibid.*, 60); Laura A. Hibbard, "Chaucer's 'Shapen was my sherte'" (*PQ*, I. 222-5); W. C. Curry, "The Bottom of Hell" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 253); J. S. P. Tatlock, "Chaucer's Whelp and Lion" (*Ibid.*, 506-7); and R. M. Garrett, "Chaucer in Minnesota" (*Dialect Notes*, v. 245), the last recording pig's eye (Cf. C. T., A. 3268) as current in Minnesota for a flower (the *trillium*), a meaning that fits the line remarkably well. Our Chaucer survey may be concluded with M. P. Whitney's "Queen of Medieval Virtues: Largess" (*Vassar Medieval Studies*, 180-215) and T. S. Graves' "Some Chaucer Allusions (1561-1700)" (*SP*, xx. 469-78).

H. E. Sandison finds "*En Mon Deduit a Moys de May*, The Original of Hoccleve's Balade to the Virgin and Christ" (*Vassar Med. Studies*, 233-45) and B. P. Kurtz, identifies "The Source of Occleve's *Lerne to Dye*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 337-40). W. Farnham publishes a poem from Harl. MS. 2320 on "The Dayes of the Mone" (*SP*, xx. 70-82). G. H. Gerould, "The Making of Ballads" (*MP*, xxi. 15-28), takes as his point of departure the diversity in good versions of the same ballad and emphasises the influence of tradition in their shaping, if not in their making. A. G. Brodeur compares "The Ballad of *Ebbe Scammelson* and the *Lover's*

Return" (SS, vii. 179-200). A. H. Tolman and Mary O. Eddy collect a large number of "Traditional Texts and Tunes" (*Amer. Jour. of Folk-Lore*, xxxv. 335-434) including some versions of English ballads. N. C. Brooks, "Scogan's *Quem Quaeritis* and Till Eulenspiegel" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 57), identifies the jest (Cf. *MLN*, xxxvii. 289). Miss Eliz. McCausland has edited *The Knight of Courtesy and Fair Lady of Faguell* (Smith).

T. S. Graves has published his annual bibliography of "Recent Literature of the English Renaissance" (*SP*, xx. 244-92) and Hardin Craig suggests "Some Problems of Scholarship in the Literature of the Renaissance, particularly in the English Field" (*PQ*, i. 81-99). W. L. Bullock finds "The Genesis of the English Sonnet Form" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 729-44) in Italian models which Wyatt could have known and which are in the form most commonly adopted by Wyatt. F. M. Padelford studies "The Scansion of Wyatt's Early Sonnets" (*SP*, xx. 137-52) in the light of earlier Tudor verse. H. H. Hudson raises an interesting point in "Surrey and Martial" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 481-3), one of Surrey's translations being found in print ten years before it appeared in Tottel's *Songs and Sonnets*. E. Greenlaw discusses "The Captivity Episode in Sidney's *Arcadia*" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 54-63). S. L. Wolff contributes a long paper on "The Humanist as Man of Letters: John Lyly" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxi. 8-35) and W. P. Mustard comments on Lyly's allusion to "Hippocrates' Twins" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 313) in *Euphues and his England*. F. I. Carpenter has published a very valuable *Reference Guide to Edmund Spenser* and has written on "Spenser Apocrypha" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 64-69). M. Y. Hughes tests the supposed relation between "Spenser and the Greek Pastoral Triad" (*SP*, xx. 184-215) and finds a much more immediate indebtedness to the Pléiade. E. Greenlaw writes on "Some Old Religious Cults in Spenser" (*SP*, xx. 216-43) and F. M. Padelford treats of "The Spiritual Allegory of the Faerie Queen, Book One" (*JEGP*, xxii. 1-17). D. T. Starnes in "Purpose in the Writing of History" (*MP*, xx. 281-300) traces the conception

of history from Greek times to Sidney as written to furnish examples of virtue to follow and of vice to shun. A. B. Stonex continues his study of "Money Lending and Money-lenders in England during the 16th and 17th Centuries" (*Schelling Ann. Papers*, 263-85) concerning himself in this paper with the non-dramatic literature. E. M. Albright continues her dispute with Pollard "*Ad Imprimendum Solum Once More*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 129-40), H. E. Rollins edits *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, and D. Bush notes "Some Sources for the *Merry Tales, Wittie Questions, and Quicke Answeres*" (*MP*, xx. 275-80).

T. S. Graves has published some notes "On the Reputation of John Heywood" (*MP*, xxi. 209-13). J. R. Moore traces "The Tradition of Angelic Singing in English Drama" (*JEGP*, xxii. 89-99) as far as Marlowe. W. D. Briggs in an important article "On A Document Concerning Christopher Marlowe" (*SP*, xx. 153-9) shows that the sheets of the unorthodox treatise supposedly belonging to Marlowe are bound up in reverse order and finds the original in passages quoted (for purposes of refutation) in a book published in 1549, thus disposing of Marlowe's authorship of the treatise. The same author comments on "Marlowe's *Faustus*, 305-18, 548-70" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 385-93) and A. Thaler, "Churchyard and Marlowe" (*Ibid.*, 89-92), shows that Marlowe echoed Churchyard in a couplet of that play. G. F. Reynolds proposes "Another Principle of Elizabethan Staging" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 70-77). K. J. Holzknecht, "Theatrical Bill-posting in the Age of Elizabeth" (*PQ*, ii. 267-81), proves the use of bills, discusses their character, where, when, and by whom they were posted, and finds in the Elizabethan age the genesis of all later practices. Lily B. Campbell has published her dissertation on *Scenes and Machines on the English Stage during the Renaissance: A Classical Revival* (Chicago).

J. Q. Adams' *A Life of William Shakespeare* is a book of the first importance. The same author writes in a lighter vein of "Shakespeare as a Writer of Epitaphs" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 78-89). B. Maxwell collects "Further Seventeenth Century Allusions to Shakespeare" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 181-3).

and D. D. Ramsdell adds "Another (?) Shakespeare Allusion" (*Ibid.*, 500-02). The anniversary of the First Folio has been celebrated in several popular articles, among which may be mentioned here Tucker Brooke's "The Folio of 1623" (*Yale Rev.*, XIII. 130-43), E. E. Stoll's "On the Anniversary of the Folio" (*No. Am. Rev.*, CCXVIII. 646-59), and P. Kaufman's "Celebrating the Tercentenary of a Famous Book" (*Intern. Book Rev.*, I. 25-27, 62-3). R. H. Thornton, "Shakespeariana: The Three Folios" (*N & Q*, 13 S I. 249), reminds us that the left hand column in the first three folios is often dense while the right is sparse. D. E. Owen describes "Dr. Furness's Method in Editing the *New Variorum*" (*Schelling Ann. Papers*, 227-32), Brander Matthews tells "How Not to Edit Shakespeare" (*Lit. Rev.*, III. 697-8), and T. M. Parrott, "Shakespeare Texts" (*Ibid.*, IV. 398), makes some strictures upon a certain type of editor. O. F. Emerson in "Shakespeare's Sonneteering" (*SP*, XX. 111-136) discusses various questions including the date of the sonnets, their relation to Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, the reason for Shakespeare's use of the Surrey form, etc. K. Malone has published the first part of his *The Literary History of Hamlet. I. The Early Tradition* (Anglistische Forschungen, 59), this portion dealing with the origins of the story in early Germanic tradition. W. R. Mackenzie considers "Hamlet as a Man of Action" (*Wash. Univ. Studies*, X. 103-41) and believes the conception of Hamlet as a pathological case is the creation of the Romantic period and not the traditional conception of the great interpreters of the part from Betterton to Kean. Mrs. G. S. Kingsland has printed her dissertation on *The First Quarto of Hamlet in the Light of the Stage* (Columbia). F. G. Hubbard defends "The Readings of the First Quarto of *Hamlet*" (*PMLA*, XXXVIII. 792-822) as an independent version to be considered as fully as Q2 and the Folios. H. Spencer, "*Hamlet* under the Restoration" (*Ibid.*, 770-91) considers the Restoration text (1676) to be an adaptation by D'Avenant based on the Quarto of 1637. W. S. Fox believes Shakespeare was influenced by "Lucian in the Grave-Scene of *Hamlet*" (*PQ*,

ii. 132-41). J. S. Kenyon, "A Note on *Hamlet* [I. ii. 39]" (*PQ*, i. 71-73) suggests a plausible interpretation of "Farewell, and let your haste commend your duty." The late T. D. O'Bolger in "The Artist and His Technique" (*Schelling Ann. Papers*, 221-25) considers certain pronouncements of Shakespeare on his art. T. M. Parrott's *The Problem of Timon of Athens* suggests that *Timon* is an unfinished play by Shakespeare finished by a fellow dramatist, possibly Chapman. Edith Rickert, "Political Propaganda and Satire in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*" (*MP*, xxi. 53-87; 133-54), maintains that about 1595 Shakespeare's dramatic power was enlisted to support the claim of the Suffolk heir, though subsequent revision has eliminated some of the evidence. H. T. Baker, "A Shakespearean Measure of Morality" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 18-22), discusses *Measure for Measure*; C. R. Baskervill portrays "Bassanio as an Ideal Lover" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 90-103) according to the renaissance conception of true love; C. Stratton traces the management of "Act Four of *The Merchant of Venice* on the Stage" (*Schelling Ann. Papers*, 301-10); O. S. Coad asks "Was *Macbeth* Indebted to *Henry VI*?" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 185-7) comparing Lady Macbeth with the wife of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester in the earlier play; and A. R. Benham writes of "Shakespeare's *Henry IV* and the Spirit of the Fifteenth Century in England" (*PQ*, ii. 224-8). M. B. Evans in two articles, "Traditions of the Elizabethan Stage in Germany" (*PQ*, ii. 310-04) and "Elizabethan Ghosts and Herzog Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig" (*JEGP*, xxii. 195-216), interprets Elizabethan drama by its reflection on the continent. R. K. Root notes that "Shakespeare Misreads Chaucer," (*MLN*, xxxviii. 346-8), A. H. R. Fairchild considers the meaning of "'Mummy' in Shakespeare" (*PQ*, i. 143-6), D. Bush conjectures about "'Runaway's Eyes' Again" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 32-34), and W. P. Mustard quotes English and classical verse to throw light, if possible, on "Shakespeare's 'Broom-groves'" (*Ibid.*, 79-81). E. W. Scripture's "Experiments in the Phonetics of Shakespeare's Verse" (*London Times Lit. Suppl.*, March 29, p. 216) has resulted in considerable discussion.

F. E. Schelling's *Foreign Influences in Elizabethan Plays* covers a wider field. E. M. Albright interprets Robert Taylor's *The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl* as "A Stage Cartoon of the Mayor of London in 1613" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 113-26). W. P. Mustard, "Notes on the *Tragedy of Nero*" (*PQ*, I. 173-78), offers some striking classical parallels. H. D. Gray assembles the arguments connecting "Beaumont and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*" (*PQ*, II. 112-31). A. R. Benham communicates four brief "Notes on Plays" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 252) one of which calls forth a reply by T. W. Baldwin, "A Note on John Fletcher" (*Ibid.*, 377-8). B. Maxwell, "Fletcher and *Henry the Eighth*" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 104-12), offers objections to considering the non-Shakespearean scenes the unaided work of Fletcher. T. S. Graves, "Jonson in the Jest Books" (*Ibid.*, 127-39), collects the jests by or about Jonson in jest book literature. Two source studies of the seventeenth century *Stonyhurst Pageants* have appeared: Helen W. Cole, "The Influence of Plautus and Terence upon *The Stonyhurst Pageants*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 393-99) and Hardin Craig, "Terentius Christianus and the *Stonyhurst Pageants*" (*PQ*, II. 56-62), the latter showing that the pageant of Naaman is a translation of the play *Naaman* in the *Terentius Christianus* of Cornelius Schonaeus (1592).

J. H. Hanford has described "The Rosenbach Milton Documents" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 290-96), five legal documents having to do with certain properties in which Milton had invested. A. H. Gilbert discusses "Milton's Textbook of Astronomy" (*Ibid.*, 297-307) with some of the things Milton got from it, and elsewhere discusses "The Outside Shell of Milton's World" (*SP*, xx. 444-7). In "The Problem of Evil in *Paradise Lost*" (*JEGP*, xxii. 175-94) he tries to explain Milton's conception. W. H. Lowenhaupt considers the circumstances of "The Writing of Milton's *Eikonoklastes*" (*SP*, xx. 29-51) and among other things shows by numerous parallels Milton's indebtedness to a previous pamphlet in the dispute. Lane Cooper has edited a valuable *Concordance to the Latin, Greek, and Italian Poems of John*

Milton (Halle, 1923). S. B. Hustvedt, "L'Allegro, 45-48" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 87-89) suggests that it is the Dawn that comes to the poet's window. E. A. Hall presents parallels between "*Comus*, *Old Wives Tale*, and *Drury's Aluredus*" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 140-44). S. C. Chew, "*Lycidas* and the Play of *Barnaveli*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 122), explains how the line from *Lycidas* got into the play through a mistake of Bullen's, and W. MacKellar, "Milton, James I, and Purgatory" (*MLR*, xviii. 472-3), shows that Milton had grounds for his statement that James scoffed at the Roman Catholic conception of Purgatory.

R. G. Martin makes "A Critical Study of Thomas Heywood's *Gunaikeion*" (*SP*, xx. 160-83), especially of the sources. R. S. Crane in a lengthy paper determines "The Relation of Bacon's *Essays* to His Program for the Advancement of Learning" (*Schelling Ann. Papers*, 87-105) and M. W. Croll writes of "Attic Prose: Lipsius, Montaigne, Bacon" (*Ibid.*, 117-50). In the same volume G. W. McClelland studies "John Brinsley and His Educational Theories" (pp. 189-212). "A Puritan Censor of the Stage" is the title of a posthumous article on Prynne by T. R. Lounsbury (*Yale Rev.*, xii. 790-810). H. E. Rollins supplements his article in *SP*, xviii. 267ff by "The Commonwealth Drama: Miscellaneous Notes" (*SP*, xx. 52-69), some new, some well-known but conveniently gathered together. G. B. Churchill by a comparison with his sources appraises "The Originality of William Wycherley" (*Schelling Ann. Papers*, 65-85). A. F. White's *John Crowne—His Life and Dramatic Works* (Western Reserve) appeared in 1922. J. J. Parry, "William Hemminge's Elegy" (*London Times Lit. Suppl.*, May 24, 1923, p. 355), prints a poem from Malone MS. 14, and J. L. Hotson has collected data concerning "George Jolly, Actor-Manager: New Light on the Restoration Stage" (*SP*, xx. 422-43).

L. I. Bredvold, "The Sources Used by Davies in *Nosce Teipsum*" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 745-69), shows by unmistakable parallels Davies' indebtedness to a treatise of Primaudaye translated into English in 1594 under the title *The Second*

Part of the French Academy. E. N. S. Thompson writes of an obscure Scottish poet, Robert Farlie, who stands "Between The Shepherds Calender and The Seasons" (*PQ*, i. 23-30). L. I. Bredvold shows "The Naturalism of Donne in Relation to Some Renaissance Traditions" (*JEGP*, xxii. 471-502) and R. Jenkins discusses "Drayton's Relations to the School of Donne, as Revealed in the *Shepherds Sirena*" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 557-87). R. R. Cawley, "Drayton and the Voyagers" (*Ibid.*, 530-56) shows further extensive indebtedness of Drayton to Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*. A. H. Nethercot, "The Literary Legend of Francis Quarles" (*MP*, xx. 225-40), traces the reversals of judgment concerning Quarles as a poet. The same author similarly pursues "The Reputation of Abraham Cowley (1660-1800)" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 588-641), and A. C. Judson in a more popular vein writes of "Abraham Cowley in Arcadia" (*Seawanee Rev.*, xxxi. 220-6). H. E. Rollins continues his publication of broadside ballads in a volume entitled *Cavalier and Puritan: Ballads and Broad-sides Illustrating the Period of the Great Rebellion, 1640-1660* and in "Ballads from Additional MS. 38, 599" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 133-52). E. N. S. Thompson finds "The Source of *The Courtier's Calling* [1675]" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 124-5) in a French courtesy book published ten years earlier. Hardin Craig discusses "*Hudibras*, Part I, and the Politics of 1647" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 145-55). R. D. Jameson, "Notes on Dryden's Lost Prosodia" (*MP*, xx. 241-53), shows that the contents of Dryden's lost work on prosody can be rather fully inferred from the two hundred or more references scattered through his writings, and G. R. Noyes favors the identification of "'Crites' in Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poetry*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 333-37) with Roscommon. R. P. McCutcheon treats "John Houghton, A Seventeenth-Century Editor and Book-Reviewer" (*MP*, xx. 255-60); and T. S. Graves collects references to "Some Pre-Mohock Clansmen" (*SP*, xx. 395-421) as they occur in seventeenth century literature.

E. Colby, "Two Slices of Literature" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 473-80), uses two decades of the eighteenth century (1730-50)

to illustrate his belief that literary history properly written should show literature as an integral part of the thought and temper of the age. W. E. Alderman analyzes "The Style of Shaftesbury" (*Ibid.*, 209-15) and measures "The Significance of Shaftesbury in English Speculation" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 175-95). E. A. Tiffany, "Shaftesbury as Stoic" (*Ibid.*, 642-84), shows that Stoic philosophy underlies all of Shaftesbury's thought. R. P. McCutcheon, "Addison and the *Muses Mercury*" (*SP*, xx. 17-28), makes it very probable that Addison was familiar with an essay on old English ballads that had appeared in this periodical. A. E. Longueil writes on "The Word 'Gothic' in Eighteenth Century Criticism" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 453-60). G. Sherburn contributes "Notes on the Canon of Pope's Works, 1714-20" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 170-79). R. H. Griffith treats "Pope's Satiric Portrait of Addison" (*Texas Rev.*, viii. 273-84) and discusses the literary affiliations of "Hogarth's 'Distressed Poet'" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 190-96). Rose H. Wollstein collects *English Opinions of French Poetry, 1660-1750* (Columbia). A. D. McKillop has published "The Romanticism of William Collins" (*SP*, xx. 1-16) and "A Bibliographical Note on Collins" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 184-85). R. S. Crane has a note on "Gray's *Elegy* and *Lycidas*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 183-84) and O. Shephard identifies "A Youth to Fortune and to Fame Unknown" (*MP*, xx. 347-73) with Richard West. J. W. Krutch, "Governmental Attempts to Regulate the Stage after the Jeremy Collier Controversy" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 153-74), shows partly from unprinted Chamberlain's records and other documents that Collier was the acknowledged leader who focused upon the drama the tendency of the age towards moral reform and that the general result was a gradual but steady improvement in the moral tone of plays. W. E. Schultz's dissertation studies *Gay's Beggar's Opera: Its Content, History and Influence* (Yale) and D. H. Stevens notes "Some Immediate Effects of *The Beggar's Opera*" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 180-89) on social and political history. C. W. Nichols shows by parallels that "Fielding's *Tumble-down Dick*" (*MLN*, xxxviii.

410-16) is a close parody of Pritchard's *The Fall of Phaeton*. The same author in "Fielding and the Cibbers" (*PQ*, I. 278-89) concludes that Fielding's satire was not personal but was directed against the Cibbers' professional activities. R. Guiet notes "An English Imitator of Favart: Isaac Bickerstaff" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 54-56) and B. V. Crawford, "The Dance of the Kings" (*PQ*, II. 151-53), gives an account of the revel that is alluded to in the *Rehearsal*. T. S. Graves prints a score of references to "Strolling Players in the Eighteenth Century" (*N & Q*, 13 S. I. 6-7), to which E. Colby adds "The Inchbalds Strolling into Glasgow" (*Ibid.*, 343-4) and "Melodrama at Glasgow" (*Ibid.*, 364-66). J. Goebel comments on "The Dutch Source of *Robinson Crusoe*" (*JEGP*, xxii. 302-13). W. A. Eddy has published a dissertation on *Gulliver's Travels, A Critical Study* (Princeton) and in "Cyrano de Bergerac and *Gulliver's Travels*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 344-45) he calls attention to a new source. H. S. Hughes gathers the evidence for "English Epistolary Fiction before *Pamela*" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 156-69). C. H. Huffman writes on *The Eighteenth-Century Novel in Theory and Practice* (Virginia). Fielding items are C. W. Nichols, "A New Note on Fielding's *Historical Register*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 507-08) and H. S. Hughes, "A Dialogue—Possibly by Henry Fielding" (*PQ*, I. 49-55). O. F. Emerson contributes notes, chiefly bibliographical, concerning " 'Monk Lewis' and the 'Tale of Terror' " (*MLN*, xxviii. 154-59).

R. S. Crane has investigated "The Diffusion of Voltaire's Writings in England, 1750-1800" (*MP*, xx. 261-74) and has collaborated with J. H. Warner in "Goldsmith and Voltaire's *Essay sur les Moeurs*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 65-76), showing that Goldsmith borrowed from Voltaire's *Essai* for his earlier history of England (1764)—sometimes scattered observations which he combined with similar notes from other books, sometimes whole paragraphs closely translated. P. H. Houston has published *Doctor Johnson: A Study in Eighteenth Century Humanism*. M. Bailey, "Boswell as Essayist" (*JEGP*, xxii. 412-23), examines certain views expressed by J. T. T. Brown in the *Scottish Historical Review* for Janu-

ary, 1921. E. S. Allen comments on "Chesterfield's Objection to Laughter" (*MLN*, xxviii. 279-87) as a social indiscretion. E. D. Snyder has dealt with *The Celtic Revival in English Literature, 1760-1800* and H. Chinard, "Jefferson and Ossian" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 201-05), prints three letters, including one by James Macpherson, concerned with Jefferson's request for a copy of the Gaelic originals of Ossian. Margaret S. Carhart is the author of *The Life and Work of Joanna Baillie* (Yale). C. B. Cooper considers "The Ideas of Captain Thomas Morris" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 197-203), an eighteenth century poet practically unknown to literary history; and E. Colby reprints a list of "Eighteenth Century Children's Books" (*N&Q*, 13 S. I. 389-90). G. L. Kittredge, "Percy and His Nancy" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 204-18), presents some interesting items connected with Bishop Percy's famous little song. J. G. Fletcher writes on "William Blake" (*No. Amer. Rev.*, ccxviii. 518-28), and T. T. Stenberg has a note on "Blake's Indebtedness to the *Eddas*" (*MLR*, xviii. 204-06). G. L. Marsh's examination of "The Text of Burns" (*Manly Ann. Studies*, 219-28) shows that a sound critical text is not yet available. D. B. Shumway writes of "Thomas Campbell and Germany" (*Schelling Ann. Papers*, 233-61) and A. M. Turner notes "Wordsworth's Influence on Thomas Campbell" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 253-66).

J. M. Beatty, Jr. discusses "The English Lake District before Wordsworth" (*So. Atl. Qu.*, xxii. 331-44). J. P. Blickensderfer in "One Impulse from a Vernal Wood" (*Wash. Univ. Studies*, x. 155-64) returns to the question of Wordsworth's attitude towards books (cf. *American Bibliography*, 1922, p. 14). A. F. Potts has prepared a critical edition of *The Ecclesiastical Sonnets of William Wordsworth* (Cornell) and A. C. Babenroth studies *English Childhood: Wordsworth's Treatment of Childhood in the English Poetry from Prior to Crabbe* (Columbia). M. H. Shackford offers an interpretation of "Wordsworth's *Michael*" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxi. 275-80); N. F. Adkins examines "Wordsworth's *Margaret or The Ruined Cottage*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 460-66) in comparison with *Paul et Virginie*; B. S. Allen finds

"Analogues of Wordsworth's *The Borderers*" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 267-77) in novels of the period similarly written to refute the doctrines of Godwin's *Political Justice*. Miss Shackford writes also of "Wordsworth's Italy" (*Ibid.*, 236-52) and E. C. Dunn contributes "Notes on Wordsworth" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 246-7), especially two letters concerning a change which Wordsworth made in the text of one of his poems at the suggestion of his American friend, Professor Reed of the University of Pennsylvania. F. B. Snyder makes a list of "Wordsworth's Favorite Words" (*JEGP*, xxii. 253-56) which brings out their Teutonic character and which incidentally does not correspond with similar lists compiled for other poets. J. M. Beatty, Jr., "Lord Jeffrey and Wordsworth" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 221-35), helps us to a more reasonable understanding of Jeffrey's criticism. G. M. Harper discusses "Eugénie de Guérin and Dorothy Wordsworth" (*Atlan. Mo.*, cxxxi. 649-57). R. H. Thornton prints a "Letter of Mary Wollstonecraft" (*N&Q*, 12 S. xii. 331); W. C. Durant asks for information about "Mary Wollstonecraft and Gilbert Imlay" (*Ibid.*, 511) for use in a forthcoming edition of Godwin's *Memoirs of the Author of a Vindication of the Rights of Women*; and R. L. Rusk follows "The Adventures of Gilbert Imlay" (*Indiana Univ. Studies*, No. 57). G. M. Harper considers various problems connected with "The Wordsworth-Coleridge Combination" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxi. 258-74). J. L. Haney prints "The Marginalia of S. T. C." (*Schelling Ann. Papers*, 173-80), supplementing the list in his *Bibliography of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. A. D. Snyder contributes "A Note on Coleridge's Shakespeare Criticism" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 23-31), especially as it anticipates the modern psychological approach, and W. Graham discusses "Contemporary Critics of Coleridge the Poet" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 278-89). A. M. Turner notes both the similarities and the differences between "Wordsworth and Hartley Coleridge" (*JEGP*, xxii. 538-57). Two studies of wider scope are R. M. Alden, "The Romantic Defence of Poetry" (*Schelling Ann. Papers*, 19-33) and F. A. Waterhouse, *Random Studies in the Romantic Chaos*.

"The Poet Shelley's Ancestors in Newark," New Jersey, have been more definitely established by M. J. Herzberg in the *Newark Evening News*, June 29, 1922, p. 14. W. E. Peck shows that "The Biographical Element in the Novels of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 196-219) is fairly extensive, Shelley and various friends being represented. Ruth S. Granniss has compiled for the Grolier Club *A Descriptive Catalogue of the First Editions in Book Form of the Writings of Perce Bysshe Shelley*. W. E. Peck makes some observations "On the Origin of the Shelley Society" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 159-63) and submits a list of the "Publications of the Shelley Society" (*London Times Lit. Sup.*, Nov. 11, 1923, p. 790) with a request for additions and corrections. His "Note on Shelley" (*Lit. Rev.*, Nov. 3, 1923, p. 221) republishes a description of Shelley from *The Literary and Pictorial Repository*, 1838. E. H. Hespelt's "Shelley and Spain" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 887-905) considers the question: to what extent did Spain interest Shelley? E. Buceta considers more generally "El Entusiasmo por España en Algunos Románticos Ingleses" (*RFE*, x. 1-25). W. E. Peck, "Shelley Defends Keats" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 443-45), publishes passages from unpublished notebooks of Edward Williams. A. B. Benson writes of "Catherine Potter Stith and Her Meeting with Lord Byron" (*So. Ath. Qu.*, xxii. 10-22), including some unpublished letters, and C. A. Krummel connects "Byron and Goethe" (*Ibid.*, 246-56). W. Graham, "Robert Southey as Tory Reviewer" (*PQ*, ii. 97-111), traces Southey's connection with the *Quarterly Review* and his unprogressive resistance to the great changes that marked the growth of English freedom. H. T. Stephenson is the author of *The Eltrick Shepherd: A Biography* (*Indiana Univ. Studies*, No. 54). R. H. Thornton prints a "Letter of Hood to Mack Lemon (undated)" (*N&Q*, 12 S. xii. 509). P. Kaufman again directs attention to "John Foster's Pioneer Interpretation of the Romantic" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 1-14). G. R. Potter in "Did Thomas Lovell Beddoes Believe in the Evolution of Species?" (*MP*, xxi. 89-100) concludes that Beddoes was moving towards

such a belief, but had scarcely attained it. S. B. Hustvedt discusses certain points in connection with "George Borrow and His Danish Ballads" (*JEGP*, xxii. 262-70). S. T. Williams rounds up the various articles, etc., constituting "The Literary Criticism of Sidney Smith" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 416-19) and writes of "Walter Savage Landor as a Critic of Literature" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 906-28). He is also the author of a volume of *Studies in Victorian Literature*. O. C. Levi collects "Ruskins Thoughts on Poetry" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxi. 426-45) and Mabel Davidson recalls "A Lady Who Deserves to Be Remembered" (*Ibid.*, 287-95), Mary Aitken, Carlyle's niece, amanuensis, and nurse.

R. H. Thornton prints a "Letter of Maria Edgeworth to Mr. Hunter, 1818" (*N&Q*, 12 S. xii. 488) and a "Letter of Thackeray to Mark Lemon (undated)" (*Ibid.*, 472). R. Withington, "A Literary Alphabet" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 440-42), hazards a guess as to the identity of the various persons represented by letters in Thackeray's *On Ribbons*. Eva M. Campbell prints a note "On the Title *Our Mutual Friend*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 250-51); W. W. Huse, "Pickle and Pickwick" (*Wash. Univ. Studies*, x. 143-54), shows interesting similarities of plot and incident between Dickens' novel and *Peregrine Pickle*; and G. R. Potter in "Mr. Pickwick, Eminent Scientist, and His Theory of Tittlebats" (*PQ*, ii. 48-55) suggests the possible indebtedness of Dickens to the satires of John Hill on the Royal Society. P. C. Kitchen, "Dickens, *David Copperfield*, and Thomas Holcroft" (*Schelling Ann. Papers*, 181-88) points out the source of a seemingly autobiographical episode in *David Copperfield*. E. Colby writes on "Thomas Holcroft—Man of Letters" (*So. Atl. Qu.*, xxii. 53-70). *Letters of Robert Browning to Miss Isa Blagden* have been edited by A. J. Armstrong (Privately printed, Baylor Univ. Press, Waco, Texas). F. T. Russell, "Browning's Account with Tragedy" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxi. 86-99), does not give Browning a very high place in tragedy. A. R. Benham's "Shelley and Browning" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 503) is a brief note on Shelley's influence on Browning in his conception of the function of a poet. T. T. Stenberg offers

"A Word on the Sources of *The Charge of the Light Brigade*" (*Ibid.*, 248-50). G. R. Elliott discusses "The Arnoldian Lyric Melancholy" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 929-32). G. T. McDowell's "The Treatment of the Volsunga Saga by William Morris" (*SS*, vii. 151-68) shows that Morris has trebled his source and transformed it into a Neo-Romantic poem. A. E. Trombly shows that "A Translation of Rossetti's" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 116-18) purporting to be from Leopardi is really from Arnault. Fannie E. Ratchford bases her "Swinburne at Work" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxi. 353-62) on changes in Swinburne MSS. in the Wrenn Library, and in "Swinburne's Projected Triameron" (*Texas Rev.*, ix. 64-74) discusses the collection of prose tales projected by the poet.

In the contemporary field J. D. Ferguson, "Rudyard Kipling's Revisions of his Published Work" (*JEGP*, xxii. 114-24), shows the importance Kipling attaches to revision, sometimes making rather extensive alterations. K. Wheatley shows that the first two stanzas of "Ernest Dowson's *Extreme Unction*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 315) are translations of a passage in Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*. S. T. Williams notes some "Aspects of the Modern Novel" (*Texas Rev.*, viii. 245-56) and Joseph Hergesheimer writes a critique of "George Moore" (*Lit. Rev.*, Dec. 15, 1923, pp. 361-62). C. Weygandt's "The Art of Joseph Conrad" (*Schelling Ann. Papers*, 319-41) is an extensive critical survey of Conrad's novels, and E. Colby's "A Sample of Bibliographical Method" (*Papers of the Bibl. Soc. of Amer.*, xvi. 118-46) is mostly concerned with Conrad. Mention may also be made of G. B. Dutton's "Romance and Mr. Walpole" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxi. 178-86).

It remains to add a few titles of wider or more general scope. Archer Taylor's Northern Parallels to the Death of Pan" (*Wash. Univ. Studies*, x. 3-102) includes thirty variants from the British Isles. The same author, "The Burning of Judas" (*Ibid.*, xi. 159-86), collects the popular customs connected with the burning of effigies of Judas at various times in the Easter season. P. F. Baum traces the tradition of "Judas' Sunday Rest" (*MLR*, xviii. 168-82) and its

connection with St. Brendan. Allison Gaw is the author of a suggestive paper on "Centers of Interest in Drama, Dramatic Tension, and Types of Dramatic 'Conflict'" (*Schelling Ann. Papers*, 151-72). C. E. Whitmore asks "Is Printed Drama Drama?" (*So. Ql. Qu.*, xxii. 228-45) and Brander Matthews has published a book of essays called *Playwrights on Playmaking, and Other Studies of the Stage*. R. Faries, 2d, has written a dissertation on *Ancient Rome in the English Novel: A Study in English Historical Fiction* (Pennsylvania). B. V. Crawford treats "The Use of Formal Dialogue in Narrative" (*PQ*, i. 179-91) and E. B. Billups discusses "Some Principles for the Representation of Negro Dialect in Fiction" (*Texas Rev.*, viii. 99-123). J. W. Beach points out "New Intentions in the Novel" (*No. Am. Rev.*, ccxviii. 233-45). J. S. Spencer publishes a volume of essays under the title of the first, *The Friar in Fiction*. L. Mumford's *The Story of Utopias* and J. O. Hertzler's *The History of Utopian Thought* treat the same theme. Lane Cooper's *An Aristotelian Theory of Comedy*, A. L. Carter's "Falling as a Theme in Literature" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 340-43), J. E. Spingarn's "The Growth of a Literary Myth" (*Freeman*, vii. 181-83), and S. T. Williams' "Leslie Stephen" (*London Mercury*, viii. 621-34) treat a variety of topics. R. R. Aurner's "The History of Certain Aspects of the Structure of the English Sentence" (*PQ*, ii. 187-208) has an historical interest. W. O. Sypherd discusses "The Place of the Book of Luke in Literature" (*Schelling Ann. Papers*, 311-18). Finally, we may close this year's survey with the titles of three volumes of essays: J. Collins, *The Doctor Looks at Literature*; C. C. Van Doren, *A Roving Critic*; and John Erskine, *The Literary Discipline*.

ALBERT C. BAUGH

II. AMERICAN LITERATURE

In *A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War*, Arthur Hobson Quinn has provided an exact and comprehensive survey of our dramatic history from colonial days to the time of Boker and Boucicault,

together with a useful bibliography and an alphabetical list of plays. The history of the American short story is treated in two books: *The Development of the American Short Story*, by Fred Lewis Pattee, a fairly detailed account that follows the leading movements and writers from Irving and "The Arrival of the Annuals" to "O. Henry and the Handbooks"; and *The Advance of the American Short Story*, by Edward J. O'Brien, a much briefer work primarily designed "to set down an impression" of dominant forces and tendencies. *The Novel of Democracy in America* (Johns Hopkins diss.), by Alice Jouveau DuBreuil, aims to demonstrate that such a *genre* exists and that it has reflected the progress of democratic ideas in this country. Jay Broadus Hubbell in *Virginia Life in Fiction* (Columbia diss.), seeks to show "how Virginia settings have been handled by various writers of fiction."

From these studies of literary forms we may pass to other works of large scope or diversified contents. Bliss Perry, in *The Praise of Folly and Other Papers*, includes studies of R. H. Dana, Jr., Lowell, Emerson's Journals and Phi Beta Kappa oration, T. W. Higginson, Burroughs, Woodrow Wilson as man of letters, and "Literary Criticism in American Periodicals," of which the last will be especially valuable to the student. William Lyon Phelps, in *Some Makers of American Literature*, devotes chapters to Franklin, Edwards, Cooper, Webster, Lincoln, Hawthorne, Emerson, Mark Twain. *The Roving Critic*, Carl Van Doren, wanders from Whitman, Howells, and Mark Twain to the Saturday Club, Kentucky folk-lore, and "the worst American book"—Milo Erwin's "Bloody Vendetta." Stuart P. Sherman, in *The Genius of America: Studies in Behalf of the Younger Generation*, which he describes as a kind of sequel to his *Americans*, approaches from various angles "that continuous power of the national life in the existence of which all our great men appear but as momentary eddies and transient formations in the current." Norman Foerster has made a study of *Nature in American Literature*, endeavoring to trace the effects upon our literature of the fact that it

developed in an age of romanticism and science. Mary Austin, in *The American Rhythm*, sets forth the hypothesis that "American poetry must inevitably take . . . the mold of Amerind verse, which is the mold of the American experience shaped by the American environment," and offers examples of "Amerindian Songs" and original "Songs in the American Manner." Mrs. Austin has also written on "Sex in American Literature" (*Bookman*, LVII. 385-393). H. L. Mencken continues to assail "The American Tradition" (*Lit. Rev.*, IV, 277-278) and to revise *The American Language* in the light of the reviews of this valuable book. Edgar P. Billups discusses "Some Principles for the Representation of Negro Dialect in Fiction" (*Texas Rev.*, VIII. 99-123). John C. Mendenhall presents "Ballad Notes Taken in Bucks County, Pennsylvania" (*Schelling Ann. Papers*, 213-219).

Studies of individual authors—in addition to those included in the foregoing general works and collections of essays—have, as usual, been numerous. One of Gamaliel Bradford's *Damaged Souls* is Thomas Paine. *Charles Brockden Brown, a Critical Biography* is a Columbia dissertation by David L. Clark. Whitney Hastings Wells presents parallelisms between (Melville's) "*Moby Dick* and *Rabelais*" (*MLN*, XXXVIII. 123). Poe's *Politian: an Unfinished Tragedy* (Columbia; Edgar Allan Poe Shrine, Richmond), edited by Thomas Ollive Mabbott, is the first edition of this important if crude fragment; the text is followed by variorum readings, and critical apparatus. Three studies of Poe are brought together in one number of a journal (*SP*, XX), viz., "The Relation of Poe to His Times" (293-301), by Killis Campbell; "A Note on Poe's Method" (302-309), by Paul E. More; and "Quantity and Quality in Poe's *Æsthetic*" (310-335), by Norman Foerster. J. H. Whitty calls attention to Poe's borrowing from Macaulay (*Lit. Rev.*, III, 918), and Margaret Emerson Bailey in "Dove and Raven" (*Atlantic* CXXXII. 647-656) speculates entertainingly on Poe's relation to Mrs. Whitman, the "dove." The Parkman centenary has called forth a number of estimates,

among them "Francis Parkman" (*Lit. Rev.*, iv. 37-38), William Macdonald. Hamlin Garland's slight introduction to *The Autobiography of David Crockett* may be mentioned. Luther Emerson Robinson's *Abraham Lincoln as a Man of Letters* is a compilation of Lincoln's writings that emphasizes their literary quality. Arthur Hobson Quinn introduces us to "George Henry Boker— Playwright and Patriot" (*Scribners*, LXXIII. 701-715). On Emerson, there are two studies: *The Relation of Ralph Waldo Emerson to Public affairs* (Kansas), by Raymer McQuiston, and *Emerson's Theories of Literary Expressions* (Illinois), by Emerson Grant Sutcliffe. Lowell is the subject of two short papers by Killis Campbell, "Three Notes on Lowell" (*MLN*, XXXVIII, 121-122) and "Lowell's Uncollected Poems" (*PMLA*, XXXVIII. 933-937). "Jones Very" (Howard College Bull, LXXX, 42-66) (1922) has been studied by Percy P. Burns. John Erskine joins those who have speculated on "Whitman's Prosody" (*SP*, xx, 336-344). The satirical aspect of Whitman's work is discussed by Emory Holloway, "Whitman as Critic of America" (*Ibid.*, 345-369); on a related theme is the article by Cleveland Rodgers entitled "Walt Whitman, the Politician" (*Lit. Rev.*, iv. 57-58). In "The Birth of a Bible" (*Texas Rev.*, VIII. 21-31) Will Hayes deals with the genesis of *Leaves of Grass*. A Symposium of some interest is James Waldo Fawcett's "One Hundred Critics Gauge Walt Whitman's Fame" (*Times Book Rev.*, June 10). Vachel Lindsay, "Walt Whitman" (*New Rep.*, XXXVII. 3-5) finds him "as big a poet as his most emphatic admirer makes him out to be," but perhaps throws more light on himself than on Whitman. "Thomas William Parsons" (Chile Club and Omar Khayyam Club) is a pamphlet by Joseph Edgar Chamberlain. John Beaty is the author of *John Esten Cooke: Virginian*. Stuart P. Sherman has re-edited *The Poetical Works of Joaquín Miller*. "Lafcadio Hearn's Brother" (*Atlantic*, CXXXI. 20-27) by Henry Tracy Kneeland deals with James Hearn. The contents of *Father Tabb: A Study of His Life and Works, with Uncollected and Unpublished Poems*, by Francis A. Litz, are sufficiently indi-

cated by the title; the author has collected nearly a hundred pages of hitherto unpublished poems. *Mark Twain's Speeches* have been edited in chronological order by his biographer, Albert Bigelow Paine; a considerable amount of new material is included. Henry Seidel Canby contributes a short paper, "Mark Twain" (*Lit. Rev.*, iv. 201-202). Six "Letters of Louise Imogen Guiney" (*Bookman*, lvi. 705-709) have been brought together by Michael Earls; Coletta Ryan also publishes an article on "Louise Guiney's Own 'Patrins' to a Younger Friend" (*Times Book Rev.*, June 3). "Henry James" has been studied by Van Wyck Brooks in three papers: "The First Phase," "The American Scene," and "An International Episode" (*Dial*, lxxiv. 433-450, lxxv. 29-42, 225-238). Robert Herrick tells of "A Visit to Henry James" (*Yale Rev.*, xii. 724-741), and Dorothy Bethurum discusses "Morality and Henry James" (*Sewanee Rev.*, xxxi. 324-330). New O. Henry material is contained in a number of *The Mentor* (xi, no. 1) devoted to reminiscences by friends and relatives; in "Crossways of 'Roads of Destiny' " (*Times Book Rev.*, June 3), by George MacAdam; in a revised edition of the pamphlet of "O. Henry Papers" issued by his publishers; and in a book of *Postscripts by O. Henry*, edited by Florence Stratton, made up of his Houston *Post* contributions. The title of "O. Henry—A Contemporary Classic" (*S. Atlantic Qu.*, xxii. 270-278) suggests the point of view of the writer, Archibald Henderson. Llewellyn Jones has discussed "Adelaide Crapsey: Poet and Critic" (*North Am. Rev.*, ccxvii. 535-543). *Thomas Nelson Page. A Memoir of a Virginia Gentleman*, by his brother Rosewell Page, is a short and somewhat rambling book; "Thomas Nelson Page. An Appreciation" (*Scribners*, lxxiii. 75-80) is also the subject of an article, by Armistead C. Gordon. Some of the authors in the foregoing record of individual studies reappear, together with many others, in several recent books of reminiscence. Maud Howe Elliott, daughter of Julia Ward Howe, in her memorial volume, *Three Generations*, has written a book rich with impressions of a bewildering long line of American authors, from Bret

Harte to Henry James and those still living—impressions made readily accessible by a full index. Robert Underwood Johnson, Gilder's successor as editor of the *Century*, had made, in *Remembered Yesterdays*, a valuable contribution toward the history of American publishing, and has given many reminiscences of Holland, Gilder, Stockton, Emerson, Lowell, Whitman, etc. Another chapter in publishing history abounding in reminiscences of American writers is Henry Holt's *Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor*. Still another book of this kind is *A Publisher's Confession*, by Walter Hines Page, originally published anonymously and now republished under the author's name.

This brings us to the twentieth century, and to a host of articles and books of which only the most important can be mentioned. Arthur Hobson Quinn, *Contemporary American Plays*, prints five plays with an introductory chapter on "The Significance of Recent American Drama." Mr. Quinn also has an article entitled "Modern American Drama" (*Eng. Jour.*, xii, 653-662). About one-third of Louis Untermeyer's *New Era in American Poetry* has been retained in the revision under the new title, *American Poetry Since 1900*. Amy Lowell writes on "Two Generations in American Poetry" (*New Rep.*, xxxvii. 1-3). Addison Hibbard deals with the poetic movement in the South in "The Lyric South" (*Lit. Rev.*, iv. 1-2). Fred Lewis Pattee has discussed "The Present State of the Short Story" (*Eng. Jour.*, xii. 439-449). Twelve American novelists have collaborated in a book, *The Novel of Tomorrow and the Scope of Fiction*. Carl Van Doren has written on "American Realism" (*New Rep.*, xxxiv. 107-109), and Helen McAfee on "The Literature of Disillusion" (*Atlantic*, cxxxii. 225-234). Percy Boynton has continued his series on "American Authors of Today" (*Eng. Jour.*, xii. 24-32, 117-125, 180-188, 259-265, 325-333, 407-415), with papers on Edith Wharton, Booth Tarkington, Theodore Dreiser, James Branch Cabell, The Short Story, The Drama. In a similar series Carl Van Doren takes for his subjects Robert Frost, H. L. Mencken, E. W. Howe, Carl Sandburg, and a

group of "Manhattan Wits" (*Century* cv. 629-636, 791-796, cvi. 151-156, 786-792, cvii. 309-315), Lloyd Morris has written a little book on *The Poetry of Edwin Arlington Robinson*, interpretative and critical, containing a detailed bibliography; another study, "Edwin Arlington Robinson" (*Lit. Rev.*, iii. 781-782), is by Arthur W. Colton. "Willa Cather" (*Lit. Rev.*, iv. 331-332) is a study by T. K. Whipple, and "Sherwood Anderson" (*Dial*, lxxv. 243-246) a study by Alyse Gregory. Harry Hansen, *Midwest Portraits*, poses Sherwood Anderson, Carl Sandburg, Ben Hecht and other writers. Arthur F. White makes a critical survey of "The Plays of Eugene O'Neill" (*Bestern Reserve Univ. Bull.*, xxvi. 20-36). Finally, we note the publication of the first two Centaur Bibliographies of Modern American Authors: "Joseph Hergesheimer," by H. L. R. Swire, and "Stephen Crane," by Vincent Starrett.

Covering the whole of American literature, a *Syllabus of American Literature* by William T. Hastings presents, in outline form and in about 100 pages, the essential facts in the history of our literature, with brief, pointed critical remarks exceptionally free from personal bias.

NORMAN FOERSTER

III. FRENCH

While there has been a falling off in purely linguistic publications, the number of studies devoted to medieval literature has increased notably during 1923. In the modern field the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have attracted most attention. Especially noteworthy is the number of books published in university series.

D. S. Blondheim makes an important contribution to Romance linguistics with his "Essai d'un vocabulaire comparatif des parlers judeo-romans" (*Romania*, XLIX. 1-47), J. G. Anderson traces the history of *The Affirmative Particles in French* (Columbia), and H. F. Muller contributes an article "On the use of the Expression *Lingua Romana* from the first to the ninth Century" (*ZRPh*, XLIII, 9-19). R. T. Holbrook

shows that the *t* of expressions like *parle-t-on* existed as early as the middle of the fifteenth century (*MLJ*, VIII, early as the middle of the fifteenth century (*MLJ*, VIII, 89-91). J. H. Hess discusses, with numerous examples, "Tense Usage in Negative Clauses with *depuis*, *voilà*, *il y a*" (*MLJ*, VIII, 173-178).¹

A most valuable contribution to Arthurian studies is made by the late J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (Hesperia, Johns Hopkins). L. F. H. Lowe has written *Gérard de Nevers, a study of the Prose Version of the Roman de la Violette* (Elliott Monographs, Princeton). Scholarly publications of Old French texts have been made by Grace Frank, *la Passion du Palatinus, mystère du XIVe siècle* (les Classiques français du moyen âge, dated 1922, though it first appeared early in 1923), and by I. C. Lecompte, *le Roman des Romans an Old French Poem* (Elliott Monographs, Princeton). A third text belonging to the end of the fifteenth century has been published by C. F. Ward, *Le Livre de la Deablerie of Eloy d'Amerval* (Iowa). H. R. Patch has published a study of *Fortuna in Old French Literature* (Smith). E. C. Knowlton an article on a somewhat similar subject, the allegorical figure of "Nature in Old French" (*MP*, xx. 309-329). R. T. Holbrook proposes an interesting interpretation for the last line of the *Roland* in "*Ci Falt la geste que Tuoldus declinet*" (*MP*, xxi. 155-164). A. H. Krappe discusses "Rollo's Vision in the Norman Chronicles of Dudo of St. Quentin and his Successors" (*Neophilologus*, VIII. 81-85) and interprets "The Legend of Amicus and Amelius" (*MLR*, xviii. 152-161) as an ancient Dioscuric myth. J. D. Bruce indicates "Desiderata in the Investigation of the Old French Prose Romances of the Arthurian Cycle" (*MP*, xx. 339-346), Jessie L. Weston discusses "*The Perlesvaus* and the Story of the Coward Knight" (*MP*, xx. 379-389), and Lucy M. Gay publishes the results of an investigation concerning "The Chronology of the Earlier Works of

¹ A sympathetic presentation of the French system of versification was made by C. C. Clark (Yale) in 1922, too late to be included in the bibliographical article for that year.

Crestien de Troyes" (*RR*, xiv. 47-60). R. S. Loomis contributes a book of interest to scholars as well as to the general public in his translation from Old French and Old Norse of *The Romance of Tristram and Ysolt*. H. E. Haxo points out a source for a passage in the *Grand Testament* in his "Villon and Mathieu's Lamentations" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 311-312). C. F. Ward contributes an article on "The Writings of a Fifteenth Century French Patriot, Jean Juvenal des Ursins" (*PQ*, II. 63-72).

The general question of *genres*, particularly those existing in France from the fifteenth century to the Romantic movement, is discussed by H. E. Mantz in "The Reality of Types" (*Journ. of Philosophy*, xx. 393-405); he concludes that "a definition of literary form or style is intrinsically impossible unless it be a definition of function." J. C. Dawson has published the whole of his thesis, *Toulouse in the Renaissance* (Columbia), of which only a portion had previously appeared, also an article entitled "The Little Flower of Encouragement in the Poetic Contests of the College of Rhetoric at Toulouse" (*Howard College Bull.*, pp. 132-138). Other contributions to the study of sixteenth century literature consist of brief articles on sources. Especially noteworthy is that of G. L. Michaud, "Luis Vives and Rabelais' Pedagogy" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 419-424), in which he shows that Rabelais' supposedly original pedagogical ideas came from Vives. Lily B. Campbell points out the influence of the *Onomasticon* of Julius Pollux on Scaliger in "A Note on Scaliger's *Poetics*" (*MP*, xx. 375-378). The list for the seventeenth century is little longer. H. C. Lancaster seeks to explain a passage by Théophile in "Théophile de Viau His own Critic?" (*MP*, xxi. 1-6), points out the first appearance of Don Juan on the French stage in "*Don Juan in a French Play of 1630*" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 471-478), and publishes "A Poem of Jean Rotrou addressed to Le Royer de Prade" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 290-292). B. M. Woodbridge indicates an analogy between *Francion* and Pascal's *Pensées* in a note on "The Great and Small Infinities in Sorel" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 442-443). W. A. Eddy indicates

a debt of Swift to Cyrano in "Cyrano de Bergerac and *Gulliver's Travels*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 344-345). C. Castillo publishes an important discovery in *Acerca de la fecha y fuentes de en la Vida todo es verdad y todo Mentira*. He dates this play 1659 and thus proves that, despite the opinion of many critics, Corneille's *Héraclius* owes nothing to it. On the contrary, it is now clear that Calderón imitated Corneille's play. A note on "The Earliest Vaudeville in the Théâtre Italien" is contributed by E. V. Cederstrom (*MLN*, xxxviii. 189-190). H. E. Mantz analyzes the sources of the Abbé de Villar's *Comte de Gabalis* in "Au Sujet d'un probleme de Symbolisme mystique, les Esprits des Quatre Eléments" (*Séances et travaux de l'Académie des Sciences morales et politiques*.—431-444).

More numerous are the articles dealing with the eighteenth century, especially with Voltaire and Rousseau. Rose H. Wollstein publishes a dissertation on *English Opinions of French Poetry, 1660-1750* (Columbia), H. Haxo a lengthy article on "Pierre Bayle and His Literary Taste" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 823-858), Rene Guiet a note on "An English Imitator of Favart: Isaac Bickerstaffe" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 54-56). G. L. van Roosbroeck has described "A Quarrel of Poets: Voltaire, Moncrif, and Roy" (*PQ*, ii. 209-223), published "An early version of Voltaire's *épître de la Calomnie*" (*Neophilologus*, viii. 252-256) and "An unknown Letter of Voltaire about J. J. Rousseau" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 205-209). G. B. Watts in "Voltaire's Change of Name" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 329-333) attributes this change to his desire not to be confused with Charles Roy. The same writer points out that "An Epigram Erroneously Ascribed to Voltaire" really belongs to Gacon. A. Constans prints "An Unpublished Criticism of Voltaire's *Eryphile*" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 859-868) by Louis de Boissy. Voltaire's influence in England is discussed by R. S. Crane in "The Diffusion of Voltaire's Writings in England (1750-800)" (*MP*, xx. 251-274) and by the same author and J. H. Warner in "Goldsmith and Voltaire's *Essai sur les Moeurs*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 65-76). Rousseau has been discussed by G. R. Havens in "The

Theory of 'Natural Goodness' in Rousseau's *Confessions*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 257-266) and by A. O. Lovejoy in "The Supposed Primitivism of Rousseau's *Discourse of Inequality*" (*MP*, xxi. 165-186) and in "Rousseau's Pessimist" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 449-452. whom he identifies with Maupertuis. Some "Unpublished Poems by Beaumarchais to his Sister" are printed by G. L. van Roosbroeck (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 412-418).

The nineteenth century is represented by two important books, G. Chinard's study of *Volney et l'Amérique*, the first of the *Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages* and L. Allard's *Comédie de mœurs en France au dix-neuvième siècle. I. De Picard à Scribe* (Harvard). A contribution to the study of Franco-American relations is made by G. R. Havens in "James Madison et la pensée française" (*RLC*, iii. 604-615). Marthe Trotaïn publishes a dissertation, on *Les scènes historiques, étude du théâtre livresque à la veille du drame romantique* (Bryn Mawr).

A. Schaffer describes "A Chateaubriand Rarity" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 99-114), C. Gauss treats of "Prophecies by Stendhal" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 76-78), and M. Rudwin continues his studies of satanism with three articles in the *Open Court* (xxxvii, 129-142; 268-282; 385-395): 'Satanism in French Romanticism,' "The Francian Fiend" (dealing with Anatole France), and "Satanism and Spiritism in Gautier." Michelet's messianism, anti-clericalism, and ideas about women are discussed by Anne R. Pugh in *Michelet and his ideas on social reform* (Columbia). His literary opinions are listed by H. Schnurer in *Les jugements littéraires de Michelet* (Paris). A. E. Trombly points out that the direct source of "A Translation of Rossetti's" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 116-118) is Arnault's *La Feuille* and not Leopardi's translation of the latter poem. E. Dawson has published at Paris a much discussed book on *Henry Becque, sa vie et son théâtre*. B. M. Woodbridge discusses "The Genesis of Maupassant's *La Main*" (*MLN* xxxviii. 251-252), and suggests a parallel between La Bruyère and Daudet in *Arrias and Tartarin* (*MLJ*, vii. 491-492). Recent writers are treated by P. de

Bacour and J. W. Cunliffe in *French Literature during the Last Half Century*, and by A. Schinz in "Le Roman français depuis la guerre" (*MLJ*, VII. 447-460). An article on "Alfred Capus" (*MLJ*, VII. 321-329) is contributed by W. H. Scheifley.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

IV. SPANISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

In the field of Spanish literary history, the period prior to 1500 received relatively scant attention from American scholars during the year 1923. A. H. Krappe's erudite monograph *The Legend of Rodrick, last of the Visigoth Kings and the Ermanarich Cycle* attempts to prove that the motif of the treacherous vassal found in the legend of Rodrick, as well as incidents of a similar character found in the *Belium Vandalicum* of Procopius, Isidore of Seville's *Historia Gothorum*, the Old Norse *Fornmanna Sagur* and in other texts, are derived from the oldest fund of the Gothic Ermanarich cycle. R. Menéndez Pidal has pointed out in a review (*RFE*, x. 314-316) that the chief points of resemblance between the Rodrick and Ermanarich legends are found only in the later versions of the Spanish story. F. Callcott studies *The Supernatural in Early Spanish* (Columbia) by analyzing representative legends and stories found in the works of Alphonso the Wise. E. Buceta throws new light on the historical basis of a well-known ballad in his "Notas acerca de la historicidad del romance 'Cercada está Santa Fe'" (*RFE*, ix. 367-383).

The study of Spanish prose writers of the Golden Age is represented by several contributions. R. E. House discusses "The Present Status of the Problem of Authorship of the *Celestina*" (*PQ*, II. 38-47) and compares on stylistic grounds the versions in sixteen and in twenty-one acts. In "Un episodio de *El Abencerraje* y una novella de Ser Giovanni" (*RFE*, x. 281-287) J. P. W. Crawford shows that an episode of *El Abencerraje* ascribed to Antonio de Villegas in his *Inventario* is probably derived from the first novella of Ser

Giovanni's *Il Pecorone*. The publication by F. de Onís of the third volume of Fray Luis de León's *De los nombres de Cristo* makes accessible in an authoritative edition one of the masterpieces of Spanish prose. In "The Subterranean Grail Paradise of Cervantes" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 401-411) P. S. Barto finds in the account of Don Quixote's visit to the cave of Montesinos striking similarities with the stories of the *Venusberg-Grail*. The immediate sources of Cervantes are not discussed. E. B. Place examines the sources, analogues, imitations and translations of the tales of María de Zayas y Sotomayor in his monograph *Maria de Zayas, an Outstanding Woman Short-Story Writer of Seventeenth-Century Spain* (University of Colorado). In spite of the forbidding form of presentation, this study may be consulted with profit.

The interest in the older drama is evidenced by a number of contributions. W. S. Jack in his dissertation *The Early Entremés in Spain: the Rise of a Dramatic Form* (Pennsylvania) studies the early uses of the word *entremés*; the development of comic scenes more or less independent of the chief argument in the plays composed before the middle of the sixteenth century; and the growth of the *entremés* as a separate genre with Lope de Rueda and his successors up to the time of Cervantes. J. E. Gillet studies "The Sources of Izquierdo's *Lucero de neustra salvacion*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 287-290) and discusses its relationship with other Spanish plays, especially the *Auto del despidimiento de Christo de su madre* and the *Auto de las donas*. The same writer gives some new information regarding the literary activity of a mysterious figure in sixteenth-century drama in his "Apuntes sobre las obras dramáticas de Vasco Díaz Tanco de Fregenal" (*Revista de Archivos*, xxvii. 352-356). Rogues on the Spanish stage are discussed in J. P. W. Crawford's "The *Pícaro* in the Spanish Drama of the Sixteenth Century" (*Schelling Anniversary Papers*, 107-116).

G. I. Dale publishes an edition of 'Ver y no creer,' a *Comedia attributed to Lope de Vega* (*Washington University Studies*, xi. 1-95) from an eighteenth-century manuscript which appears to be closer to the original than the version published

in 1632 in the spurious *Parte XXIV* of Lope de Vega's plays. He concludes that if the play was actually written by Lope, it may be regarded as an early composition which was rearranged for presentation in 1619. S. G. Morley discovers in the Biblioteca Municipal of Madrid five manuscript copies of "*Ya anda la de Mazagatos, comedia desconocida atribuida a Lope de Vega*" (*Bulletin Hispanique*, xxv. 212-225). He discusses questions of authorship, relative value of the five texts and other questions preliminary to an edition of the play. C. Castillo writes "*Acerca de la fecha y fuentes de En la vida todo es verdad y todo mentira*" (*MP*, xx. 391-401), and establishes the date of performance of this play by Calderón as well as its relationship to Corneille's *Héraclius*. J. Pijoán in his article "*Acerca de las fuentes populares de El condenado por desconfiado*" (*Hisp*, vi. 109-114) relates a popular story heard in Catalonia that perpetuates a folk tale used by Tirso in writing his well-known play.

The sole contribution to the study of lyric poetry in the Golden Age is A. M. Withers' dissertation *The Sources of the Poetry of Gutierre de Cetina* (Pennsylvania). Besides adding to our knowledge of Cetina's indebtedness to Italian poets, the author shows that more than forty compositions (chiefly sonnets) are translations or adaptations from the Catalan poet, Ausias March.

The ardent interest shown by English poets of the early nineteenth century in the cause of Spanish independence is discussed by E. Buceta in "*El entusiasmo por España en algunos románticos ingleses*" (*RFE*, x. 1-25), and in "*Shelley and Spain*" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 887-905). E. H. Hespelt describes Shelley's enthusiasm during the last three years of his life for Calderón and the revolutionary movement in Spain. In "*A Survey of the Influence of Sir Walter Scott in Spain*" (*RHi*, iv. 3-86) P. H. Churchman, in collaboration with E. A. Peers, studies chronologically the criticisms of Scott in the Spanish periodicals as well as the chief translations and imitations of Scott's novels and metrical romances. Scott's popularity in Spain reached its height between 1830 and 1832. Miss C. E. Farnham's "*American Travellers in*

Spain (1777-1867)" (*RR*, XIII. 305-330) continues her study of the accounts of early American travellers in Spain.

More attention has been devoted during the past year to contemporary literature. The interest aroused by Benavente's recent visit to the United States is responsible in part for the appearance of the thoughtful essay of F. de Onís, *Jacinto Benavente*, as well as J. Ortega's critical analysis with the same title (*MLJ*, VIII. 1-21). E. Buceta contributes an article "Acerca de *Los intereses creados*" (*La Pluma*, IV 363-383) in which he discusses the relationship of the characters of *Los intereses creados* to the *commedia dell' arte*, and also points out reminiscences from *The Merchant of Venice* and *Le Mariage de Figaro*. A. L. Owen's article "Sobre el arte de don Ramon del Valle-Inclan" (*Hisp.* VI. 69-80) contains an analysis of the style and character portrayal of one of the foremost novelists. In "Blasco Ibáñez and Zola" (*Hisp.* VI. 365-371) Miss K. Reding admits the influence of Zola upon Blasco Ibáñez, but concludes that the Spanish author has thoroughly assimilated Zola's ideas and has made them thoroughly Spanish. In "Why *El gran Galeoto*?" (*Hisp.* VI. 372-377) P. P. Rogers discusses Echegaray's choice of the title of his well-known play. S. G. Morley's "A Posthumous Drama of Pérez Galdós" (*Hisp.* VI. 181-184) gives us information regarding the play *Antón Caballero*, adapted by the Quintero brothers from the rough draft of a drama by Pérez Galdós, and left unfinished at the time of his death. Pérez Galdós and Pereda are studied in two articles by C. C. Glascock (*Texas Review*, VIII. 158-177 and 329-353). M. Romera-Navarro gives a lucid outline in his "Balance literario" (*MLJ*, VII. 427-434) of the chief literary works of the year 1922. In his essay *Symbolism and Classicism in Modern Literature*, D. Rubio points out that certain objectives of the symbolists and modernists are in harmony with the ideals of the classicists.

A fresh impetus is given to the study of Spanish folk-lore by A. M. Espinosa's publication of an important collection of 98 folk stories entitled *Cuentos populares españoles recogidos de la tradición oral de España y publicados con una intro-*

ducción y notas comparativas (Leland Stanford University Publ. III). During a recent trip to Spain, Professor Espinosa gathered over three hundred popular stories which will be published in four volumes, together with a comparative study of their relationship to tales collected in Spanish-speaking portions of North and South America. The texts of a popular tale from Toro, *La pega y sus peguitos* and of the New Mexican story *La paloma y sus pichones*, published by the same author in "Los cuentos populares españoles" (*Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo*, v. 39-61) offer striking evidence of the survival of Spanish folk tales in the Southwest. Still another contribution to this same subject is found in Espinosa's "Folk-Lore from Spain. The *Fiesta del gallo* in Barbadillo" (*MP*, xx. 425-434) in which he describes a village festival of Barbadillo which resembles games that he witnessed some years ago in southern Colorado.

The relatively slight interest taken in the literature of the Spanish-American countries may be partially explained by the lack of material for such study in most of our libraries. H. A. Holmes in *Martín Fierro. An Epic of the Argentine* (Columbia) discusses the background and style of this work, without touching upon its interesting linguistic features. In "Peruvian Literature" (*Hisp.* vi. 158-167 and 294-308) G. W. Umphrey continues his survey of the chief writers and literary movements of Peru.

It is less easy to explain our comparative indifference to the many problems in Spanish linguistics that await solution. It is with real gratitude, therefore, that we note D. S. Blondheim's "Essai d'un Vocabulaire comparatif des parlers romans des Juifs au Moyen Age" (*Romania*, XLIX. 1-47) which contains the first part of a study of the speech peculiar to the Jews of France, Provence, Catalonia, Spain, Portugal and Italy in the Middle Ages. To limit ourselves only to our own field, we may say that these lists make a noteworthy contribution to Spanish and Italian lexicography. In "Romanic Etymologies" (*MLR*, xviii. 474-476) E. H. Tuttle offers new etymologies for Port. Span. *abanar*; Port. Span. *achacar*; Port. Span. *adrede*; Port. *amarelo* and Span. *amarillo*; and

Roum. *toamnă*. H. Serfs discusses a number of gallicisms recently introduced into Spanish in "Los nuevos galicismos" (*Hisp.* vi. 168-175).¹

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V. ITALIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The preferential position occupied by Dante in the bibliography for 1923 accords with the traditions of Italian scholarship in this country. Mary B. Whiting's *Dante the Man and the Poet* offers in convenient compass an account of the poet's life and a brief description of his writings. The *Divine Comedy* is used by K. Kohler as a basis for a study of the development of the concepts of *Heaven and Hell in Comparative Religion*. H. D. Austin in "Dante Notes, III, From Matter to Spirit" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 140-148) discusses Dante's predilection for the phenomena of reflection and reversed direction, and explains as a concept of introversion the poet's account of his passage from the material to the spiritual world, "from the in-side to the out-side" of the Cosmos, as described in *Paradiso*, xxx, 46-96. A. de Salvio studies the question of "Heterodoxy in Dante's Purgatory" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 71-98), and cites a number of examples to prove that in his conception of Purgatory, and with respect to indulgences for the dead, transference of merits, and means of remission of or escape from Purgatorial penalties, Dante either denied or ignored doctrines approved by the foremost medieval theologians. In his "Notes on Dante's Inferno" (*Archivum Romanicum*, vi. 376-395) A. H. Krappe confirms Edward Moore's suggestion that the punishment of suicides (*Inf.* xiii) is probably derived from Servius' commentary on Vergil's *Eclogues*; he shows that the names of demons mentioned by Dante (*Inf.* xxi-xxii) may possibly have been taken from names of Saracens in the *chansons de geste*; he

¹ Through an oversight, J. E. Gillet's note on the demonstratives "Aco, acotro" (*RFE*, ix. 314-316) was not mentioned in the bibliography for 1922. He mentions a number of dramatic texts of the sixteenth century that contain these forms and discusses their etymology.

cites two *exempla* from Jacques de Vitry that bear some resemblance to the story of Guido da Montefeltro (*Inf.* xxvii); he gives two analogues of the story of Gianni Schicchi (*Inf.* xxx, 32-33) from Valerius Maximus and Pliny Secundus; and notes the similarity of an episode related by Paulus Diaconus to the tale of Frate Alberigo, as reported by Villani and other Dante commentators. D. Bigongiari's "Notes on the Critical Text of Dante's Epistles" (*MLR*, xviii 476-479) offer corrections to the text or translation of the *Epistles* as published in recent editions. In "Dante's Views on the Sovereignty of the State" (*Catholic Hist. Rev.*, iii. 91-102) J. J. Rolbiecki argues that in Dante's opinion, the sovereignty of the temporal power, derived from nature, is primarily the sovereignty of the people, even though its exercise may be ceded to a prince or emperor. J. R. Hulbert discusses "Some Medieval Advertisements of Rome" (*MP*, xx. 403-424), including such documents as the *libri indulgentiarum* designed to attract pilgrims to Rome and other pilgrimage places, particularly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

C. E. Whitmore continues his "Studies in the Text of the Sicilian Poets" (*RR*, xiv, 61-81) in which he examines the disposition of the poems in the chief manuscripts and the circumstances attending their compilation and transmission. E. H. Wilkins studies the history of *The Trees of the Genealogia Deorum of Boccaccio* (The Caxton Club, Chicago), as well as the manuscript filiations and editions of the work. Cornelia C. Coulter's article "The Genealogy of the Gods" (*Vassar Mediaeval Studies*, 317-341) describes Boccaccio's attitude toward his material in the compilation of the *Genealogia Deorum*, and his knowledge of classical writers.

F. Ettari makes known for the first time "*El Giardino of Marino Jonata Agnonese: An Italian Poem of the Fifteenth Century*" (*RR*, xiv. 1-46). Considerable information is given regarding the author, the manuscript of the work completed in 1465 and the incunabulum printed in 1490. It is regrettable that so little space is devoted to the poem itself, which is described as an "ecclesiastically theological poem," and a close imitation of the *Divina Commedia*.

A new title is added to seventeenth-century fiction by J. R. Reinhard's "*Florismondo: ex damnatissima Amadis bibliotheca*" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 427-470), a late imitation of Amadis of Gaul by Anton Vincenzio Magnani, probably composed in the second decade of the seventeenth century and preserved in an incomplete autograph manuscript. The writer analyzes its contents, stressing the author's acquaintance with other romances (chiefly Italian) and his knowledge of folk-lore, geography, and classical, medieval and Renaissance literature.

In "The Maréchal de Biron on the Stage" (*MP*, xx. 301-308) Miss Winifred Smith discusses the influence of Spanish *comedias* upon seventeenth-century scenarios, and publishes the text of *Il Marescial di Biron*, a reduction to *commedia dell' arte* form of Pérez de Montalván's play, *El mariscal de Birón*. A. H. Krappe's article on "Niccolò Machiavelli and the *Sei Giornate* of Sebastiano Erizzo" (*RR*, xiv. 82-87) shows that Erizzo was familiar with Machiavelli's political treatises and that he embodied many of the latter's ideas in the introductory material to his stories.

Miss M. V. Young in "Alessandro Manzoni-Beccaria, Romanticist" (*RR*, xiii. 331-358) describes the origins of the Romantic movement in Italy and discusses the foreign and Italian influence upon Manzoni. She concludes that the influence of Fauriel was much less important than has generally been accepted, and that the *Ricerche sullo Stile* of his grandfather, Cesare Beccaria, affected to a certain degree Manzoni's theories. Alyse Gregory's article "The Life of Leopardi Revalued" (*Texas Review*, viii. 178-187) emphasizes the facts of the poet's life as a background for an understanding of his work.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD

VI. GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

A. GERMAN

Literary criticism. E. H. Zeydel in an article entitled "A Criticism of the German Language and Literature by a German of the Eighteenth Century," (*MLN*, xxxviii. 193-

200) presents the views of Johann Christoph Schwab contained in an essay on the French language which was crowned by the Prussian Academy in 1784. W. Kurrelmeyer in an article "Wieland's *Teutscher Merkur* and Contemporary English Journals" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 869-886) shows that many articles considered to be original were merely translations of articles in such English journals as *The Universal Magazine* and *The Gentlemen's Magazine*. Martin Schütze has continued his studies on the "Fundamental Ideas in Herder's Thought" in two articles, one discussing the philosophical antecedents of Herder's psychology (*MP*, xxi. 29-48), the other (*Ibid*, 113-132) treating of sensibillism, mysticism, animinism, romanticism and *Aufklärung* and giving a summary of how these various philosophies were combined in Herder. Kuno Franke "The Historical Significance of Hofmannwaldau's *Heldenbriefe*" (*PQ*, ii. 144-150) shows that the poet with all his artificial gallantry was essentially a poet of human emotions and voiced the romantic longing for freedom from convention. Goethe is the subject of a number of articles. Frank H. Reinsch, "Goethe's Political Interests Prior to 1787" (*Univ. of Cal. Pub. in Mod. Phil.* x) presents the poet's views on politics, social reforms and diplomacy as related in *Wahrheit und Dichtung* and in his letters. H. Jansen, "Ein ungedruckter Brief Goethe's" (*JEGP*, xxii. 530-536) reprints a hitherto unpublished letter from Goethe to the Gräfin von Eggolfstein in which mention is made of the poet's son August appearing as Amor in a maskerade. The letter is discussed at length and all the allusions explained. In an article "Byron and Goethe" (*So. Atlantic Q*, xxii. 246-256) A. C. Krummel discusses the friendship and warm admiration which the two poets had for each other.

The Novel. B. Q. Morgan "The Text of Storm's *Immen see*" (*MLJ*, vii. 227-229) shows that Amelung's garbled edition is the parent of all American school editions instead of the correct text of Köster. Lambert A. Shears "Theodor Fontane as a Critic of the Novel" (*PMLA*, xxxviii. 389-400) points out the excellence of Fontane's views of various novels

by Goethe, Alexis, Freytag, Scheffel, Storm, Keller, Meyer and Spielhagen in German and of Zola, Turgeniev, Kielland and others in other foreign literatures.

The Drama claims as usual, the distinction of having the greatest number of critical articles devoted to it. Helene Cattanes has discussed in French at considerable length the shrovetide comedies of Hans Sachs in a monograph entitled "Les Fastnachtspiele de Hans Sachs" (*Smith College Studies in Mod. Lang.* iv, nos. 2-3). M. B. Evans contributes an article entitled "Elizabethan Ghosts and Herzog Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig" (*JEGP*, xxii. 195-216), showing that in the play *Der Ungeratene Sohn* there exists a better example of a vindictive ghost than in any extant Elizabethan play. In another article "Traditions of the Elizabethan Stage in Germany" (*PQ*, ii. 310-314) Professor Evans discusses first a comic treatment of insanity in a play of the same duke, *Tragoedie von einer Ehebrecherin*, second, the comic suicide of Bottom as Pyramus, as reflected in Gryphius' *Peter Squenz* and in a less well known Dutch play. B. Q. Morgan, "Notes on Nathan der Weise" (*MLJ*, vii. 331-345) gives his views on the interpretation of various passages in Lessing's drama. G. M. Howe, "A Probable Source of Grillparzer's *Sappho*" (*JEGP*, xxii. 503-529), departing from Sauer's and Werner's views that either Mme. de Stael's *Corinne* or her *Sappho* was the poet's source, tries to prove that the most probable source was an idyl or epic by Amalie von Imkoff entitled *Die Schwestern von Lesbos*. He thinks that Grillparzer did not know of Mme. de Stael's *Sappho* when he wrote his drama, as it did not appear till 1821, though written in 1811. Heinrich von Kleist is the subject of three studies: G. M. Howe "The Possible Source of Kleist's *Familie Schroffenstein*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 148-153) suggests as the source a story entitled *Ein Pulver wider die Schlaflosigkeit*, published by Wieland in his *Teutscher Merkur* of 1776, but at the same time he shows how little Kleist was indebted to the story for his dramatic elements and for his characters. In a Johns Hopkins dissertation W. Silz treats of *Heinrich von Kleist's*

Conception of the Tragic (Hesperia, Nr. 12). J. C. Blankenagel in an "Evaluation of Life in Heinrich von Kleist's Letters" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 81-86) presents the poet's views of life, at first optimistic, later sombre and morose. In a second article "Heine on French Romantic Dramatists" (*PQ*, II. 229-237) the same scholar gives the opinions of Heine on Victor Hugo, Dumas Père and Alfred de Musset. Gerhard Baerg in a Cornell dissertation entitled "The Supernatural in the Modern Drama," studies this element in the dramas from 1890 on. Selma Koehler treats "The Question of Moral Responsibility in the Dramatic Works of Arthur Schnitzler" (*JEGP*, xxii. 376-411) and shows that the poet does not make his characters morally responsible for their conduct, that in his philosophy he is above all a determinist, that natural instincts and pathological tendencies deprive his characters almost entirely of any freedom of will. Some of Frank Wedekind's plays have appeared under the title *Tragedies of Sex*, with an introduction by S. A. Eliot, Jr. (Boni & Liveright). In the domain of the theatre Niel C. Brooks "The Mastersinger Stage" (*JEGP* xxii. 327-346) has interestingly discussed the opposing views of Max Herrmann and Albert Köster. He decides that both reconstructions are unsatisfactory and improbable and concludes by presenting his own ideas.

The Medieval Epic—A. H. Krappe "Notes on the *Rabenschlacht*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 470-472) discusses two motives in this poem, (1), the ride of the two young heroes against the will of their guardian which he traces back to the French *chanson de geste*, (2), Dietrich's biting off the end of his finger to express sorrow, which he shows to be a very ancient custom, appearing in Greek literature and elsewhere. The same scholar in a second article "The Legend of Walther and Hildegund" (*JEGP*, xxii. 54-74) tries to trace the *Waltharius* back to a *Märchen* of the type of the 'magic flight.' A scholarly edition of *Der Nibelunge Not and the Kudrun* by Eduard Sievers has been issued (Knopf).

German American Relations—G. P. Voigt has discussed "German and German-Swiss Elements in South Carolina

1732-1752" (Univ. of S. C. Press). J. Schafer in an article 'Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin' (*Wis. Mag. of Hist.* vi, 261-279, vii. 3-19) treats of the interplay of these two racial strains in the founding of this commonwealth. Julius Goebel "The Coming Centennial of German Instruction in American Universities" (*JEGP*, xxii. 100-113) discusses the teaching of German at the Universities of Virginia and Harvard during the second decade of the nineteenth century.

Philology. The following philological articles have appeared in the course of the year. H. Koppelman "Romanischer Einfluss auf das Westgermanische" (*JEGP*, xxii. 558-565) attempts to show that all essential innovations of West Germanic in *Lautehre* and *Flexion* are to be explained by the endeavor to simplify such consonant groups as were difficult for the Latin races to pronounce. In this way he seeks to account for such diverse phenomena as (a) WG. consonant gemmination, (b) ɣw to ɣ , (c) occurrence of secondary vowels before l and r , (d) apocope of final z , (e) replacing of the 2d sing. ind. pret. of strong verbs by an optative form in i , (f) the inflection of the infinitive, the so-called gerund. R. H. Griffith, "Before Rask and Grimm" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 371-373) calls attention to the fact that an anonymous pamphleteer in 1724, nearly a century before Grimm, spoke of the shifting of labio-dentals, *palatines* and gutturals when comparing Greek and Latin words with English. Wilhelm Franke "Die neue Kurzsprache" (*JEGP*, xxii. 257-261) treats of abbreviated forms in modern German, based on the initial letters of words. W. Kurrelmeyer "German Lexicography, Part V" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 400-409) gives early occurrences of a number of German words. Friedrich Kluge has published the following etymological studies "Alte und Neue Wortgeschichten" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 14-17, 272-278), "Kleine Wortgeschichtliche Nachträge, zum etymologischen Wörterbuch" (*JEGP*, xxii. 171-174), "Cornucopia-Füllhorn" (*PQ*, ii 161-163) in which he discusses the history of the German word which does not seem to go back beyond the 18th century.

B. SCANDINAVIAN

Old Norse—Considerable activity has been evinced in the field of Old Norse linguistics. A. M. Sturtevant has contributed three articles. First, "Die Behandlung der Lautgruppen *We* and *Wa* bei den altnordischen, starken Verben" (*JEGP*, xxii. 245-252), second, "The Relation of Old Norse *-rð* and Gothic *-rd*" (*JEGP*, xxii. 369-375) in which he considers, as against Paul, that the spirant *-rð* in ON. represents a later change, and that b.d.g. were stops in PG., a view already expressed by J. Frank (*Zsfda.* liv. 1-231. He also agrees with Collitz that the Gothic i/u are older than West Germ. e/o, third, "The Irregular Declension of the Old Norse Noun *Maer*, 'Maiden' (*SS*, vii. 169-174) in which he shows that the *-r* was added in prehistoric times by analogy to the long *-jo* stems. In the field of Old Norse literature,—Chester N. Gould, "The *Friðjófssaga*, an Oriental Tale" (*SS*, vii. 219-250), tries to show that this saga, which differs in many respects from other Icelandic tales, is an importation from the orient, brought to the north either by some oriental merchant or by a Scandinavian soldier who had been in the south. It resembles in its motives, such as the offer to give away a wife, the tales of the *Arabian Nights* and *Floir et Blancheflor*. A student may have brought the original of the saga from France to Iceland, where it was probably related a thousand times until some one made of it a Viking novel decked with verse. A. H. Krappe "A Romance Source of the Samson Episode in the *Þiðreks Saga*" (*MLN*, xxxviii. 164-168) suggests that the episode goes back to the legend attached to the *Caballus Constantini* and originated with the German pilgrims in Rome. The name Samson is due to the influence of some written version of the Legend of Constantine and the mistake of some scribe or compiler who took Samson to be the name of the man trampled upon by Constantine's or Ermanarik's horse. G. T. McDonald in an article "The Treatment of the Volsunga Saga by William Morris" (*SS*, vii. 151-168) shows how the poet modified the ancient rugged-

ness of the saga and turned it into a romantic epic of four times the number of lines. A very important and scholarly translation of the *Poetic Edda* has been made by Henry A. Bellows as vol XXI and XXII of the American Scandinavian Classics. W. W. Lawrence contributed an article on "The Poetic Edda" (*ASR*, XI. 659-665). Roger S. Loomis has retold the Old Norse saga *The Romance of Tristan and Ysolt* in the style of Malory.

Modern Literature. Hanna A. Larsen has contributed a long article on "Scandinavian Literature for Americans" (*Yale Rev.* XII. 564-576). "The Spirit of Scandinavian Realism" is discussed by E. Björkman (*New Rep.* XXXIV. 111-112). S. B. Hustvedt, "George Borrow and his Danish Ballads" (*JEGP*, XXII. 262-270) discusses the relation of these ballad translations to the originals and shows that though Borrow translated literally, he had not the accuracy or the poetic gifts of Grimm. A. G. Brodeur "The Ballad of Ebbe Skammelson and the 'Lover's Return'" (*SS*, VII. 179-200) tries to show that this Danish ballad does not belong to the 'Faithless Mistress' type, as the editor Olrik thought, but to the English 'Horn-cycle,' or the type known as the 'Lover's Return,' and that the tragic conclusion was added by a later poet familiar with the Danish ballads on the theme of the 'Faithless Mistress.' J. Moritzen has interestingly discussed "Holberg and the Danish Stage" (*Forum*, LXVIII. 1026-1033). Signe Toksvig has reviewed "Some Recent Danish Books" (*ASR*, XI. 666-671).

Relating definitely to Norwegian literature, is an article by H. J. Weigand entitled "The Secret Mark of the Beast, A Study of Cryptic Character Portrayal in *Little Eyolf*" (*JEGP*, XXII. 18-53) that seeks to give a new interpretation of Ibsen's drama. A. M. Sturtevant "Regarding Sub-conscious Elements in the Composition of Peer Gynt" (*SS*, VII. 201-207) takes issue with J. E. Olson, who in an article in an earlier number of the same periodical, had ascribed certain features of Peer Gynt to the subconscious experiences of Ibsen. Sturtevant believes that Peer Gynt's hallucinations are due to his own character and not to any

subconscious experiences of the dramatist. Hanna A. Larsen has written a biography and critical study of *Knut Hamsun* showing how his personality recurs in his novels. In another article "Near Past in Norwegian Literature" (*ASR*, xi. 679-686) she treats of recent books in Norway, especially of *The Great Epoch* by Hans E. Kruch, one of Norway's finest writers.

To Swedish literature belongs Charles Wharton Stork's volume, *Modern Swedish Masterpieces*. Dr. Stork has also contributed an article on "Viktor Rydberg, the Seer of Swedish Poetry" (*Schelling Ann. Papers*).

DANIEL B. SHUMWAY

I. A PLANETARY DATE FOR CHAUCER'S *TROILUS*

All students of Chaucerian chronology are agreed that *Troilus and Criseyde* was written not earlier than the poet's first Italian journey of 1373, and not later than 1386. The second of these terminal dates is fixed by the fact that the earlier, so-called B, version of the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, which refers to *Troilus* as already in circulation, is assigned with a good deal of confidence to 1386 or 1387. It is further corroborated by the fact that Thomas Usk's *Testament of Love*, which shows extensive acquaintance with *Troilus*, seems to have been written in 1387, the year before its author's death.¹

Within this period of a dozen years the poem has been variously placed by various scholars. On the basis of a supposed reference to the poem in Gower's *Miroir de l'Omme*, Professor Tatlock has argued for a date earlier than 1377.² Professor Lowes made the brilliant suggestion that the curious mention of the letter A in *Troilus* 1. 171 refers to the decorative use of Queen Anne's royal initial, and that the poem must, therefore, be dated later than January 14, 1382, the date of her marriage to Richard II.³ A date later than 1381 is advocated by Professor Kittredge in his Chaucer Society volume, *The Date of Chaucer's Troilus* (1909). Kittredge accepts Lowes' interpretation of the letter A, and combats Tatlock's belief that the reference in Gower is actually to Chaucer's poem. Professor Carleton Brown sees in *Troilus* 4. 169-210 allusions to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, and hence adheres to the later date.⁴ It

¹ J. S. P. Tatlock, *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, Chaucer Soc., 1907, pp. 20-24.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 26-33.

³ J. L. Lowes, "The Date of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*," *P. M. L. A.* XXIII. 285-306. Dr. Lowes had earlier suggested the date 1383-1385 in *P. M. L. A.*, XX. 861.

⁴ *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVI. 208 (1911).

is not unfair to say that the consensus of scholarly opinion leans strongly to the period 1382-1385.

It is not necessary to enter here on a detailed consideration of these arguments. The purpose of this article is to present a piece of evidence, hitherto unnoticed, which points strongly to a date not earlier than the spring or summer of 1385.

The evidence for this date is found in lines 624-628 of the third book of *Troilus*:—

The bente moone with hire hornes pale,
Saturne, and Jove in Cancro joyned were,
That swych a reyn from hevene gan avale,
That every maner womman that was there
Hadde of that smoky reyn a verray feere.

Criseyde, the supper party ended, is about to leave her uncle's house;

But execut was al bisyde hire leve
The goddes wil, for which she moste bleve (3. 622, 623).

Fortune, "executrice of wyerdes," and the "influences of thise hevenes hye" intervene by the instrumentality of a terrifying storm of "smoky" rain and thunder (3. 662) which make it necessary that she shall stay all night under her uncle's roof.⁵ This storm, Chaucer declares, was occasioned by a particular disposition of the planets. The "bente moone," Saturn, and Jupiter were all three in conjunction in the sign of Cancer. It is this disposition of the planets which we must examine with some care.

By "bente moone" Chaucer means, as Skeat has pointed out, the "curved" or crescent moon. That this is the correct interpretation of *bente* is rendered certain by the specific statement in 3. 549, 550 that Pandarus arranged his supper party—

Right sone upon the chaungynge of the moone,
Whan lightles is the world a nyght or twayne.

⁵ The lines under discussion have no counterpart in Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, beyond a statement that the night in which Troilo first attained his desires was "oscura e nebulosa" (3.24). Is it possible that Chaucer's thunderstorm may have been suggested by the storm of hail and thunder which drove Dido and Aeneas to take shelter together in the fateful cave (*Aen.* 4 160-172)?

The "change of the moon" is the period in its monthly cycle opposite to that of "full moon." At this period it is in conjunction with the Sun, and is hence invisible for "a nyght or tweyne." Shortly after ("Right sone upon") this period, the thin crescent Moon becomes visible in the western sky after sunset, its "hornes pale" from the lingering twilight. Now if the thin crescent Moon is in the sign of Cancer, the Sun must be in, or approaching, the next preceding sign of Gemini; and the time of year when Pandarus gave his supper party is clearly designated as May or early June. By Chaucer's calendar the Sun entered Gemini on or about May 12.

So far the astronomy of the passage before us is very simple—though modern commentators have not hitherto realized that in it Chaucer has given clear indication of the time of year in which he conceived the central episode of his poem as taking place.⁶ The conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, however, offers problems of more complexity. Two planets are said to be in conjunction when they are in the same degree and minute of celestial longitude. Conjunctions

⁶ Other episodes of the poem are clearly placed in the calendar. Troilus sees Criseyde for the first time at the feast of Palladion in April (1. 156). Pandarus broaches the matter to Criseyde on May 3, or perhaps May 4, (2. 56), and on the next day persuades his niece to write Troilus a letter. An interval elapses, during which Troilus is alternately elated or depressed according to the tenor of Criseyde's answers to his letters (2. 1338-1354). Pandarus then devises the meeting at the house of Deiphebus, at which Criseyde promises full surrender. The time of year is not specified; but Troilus's reference to "Aperil the laste" (3. 360) shows that we are still within the first year of the story. There is again an interval in which Troilus and Criseyde occasionally see each other, and in which letters are exchanged (3. 435-510). Then follows the first night together, which, as we have seen, takes place in May or early June, presumably one year after the first wooing. The episode of Criseyde's departure for the Greek camp begins in late July, when the Sun is in the early degrees of Leo (4. 31, 32); and there have been three spring seasons since Troilus began to love her (5. 8-14). If one counts as one of these three springs the spring in which the story begins, Troilus has enjoyed the full love of Criseyde during a period of some fourteen months; if one counts exclusively of the first spring, another year must be added. Boccaccio opens his poem in the spring (*Filostrato* 1. 18), but gives no further dating of his story.

involving one of the nearer planets, e.g. Mars, Venus, Mercury, are of frequent occurrence; but a conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter is, because of their long periods of revolution, a rarer phenomenon, which takes place at intervals of nearly twenty years.⁷ Much rarer, naturally, is the occurrence of this conjunction in any particular zodiacal sign. Now the periodicity of these conjunctions is of such a nature that, if a given conjunction occur at a given point of the zodiac, the next following conjunction, nearly twenty years later, will occur at a point $242^{\circ} 973$ forward, or slightly more than two-thirds of the way around the ecliptic. Thus, if a given conjunction occur in the first degree of Aries, the next conjunction will occur early in Sagittarius, the next following in Leo, and the fourth again in about the ninth degree of Aries. For a period which averages 200.4 years conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter will occur only in one or the other of these three signs. For a succeeding period of equal length these conjunctions will be confined to the "triplicity" of Taurus, Capricorn, and Virgo. For a third such period the conjunction will occur in the "triplicity" of Gemini, Aquarius, and Libra. Then during a fourth period of two hundred years the places of conjunction will be in Cancer, Pisces, and Scorpio.

From all this it follows that there are periods of history of approximately two hundred years during which a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign of Cancer occurs at intervals of about sixty years, and other periods of over six hundred years during which this phenomenon never takes place. The astronomical fact which Chaucer has imagined in the lines we are discussing is, therefore, of strikingly rare occurrence. Its rarity takes on added significance when we discover that Chaucer's life fell at the very end of one of these six hundred year periods; Saturn and Jupiter had not been conjoined in the sign Cancer since the year 769 A.D.⁸

⁷ More accurately the period is 19.8586 years.

⁸ Had Chaucer been curious to discover in what signs conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn occurred in the twelfth century B. C., the period assigned

It will be remembered that the presence of the crescent Moon, "with hire hornes pale," in the sign of Cancer places the supposed time of the first night of Troilus and Criseyde in the month of May or early June. Now it so happens that in the spring of 1385 there occurred an astronomical event which strikingly satisfies the conditions supposed in the poem. An approximate calculation based on Newcomb's planetary tables gives the following data for the spring of 1385:

1385	April 10	April 30	May 20	June 9
Longitude of				
Sun	28° 38'	47° 58'	67° 09'	86° 15'
Venus	60° 58'	84° 28'	107° 44'	130 0'
Mars	—	63° 47'	77° 12'	90° 31'
Jupiter	86° 06'	89° 52'	93° 48'	98° 12'
Saturn	86° 23'	88° 23'	90° 44'	93° 17'
Latitude of				
Venus	+1° 08'	+1° 55'	+2° 15'	+1° 55'
Mars	—	+0° 33'	+0° 43'	+0° 51'
Jupiter	+0° 04'	+0° 06'	+0° 07'	+0° 09'
Saturn	-0° 39'	-0° 37'	-0° 35'	-0° 33'

The positions given in this table are true longitudes referred to the ecliptic (i.e. geocentric positions), and should be correct to within a few minutes of arc. The dates—here, and throughout this article—are according to the Julian calendar, as is the customary practice of astronomers and chronologists when dealing with events preceding the year 1500. According to the reformed Gregorian calendar now in use, the dates would read nine days later.

The data given in this table show that Saturn and Jupiter were in exact astronomical conjunction on April 13, in longitude 86° 35', i.e. near the end of the sign of Gemini,

by the old chronologers for the Trojan War, he could have figured it out very easily with the aid of the approximately correct data available to him in such an author as Albertus Magnus. Had he made such a calculation, he would have found that these conjunctions then occurred in the "triplicity" of Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius. The more accurate data given above show that in the twelfth century B. C. they occurred in the early part of Gemini, Libra, and Aquarius.

only three and a half degrees from the beginning of Cancer.⁹ The two planets remained in what the astrologers call "platic" conjunction¹⁰ till the end of June. Jupiter entered Cancer on May 1; and Saturn entered Cancer on May 14. On the latter date both planets were in the sign of Cancer, and only two and a half degrees of longitude apart. The data further show that this conjunction of 1385 was a very remarkable one; for the planet Venus was in conjunction with Saturn on May 3, in longitude $88^{\circ} 45'$, and with Jupiter on May 5, in longitude $90^{\circ} 50'$. On May 4, Venus stood half way between Jupiter and Saturn, within a degree of her two neighbors. At this time they were evening stars, nearly 40° from the Sun; so that the three planets were plainly visible in the early evening. By May 14, when Jupiter and Saturn had both entered Cancer, Venus with her more rapid motion had moved on, and was some ten degrees removed; but a new luminary came to join Saturn and Jupiter. The Moon was new on or about May 10 (within a day); and on or about May 13 the pale horns of the crescent Moon were visible very close to Jupiter and Saturn—the very disposition which Chaucer has represented in his poem. Altogether this configuration of the heavens must have been about as remarkable a conjunction as a terrestrial observer can witness.¹¹

It was remarkable enough to secure mention with a head-

⁹ The sign Gemini comprises the space of 60° - 90° , and Cancer 90° - 120° of the zodiac.

¹⁰ See below, p. 55.

¹¹ In June occurred another remarkable set of conjunctions. Saturn and Jupiter, still within 5° of one another, were overtaken by Mars, which was in conjunction with Saturn on June 14 and with Jupiter about a week later—all within the sign of Cancer. On June 12 the Sun, with Mercury very close on his heels, entered Cancer. On June 17 the Sun was in conjunction with Saturn, on June 18 (approximately) with Mercury, on June 23 with Mars, and on June 27 with Jupiter. On June 18 and 19 all five bodies were within 5° of longitude. About June 10 the crescent Moon again passed Saturn and Jupiter in the sign of Cancer. All these conjunctions of the month of June occurred too near the Sun to be visible; but the astrologers must have been busy in the spring and early summer of 1385!

line in Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*, where we find the entry:

Conjunctio Jovis et Saturni.

Eodem tempore [i.e. anno 1385] Conjunctio duarum maximarum planetarum facta est, videlicet Jovis et Saturni, mense Maio; quam secuta est maxima regnorum commotio, prout patebit inferius, cum attigerit stylus locum.¹³

With the astrological implications of the event we shall be concerned a little later, "cum attigerit stylus locum." Here one may notice that Walsingham does not specify the sign in which the conjunction occurred, nor mention the coincident conjunction with Venus, or the fleeting passage of the Moon. In his *Ypodigma Neustriæ* Walsingham also records the conjunction, and with an interesting addition:

Hoc anno terrae-motus factus est ante medium noctis Inventionis Sanctae Crucis; et conjunctio planetarum Jovis et Saturni fuit mense Maio, quam mox commotio regnorum maxima est secuta.¹⁴

Though the precise day of the conjunction is not specified, the earthquake is dated before midnight of Holy Cross Day, i.e. May 3, the very day on which our computations place the conjunction of Saturn and Venus. An earthquake and a conjunction in a single night was indeed a remarkable occurrence.

In all three of the chronicles for which Walsingham is responsible he dates the conjunction as in the month of May, whereas our computations place it on April 13.¹⁴ Since Walsingham, who died about 1422¹⁵, probably witnessed the conjunction with his own eyes, one wonders why he is mistaken in the date. His interest in the event is astrological rather than scientifically astronomical; and it would seem that he attached more importance to the "platic" conjunction in Cancer, which did not begin till May 14, than to

¹³ Rolls Series, Vol. II, p. 126. The entry appears in nearly identical language in Walsingham's *Chronicon Angliæ*, Rolls Series, p. 364.

¹⁴ Rolls Series, p. 341.

¹⁵ A date in April is confirmed by Cyprian Leovitius, see below, p. 60, n. 30.

¹⁶ See *D. N. B. s. v.* Walsingham, Thomas

the exact conjunction in Gemini which occurred a month earlier. Why he may have so regarded the affair will appear later in this article.

The point of exact conjunction was, as we have seen, not in Cancer, though within a few degrees of its border; but, according to the older use of the term, Saturn and Jupiter were in conjunction in Cancer in latter May and June of 1385. Lilly's *Introduction to Astrology*, first published in 1647, recognizes two sorts of conjunction, the "partile," when two planets are in the same degree and minute of longitude, and the "platic," when the distance of the two planets is less than one half the sum of their "orbs of operation." The same authority gives the "orbs" of Jupiter and Saturn as each nine degrees. Jupiter and Saturn were, then, in platic conjunction so long as they were within nine degrees of longitude of one another.¹⁶ It will be remembered that they entered Cancer less than three degrees apart. They continued in platic conjunction within Cancer for many weeks.

We find, then, that Chaucer has introduced into his *Troilus* an astronomical phenomenon so unusual that it had not taken place until his time since the year 769 A.D.,¹⁷ and that by bringing into his supposed configuration the crescent Moon also in the sign of Cancer he has made it necessary that the phenomenon should take place in May or early June. We find further that in the month of May 1385, Chaucer saw with his own eyes a very remarkable configuration of the heavens which is strikingly in accord with that which he has introduced into his poem. On or about May 13, or 14, 1385 he saw, if the weather was fine, "the bente moone with hire hornes pale, Saturne, and Jove" conjoined on the very edge of Cancer. It is hard to believe that this is mere accidental coincidence. It seems more probable that

¹⁶ Bohn ed., London 1852, pp. 24, 25. See also J. M. Manly, "The Date and Interpretation of Chaucer's *Complaint of Mars*" (*Harvard Studies and Notes* V.) pp. 112, 119.

¹⁷ Conjunctions in Cancer occurred in 1444, 1504, and 1563. They will not occur again in this sign till 2239 A. D.

Chaucer took directly from the night's starred face these symbols which he has woven into the high romance of *Troilus*.

He has not, to be sure, taken over this very remarkable configuration of the heavens in its entirety. He may well have felt that it would not be good art to suppose for the long-ago of his Trojan story precisely what his readers, as well as he, had recently seen in their own skies. Venus, which in May 1385, had been in the evening sky, and had participated in a triple conjunction with Saturn and Jupiter, Chaucer has quietly transferred to the position of morning star. For when the next day comes to separate the lovers, we are told that its approach was first heralded by the cock, "comune astrologer,"—

And Lucifer, the dayes messenger
 Gan for to rise, and oute hire stremes throwe,
 And estward roos, to hym that koude it knowe,
 Fortuna Major. (3. 1417-1420)

Though the name of the morning star is not mentioned, the feminine pronoun *hire*¹⁸ makes clear that Lucifer is none other than Venus. Though Venus was not actually a morning star in May 1385, she occupies this position for about half the time, and has heralded the dawn on many May mornings since the world began.¹⁹

The reference to Fortuna Major presents some difficulty of interpretation, and though it does not vitally affect the main point of this paper, it may be well to see what it adds to Chaucer's picture of the mid-May heavens. As Skeat²⁰ has explained, Fortuna Major is the name of one of the sixteen figures of geomancy. Geomancy is a bastard form of "horary" astrology, by means of which one may resolve questions without the trouble of consulting an almanach or

¹⁸ Two MSS. read *his* (*hese*), but they are certainly corrupt.

¹⁹ As a matter of fact there was no morning star in May, 1385. The only planet which rose before the sun was Mercury; and Mercury was too near the sun to be visible. The other planets were all congregated, as we have seen, on the other side of the sun.

²⁰ Oxf. Chaucer VI, 404. Cf. *ibid.* V, 82, 83.

looking at the skies. By a process of setting down at random a series of dots, the artist derives one or the other of sixteen "figures."²¹ This figure refers him to one of the seven planets and to one of the signs of the zodiac. By repeating the process, the geomancer ultimately constructs an arbitrary "figure of the heavens," with all the planets disposed among the signs; and from this figure of the heavens he can then proceed to draw astrological conclusions. If Fortuna Major be the first geomantic figure derived, the practitioner will place the Sun in the sign of Aquarius, regardless of its actual place in the zodiac at the time when he is practising his art. Fortuna Major is properly, then, a figure which exists only on a piece of paper on the geomancer's desk, or in the book by whose help he practises his art. How could it be rising in the eastern heavens before the dawn which separated Troilus and Criseyde? It is highly probable that Chaucer's lines are imitated from Dante's *Purgatorio* 19. 4, where Fortuna Major is also represented as rising before the dawn. The Dante commentators, ancient and modern, explain that the name Fortuna Major was applied to a group of six stars in the end of the sign Aquarius and the beginning of Pisces which conform roughly to the geomantic figure.²² For this statement, which is found as early as the fourteenth century commentary of Benvenuto da Imola, no other authority has been discovered. But Skeat, with the aid of Sir R. Ball, identified the group as comprised of θ Pegasi and α , π , γ , ζ , η Aquarii.²³ This identification can be verified from any detailed astronomical atlas. It is this group of stars, then, that was rising in the eastern sky when Lucifer appeared above the horizon.²⁴ The (ecliptic) longitude of

²¹ The process is briefly described in Skeat's note in Oxford Chaucer V, 82, 83. If the reader is curious to pursue the subject, he may consult Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia*, Lib. II, Cap. xlvi and Lib. III, Cap. lxiv, and the treatise of Gerardus Cremonensis which is included in the 1531 edition of Agrippa.

²² Skeat happily compares the figure to a four of diamonds placed above a two of diamonds.

²³ See Skeat's note in *Academy*, Nov. 3, 1894, p. 352.

²⁴ The conclusion reached by Professor W. C. Curry in *Mod. Lang.*

the center of this group is now about 326° , and must have been about 319° in the latter part of the fourteenth century. As the group is nearly 10° in extent, no precise longitude can be given. In the middle of May these stars should be about 80° west of the Sun on an arc measured along the ecliptic, and should appear above the horizon about 1 A.M. When the first light of dawn appeared in Troy, the group of stars called Fortuna Major by "hym that koude it knowe" was about half way between the eastern horizon and the zenith, and was still rising "estward," with the four stars properly placed above the two.²⁵

An examination of the astronomy of Chaucer's dawning shows that it is in conformity with the assumption that the time of year is May. It does not otherwise affect our discussion.

It is now time to consider the astrological implications of this conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter, and the crescent Moon in the sign of Cancer. Chaucer has himself told us that its effect was to cause a violent "smoky" rain, which terrified Criseyde and her attendant ladies (3. 626-628), and which was accompanied with thunder (3. 662). A slight knowledge of astrology is sufficient to show that it should produce this effect. The Moon alone in Cancer should be favorable to wet weather; for the Moon is a "watery" planet, and Cancer belongs, together with Pisces and Scorpio, to the "watery triplicity." Moreover, Cancer is the "house" of the Moon, i.e. the zodiacal sign in which her influence is most powerful. But if the Moon in Cancer favors rain, a conjunction of

Notes, XXXVIII. 94-96 that Fortuna Major "is neither more nor less than the Sun" does not seem tenable. Fortuna Major does indeed refer the geomancer to the Sun (and also to the sign Aquarius); but it is a long step from that to the assumption that it is a name for the Sun itself. Nor does such an interpretation suit the context either of Chaucer or of Dante. Professor Curry had apparently overlooked Skeat's note, which is hidden away in the Errata of the Oxf. Chaucer (VI. 404), and was consequently not aware of the parallel passage in the *Purgatorio*.

²⁵ The supposed time of the action of the *Divine Comedy* is Eastertide. In the early spring the constellation "Fortuna Major" crosses the eastern horizon some two hours before sunrise.

Jupiter and Saturn in one of the "watery" signs will tend to cause a deluge. One feels, indeed, that Chaucer has rather overdone his astrological motivation. Had he been inventing an astronomical configuration to cause what is, after all, only a heavy thunder-storm, he could have devised one much less unusual than that which he has transcribed from the contemporary face of the heavens.

The medieval theory of planetary conjunctions in their relation to floods is set forth at length in the second tractate of the first book of the *De Causis et Proprietatibus Elementorum* of Albertus Magnus.²⁶ The chapters of this tractate which concern us are the second and the ninth. Near the end of the second chapter Albert explains the periodicity of conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn, showing that—

. . . duae stellae Saturni et Jovis vicibus duodecim conjunguntur per medium motum suum in una triplicitate antequam in alio signo conjunguntur . . . et ideo per ducentos et quadraginta annos de viginti in viginti conjunguntur in triplicitate una. Quando autem permutant triplicitatem, tunc dicunt Astronomi quod virtus infunditur in inferioribus ex coelo; et delentur antiquae habitationes et incipiunt novae . . .

The ninth chapter is entitled "Digressio declarans causam diluviorum aquae." It discusses the causes of the great flood which "factum fuit sub Noe, ut meminit Moyses, quod idem puto esse quod factum fuit sub Deucalione et Pyrrha, ut testantur poetae Graeci et Latini." The chief cause, we are told, was a conjunction of all seven of the planets in the watery sign of Pisces. The effect of this conjunction was heightened by the fact that it began in the preceding "airy" sign of Aquarius and was completed in Pisces, and that thus the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter involved a "permutation of triplicities." Of the three signs which make up the "watery triplicity," Pisces is more powerful than Cancer or Scorpio.²⁷ This sevenfold conjunction in Pisces, with

²⁶ B. Alberti Magni *Opera Omnia*, ed. Borgnet, Paris 1890, IX. 577-633. It is a pleasure to acknowledge indebtedness for this reference to Professor Lynn Thorndike's *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York, 1923 (Macmillan). The wealth of bibliographical material in this admirable book will prove invaluable to students of the Middle Ages.

²⁷ From a work entitled *Opus Albumazaris de Magnis Conjunctionibus*

"permutation of triplicities" was the chief cause of a universal flood.

Diminutio autem istorum quae ad hoc concurrit facit causam diluvii particularis; et erit minus diluvium secundum quod pauciores causae et minus fortes conveniunt.

The conjunction of April and May 1385, was, happily, one which involved fewer and less powerful causes, and was therefore less portentous. It involved only four of the seven planets (of which only three were simultaneously in platic conjunction); though of the four Jupiter and Saturn are "*stellae quae sunt universaliores in mundo et fortiores; eo quod sunt superiores.*"²⁸ It was in Cancer rather than in the more powerful "watery" sign of Pisces. Though it began in the "airy" sign of Gemini and continued "platically" into Cancer, it had, if our computations are in accord with those of the fourteenth century astronomers, been already completed before it reached the sign of Cancer.²⁹ Whether it involved a "permutation of triplicities" may, therefore, well have been matter of dispute among astrologers. That it was thought of as involving such a permutation may be implied by Walsingham's statement that it was followed by "*maxima regnorum commotio.*" Albert says that when a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn changes triplicity, "*significat illa conjunctio magna accidentia et prodigia magna: et mutationes generalis status elementorum et mundi*" (p. 620).³⁰

. . . magistri Johannis Angeli correctione, published at Augsburg in 1489 (Tract. I, Diff. II) we learn that Pisces is strongest and Cancer weakest of the three.

²⁸ Cf. Chaucer's phrase: "O influences of thise hevenes *kye*" (3. 618).

²⁹ Albert explains carefully what he means by a conjunction which begins in one sign and is completed in the next. It happens, "*quando centra epicyclorum vel ipsi epicycli ad se accedunt prius in uno signo, et ipsi planetae conveniunt paulatim in alio*" (p. 621).

³⁰ The sixteenth century German astronomer and astrologer, Cyprian Leovitius, in his *De Conjunctionibus Magnis Insignioribus Superiorum Planetarum*, written in 1564, traces through the centuries the successive conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn, and recounts the dire events which followed on each. Of the conjunction of 1385 he says (ed. London, 1573, fol.

There were in almost any year of the fourteenth century "commotions of kingdoms" sufficient to justify an astrologer's predictions. What of the meteorological effects of our conjunction? John Malverne's continuation of the *Polychronicon* of Ralph Higden records that in the January preceding the conjunction there was "magna inundatio aquarum" near Exeter, which carried away bridges and houses and drowned many people. In the month of July, he adds, there was a similar flood in the city of Venice, "quae omnes pauperes debiles et impotentes, qui ad altiora loca abscondere minime valuerunt, submersit."²¹ Walsingham records, though without suggesting the conjunction as its cause, a terrifying thunder-storm which swept England on July 14 about three o'clock in the afternoon:—

Audita sunt tonitrua, et visa fulgura et coruscationes, jugiter per unam horam, quae multorum corda terruerunt; ex quorum ictibus quidam sunt mortui, quidam irremediabiliter laesi, multis in locis.²²

If Chaucer has transferred to his *Troilus*, as seems clear, an astronomical event of May 1385, he has given to it an astrological import which must have been the subject of much talk. As he and his readers saw Jupiter and Saturn hanging in the western sky less than three degrees apart in the sign of Cancer, where they had not been conjoined for many centuries, they must have asked themselves with some anxiety what commotions of kingdoms, and what inundations of waters, were in store. When the thunder-storm of July 14 burst over England, every one interested in astrology must

Ciiij *verso*): "Rursus in extremitate Trigoni Aerei, accidit Coniunctio magna superiorum planetarum anno Domini 1385 mense Aprile, in grad. 27 Geminorum. Et paulo post in Iunio, Mars coniungebatur Saturno, deinde statim Ioui, constitutis in Cancro, quibus etiam Sol & Mercurius accedebant idem signum permeantes." He attributes to this conjunction various battles and other political disturbances, but says nothing of any meteorological effects. He regards the conjunction of 1405 as initiating the "watery triplicity."

²¹ Rolls Series, No. 41, IX. 78. Malverne does not mention the conjunction.

²² *Historia Anglicana*, Rolls Series, II. 130.

have been ready to explain its cause—and the average intelligent man of the Middle Ages was apparently as much interested in astrology as his modern counterpart is in evolution and heredity. In Chaucer's poem the immediate effect of the conjunction is a storm of rain and thunder of terrifying violence. Is it not likely that he also intended that it should suggest to his readers the impending downfall of the kingdom of Troy?

Since the passage of *Troilus* which we have been discussing was already present in the earliest version of the poem of which the existing manuscripts give us any evidence,³³ we cannot avoid the conclusion that the poem was not finished earlier than the spring of 1385.³⁴ It would not be profitable to attempt to push the *terminus a quo* still later by arguing that the lines in question are found a little before the middle of the poem. We have no data by which to determine the rate at which Chaucer's literary work progressed; nor have we any assurance that he worked consecutively on from episode to episode of his story. In the somewhat different case of the *Canterbury Tales* we know positively that he did not work in so methodical a fashion. We must be content to say that, with this new evidence before us, the completion of *Troilus* will fall between the spring of 1385 and the summer of 1387, the latest date possible for the first version of the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*.

The establishment of this date will entail some readjust-

³³ In 3. 626 the earliest version of the text reads: "That madyn such a reyne fro hevyn avale"—a quite unimportant variation of reading.

³⁴ One can hardly insist that the lines were necessarily written later than May 14, when the two planets had entered Cancer, or April 13, when the exact conjunction took place. On March 21, Saturn and Jupiter were within a few degrees of one another in the sign of Gemini. Then, or even two or three months earlier, any watcher of the skies must have been aware that the conjunction was impending. It seems unlikely, though, that Chaucer should have figured out many months before the fact the relatively unimportant detail, that at just the time when the planets entered Cancer they were accompanied by the pale crescent Moon. If one is inclined to regard the thunder-storm of July 14 as one of the elements contributing to the suggestion of the Chaucerian passage, the date must be advanced to mid-summer.

ments in Chaucerian chronology. It will, first of all, definitely place the *Troilus* as a work of the poet's full maturity, written shortly before the inception of the *Canterbury Tales*. If one is disposed to take seriously Chaucer's prayer near the end of *Troilus* (5. 1788) that God will send him strength before he dies to "make in som comedye," it may be that the "comedye" which the poet has in mind is none other than the *comédie humaine* of the pilgrim road to Canterbury. *Troilus* was not completed until after Chaucer's release in February 1385 from the stress of official duties as Comptroller of the Customs, a release which was apparently followed very shortly by his removal to his new home at Greenwich, where pilgrim companies Canterbury-bound must have daily passed his door.

If one assumes that *Troilus* was finished before the end of 1385, and that the *Legend* was not begun till late in 1386 or early in 1387, there remains, it would seem, time enough in the interim for the composition of the tale of Palamon and Arcite, which we know as the *Knight's Tale*, a story which is referred to in the *Legend* as already written, though "known lyte." But scholars who are inclined on other grounds to put the *Knight's Tale* earlier than *Troilus* will doubtless urge that a date for *Troilus* as late as 1385 makes for their contention.

Whatever be the final decision of Chaucerian scholarship as to the date of the *Knight's Tale*, it remains true that the *Legend* followed close on *Troilus*, and that the indignation expressed by Alceste at the heresy against Love's law implied in the story of Criseyde's falseness is an echo of the sensation produced among English readers by a very recent poem.

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II. CHAUCER AND RELIGIOUS REFORM

On the 28th of December 1384, John Wyclif died of apoplexy while hearing mass in his own church at Lutterworth. He had braved papal displeasure and had survived the hatred of his enemies among local ecclesiastics. Supported by public approval, defended by noble friends—notable among them being John of Gaunt—he had passed through life serenely until his death. His body remained buried in consecrated ground for forty-four years. On May 4, 1415 the Council of Constance decreed that his bones should be disinterred, burned, and the ashes cast into Swift Creek. This sentence was delayed, however, until 1428. Up to 1413, at least, the world had heard relatively little about Wyclif's heresy. By this time papal vengeance was aroused by the alleged dissent of Wyclif's disciple in Bohemia. Perhaps Wyclif became the victim of the circumstance that required authority for action against John Huss. Until Huss' sources were condemned, his enemies had very little evidence upon which to bring him into prominence at Rome as a dangerous man.

The following brief citations are fairly representative of Wyclif's mature opinions concerning religious reform:

1. Unde licet quondam laboraverim ad describendum transsubstantiationem concorditer ad sensum prioris ecclesie, tamen modo videtur michi quod contrariantur, posteriori ecclesia oberrante. Si enim transsubstantiatio sit cessio unius substance alteri quoad locum, sic quod una substantia transsubstantiata remanet per eundem locum quo prius, et substantia dignior sit per illum locum sacramentaliter cui subordinatur substantia prior ut signum, tunc contingit quod panis transsubstantietur pro instanti quo non mutetur, sed remanet panis subiectus accidentibus post consecrationem; quod dicitur repugnare sentencie decretalis; ideo dimmitto nunc concordancias legum istarum et voco transsubstantiationem conversionem unius substance in aliam, ut semen convertitur in corpus vivum, homo convertitur in terram, et sic generaliter quando unum corpus ex alio generatur. (*De Eucharistia*, Wyclif's Latin Works, Wyclif Society, London, 1892. p. 52.)

2. Þes ben to rude heretickes, þat seien þei eten Crist bodili, and seien þei parten ech member of him,—nekke, bac, heed, and foot. And alle siche

heresies springen, for þei witen not what þis is. þis oost is breed in his kynde, as ben oþer oostes unsacrid, and sacramentaliche Goddis bodi; for Crist seiþ so, þat mai not lye. And so, jif þis sacrament be foulid in þat it is breed and wyn, it may not þus be befoulid in þingis which it figurip. And so a man brekip not Goddis bodi, ne drynkip his blood wiþ his mouþ, aljif he ete and drynke þe breed and þe wiin þat is þes: for þei ben not þes in kynde as Baptist was not in kynde Hely. And þus a mous etip not Cristis bodi aljif he ete þis sacrament; for þe mous failip goostli witt, to chewe in him þis bileve (Sermon CCVI, *Select Eng. Works of John Wyclif*, ed. Thomas Arnold, Oxford, 1871, II. 169).

3. Sum tyme weren mounkes lewede men, as seintis in Jerusalem; and þanne þei kept hem silf fro synne as seynt Bernard witnesse; but now monkes ben turned unto lordis of þis worlde moost ydel in goddes travaile, and seyen þat þei ben betre monkes þan weren þei first seintis. (Sermon XVI, *Select Works*, VIII. 40.)

4. It were for to telle here how devocioun wantip in clerkis; as popis taken þer stat here for a foul devocioun, to be worshipid in this world and have moche of worldli lordshipe. And so done þes cardinalis and þes bishopis also. Curatis taken benefices for þe same cause, but lesse; and preestis taken her ordris for devocioun of ten mark; religious possessioneris for devocioun of her bely; and many freris taken her stait to lyve lustilli in þis world, for ellis þei shulden be laborers, and lyve hard lyf in lewd stait. And so devocioun of clerkis, fro þe first to þe laste, is studie of avarice, and no trewe devocioun; and so freris, in her statis, wanten rist devocioun; for þei taken not her degres, neiþer in scole, ne in office, forrist devocioun to renne þe weie þat Crist haþ tauȝt. (Sermon LXXXV, *Select Eng. Works*, I. 289.)

5. Et hinc dicit quidam quod iuvante seculari brachio fons symonie, Avinonicus nidus, ex se quodammodo dissipatur. (*Tractatus*, ed. Dr. Herzberg-Frankel and M. H. Dziewichi, London, Wyclif Soc., 1898, p. 9.)

6. Cum ergo proviso ista papalis de beneficiis regni nostri non habet robur nisi ex acceptione nostra ceca atque illicita, utamur quo ad minimum cantela regni Scotorum subridendo dicentium nos audisse, quod papa contulit suis cardinalibus pinguiora beneficia regni nostri, sed fructus beneficiorum nisi voluerint infra regnum ad eius utilitatem expendere, non habebunt, hoc enim potest rex et regnum facere et debet catholici illud primo intendere, secundum legem ewangelicam et regalem. (*Ibid.*, p. 32.)

Mediaeval Catholicism was fairly prevalent in the 14th century. In addition to the revival of interest in Augustine by Bradwardine, there were still priests in the outlying districts of Bohemia, France, Spain, and England who followed in the footsteps of the earlier fathers. Much in the doctrines of Wyclif that has been erroneously regarded as radical was in reality the essence of conservatism. Tran-

substantiation, the most daring and revolutionary of Wyclif's supposed heresies, had not been incorporated into the dogma of the Roman Church until the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.¹ Heresy is ever a relative term. In the 14th century, as later, it invariably meant purely official disapproval. Wyclif in his lifetime was not excommunicated, although in his last years he was removed from his chair at Oxford. The closeness of the church to the mediaeval creed may have had some influence in saving Wyclif from complete excommunication, in addition to the shelter of his political connections. The fact that the world so readily accepted Wyclif's views on transubstantiation suggests that the church had not fully overcome the inertia of twelve centuries preceding the Lateran Council.²

During Chaucer's lifetime Wyclif loomed very large on the religious horizon. His honors at Oxford had proclaimed him a brilliant churchman. As he advanced in years he became outspoken against ecclesiastical decay. Naturally he made enemies. These sought to undermine him. Yet officially he remained merely a bold preacher and a teacher whose words found soil in the minds of many devout Romanists. His books went everywhere. They were still in circulation among Romanists during Huss' time. They could not have been regarded as completely heretical. Certainly, they must have met with response. It would be very strange, then, if we should *not* find some influence of this great Oxford teacher in the writings of Chaucer.

The world has always presumed too far on Chaucer's heterodoxy, however, quite as the later protestant world has stressed too far the protestantism of Wyclif. It was perfectly natural for disciples of the Reformation, in their

¹ Paschasius Radbertus in his treatise *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* set forth the principle in 831. It was attacked by Berengerin 1049, and defended by Lanfranc. The discussion was continued until the doctrine of the full authority of the Host was adopted in 1215. (See Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*, 1922 pp. 183, 273.) It is possible that a minority of opposing opinion may have remained much later among churchmen.

² Wyclif asserted, in his Confession to Pope Urban VI, 1382, that a third part of the clergy believed as he did on this matter.

pious zeal, to push back their spiritual ancestry as far as possible. In certain high lights of Wyclif's teachings they could recognize rudiments of their faith; as well they might, since even Roman Catholicism of the 14th century was fundamentally Christian.

In like manner early protestants claimed all before them in literature. Until "Jack Upland" and the "Pilgrim's Tale" were discredited, they appeared to have much evidence of Chaucer's anti-catholicism. Even now there is a strong belief in at least the partial discipleship of Chaucer, not only to Wyclif but to Lollardry itself.

Strangely enough discussions of Chaucer's relations to the religious reform of his age have neglected to discriminate between one form or another of the religious creeds that passed for Lollardry and Wyclifism. Little or no difference has been made between Wyclif's own creed and that of his more adventurous followers.³ And as for Lollardry itself it has been treated, by Chaucerian scholars at least, as if it were a clearly defined or fixed creed or sectary. Wyclif himself passed through a progressive series of advanced views. Up to 1376 he was relatively harmless. Then he lost caste with the secular branch of the church through criticism of their morals. Next he estranged the regulars who had stuck by him until 1378 when he had attacked their particular sins.⁴ His doctrinal attacks more properly belong to his later period.⁵ The heart of the Wyclifian reform lay in the realm of the spirit. His immediate quarrel with both seculars and regulars was over the matter of

³ The advance made by the so-called Lollards of 1395 may be judged by the following essentials of the famous "Twelve Conclusions": No church endowments, no vows of celibacy, anti-transubstantiation, no exorcism nor benediction of inanimate objects, no holding of secular office by the clergy, no prayers for the dead, no pilgrimages, no images, no auricular confession, anti-war, no capital punishment, no practice of unnecessary arts such as the armourer and the goldsmith.

⁴ See Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wyclif*, London, 1900, 3rd ed. p. 298.

⁵ Beginning circa 1381. See his famous "Wicket" sermon and his *Triologus*, IV, 7.

priestly purity and officiousness. He railed at covetousness, at wealth, at materialism, at the unwarranted accretion of ceremony. While the papacy was acquiring still more ritual at the expense of spirituality, Wyclif was in favor of cutting back to medieval simplicity and purity. This was not so much anti-Catholicism as it was conservatism.

His opposition to tithes was both practical and political. There were probably few English churchmen of his day who did not in some degree resent foreign domination of English offices, as well as the assessment of tithes by people who were political enemies of England. Take out the animosity between England and France alone and you will rob Wyclif of much of his animus against tithes, and not a little of the motive in the support of John of Gaunt.

Knowing that transubstantiation was a relatively late addition to the dogma of the church, what faith could one, who discounted the spiritual qualification of the present papacy, have in the power of immoral priests to perform miracles at the Eucharist? Having little or no faith in that temporal pope whom he denoted as anti-Christ,⁶ he naturally defied his authority of excommunication. In other words, Wyclif's attitude plainly shows his disrespect of persons rather than of institutions. Moreover, he believed in Consubstantiation, which is quite as miraculous. His heresy is not only confined to limited areas, but appears to be definitely related to local conditions in the church.

But be this as it may, let us admit that Wyclif's fundamental doctrines consisted of a denial of transubstantiation, a protest against tithing, and a disbelief in excommunication. These are clearly Wyclifian ideas, say, as distinct from those of the later Lollardry. For his "poor priests" he advocated communistic ideas, but in these he was merely following the example of Francis of Assisi, as well as scriptural precedent.

Whatever may be Wyclifian in Chaucer, therefore, may be still fairly orthodox. Lollardry, however, means much more and would take us well into heterodoxy, unless we

⁶ I.e., Gregory VI. because of his un-Christian love of money and power, also to both Urban and Clement for their militant enmity to each other.

limit the degree at which we wish to stop. Saint Francis might well have smiled approval at the so-called Lollards of 1376, with their russet (undyed) robes, their poverty, and their ministry through the countryside.⁷ Even Wyclif might have been appalled at the fanatical excesses of 1395 and later, when priest, peasant, knight; and social outlaw shared the opprobrium of the name.⁸ Is it not well then to take heed to our terms when we call Chaucer either a Wyclifite or a Lollard, particularly if we wish to show decidedly protestant tendencies in Chaucer?

Among the evidence that has long connected Chaucer with the Lollard movement there have remained principally: 1. His knightly friends. 2. His known relations with John of Gaunt. 3. The ecclesiastical matter in the *Canterbury Tales*. 4. His Retraction.

If we accept the conclusions of Mr. Waugh,⁹ Chaucer need not have felt any impelling influence from noble friends, for in spite of Walsingham they were not implicated in the movement. One fears that Mr. Waugh has not left us much nearer our goal than we were before, since his arguments apply only to a Lollard membership of a more intensive kind than was necessarily implied in the latter part of the 14th century. If these knights¹⁰ were sympathetic with Lollard priests and had encouraged plainness of worship, they had done quite enough to brand them as Lollards in the eyes of their contemporaries. Of course they were not communists, nor antagonistic to war. Few men of wealth

⁷ See H. L. Cannon, *The Poor Priests*, Am. Hist. Ass'n Annual Report, 1899, I.

⁸ Witness use in political ballads. (See *Comb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, ii, 54, note; also Summers, *Lollards in the Chiltern Hills*, V) as well as the attitude of contemporary writers, (e.g. Walsingham). For further treatment of Lollardry see W. T. Waugh, "The Lollard Knight," *Scottish Hist. Review*, IX, 55 ff; Gairdner, *Lollardry and the Reformation in England*, London, 1908.

⁹ *Op. cit.* in note 8.

¹⁰ I.e., Thomas Latimer, John Trussel, Lewis Clifford, John Pecke, Richard Stury, Reginald Hilton, William Neville, John Clanvowe, and John Montague, as mentioned in the Knighton and St. Albans chronicles

or position ever can be found in such enterprises. They were probably good mediævalists, quite as both Wyclif and Chaucer appear to be. They could well have been good Catholics also. Certainly Chaucer pays tribute to knighthood of the old school in the *Canterbury Tales*. If Chaucer intended his Knight to represent, or to compliment, any of these courtly friends, the implication would be clear, not only that he wished our approval of true knighthood of the crusading type, but that his friends were of this sort.

In view of Chaucer's relations with John of Gaunt we should certainly expect him to be careful of offending his patron, regardless of personal opinions. Evidently satire directed against such officers as friars and pardoners did not offend the state. Curiously enough the regular clergy are the objectives of Chaucer's humor. Is it not significant that friars and pardoners were more often appointees of the foreign court and visitors to English soil in quest of doles? Whereas a secular of the type of our Parson was an Englishman. Seculars in the Prioresses train are apparently normal also. As for the Prioress herself she is English to the point of provinciality, but on the whole admirable. If John of Gaunt stood by Wyclif,¹¹ naturally he would approve of the Parson, and the sins and shortcomings of officers that Wyclif had criticized.¹² This would not in itself commit Chaucer to heterodoxy, though it might lay him open to the charge of heresy from the papacy who defended corruption in their officials. John of Gaunt was the state itself.¹³ Wyclif believed in the control of the church by the state. Where to take sides with one was to offend the other both

¹¹ He accompanied him up to London in 1377 to defend him in the trial at St. Pauls. Wyclif and John of Gaunt finally split on the subject of transubstantiation. See Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

¹² Wyclif in his treatise on "How the Office of Curates is Ordained of God," said that "few do it well and many do evil, therefore test we their defaults, with God's help." Articles I and XX make the point that true minded priests are despised by their worldly minded brothers. In XIX he scores false pardoners with their relics.

¹³ For an enlightening statement of John of Gaunt's religious views see Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, p. viii.

Wyclif and Chaucer appear to have cast in their lots with their own government. Inasmuch as the church itself was divided,¹⁴ there appears to have been no course which an honest churchman could take without giving offense to someone in authority. John of Gaunt's patronage of Wyclif may have been selfish and political, and Chaucer may have been simply politic, but there was no final estrangement between the state and the papacy that would justify the opinion that Wyclif and Chaucer were anti-Catholic because they sided with John of Gaunt. Church affairs were simply in a chaotic condition. There was no unanimity either of belief or action. Not all ecclesiastics who sided with the state or condemned impurity were to be branded with heresy. Chaucer's later retraction may only indicate the changed relationship of church and state, when papal precedence was reestablished by Henry IV. While he was writing the *Canterbury Tales* he appears to be careful to strike at questionable points only. Furthermore he should be credited with the literary motive, which caused him to present types that he actually saw about him.

Evidently there are two ways of reading Chaucer's characterization of the Parson. Scholars have uniformly interpreted certain lines to imply the Parson's heterodoxy or Wyclifism. Lechler¹⁵ went so far as to think Chaucer intended the Parson as a portrait of Wyclif. Simon¹⁶ enthusiastically acclaimed his protestantism. Even Tatlock,¹⁷ conservative as he undoubtedly is, reads anti-transubstantiation, anti-tithing, anti-assoiling, and anti-luxury in the often-quoted lines,¹⁸

Ful looth were him to cursen for his tythes,
But rather wolde he yeven, out of doute,
Un-to his povre parissshens aboute
Of his offring, and eek of his substaunce.
He coude in litel thing han suffisaunce.

¹⁴ I.e. by the Schism between Rome and Avignon.

¹⁵ *Johan von Wiclif und die Vorgeschichte der Reformation.*

¹⁶ "Chaucer a Wycliffite," *Essays on Chaucer*, Part III, No. 9, Chaucer Soc. Pubs., 2nd Series, 16.

¹⁷ "Chaucer and Wyclif," *Mod. Phil.* XIV, 257 ff.

¹⁸ *Cant. Tales*, A. 486-90.

While Chaucer is unquestionably playing with the much mooted questions, he does not actually say that the Parson was opposed to any of these rights of the church. We might as well say that a righteous judge who is merciful under mitigating circumstances is thereby an enemy to the law. The Parson is carefully described as the possessor of the spirit of Christ,¹⁹ quite as innumerable church fathers had been. Is it inconceivable that a good Roman Catholic could have had the virtues of Augustine and Francis even in these corrupt times? Even if depravity among priests were so common that Chaucer knew none of the Parson's type, could he still not have held up the ideal before the church? Poverty had formerly been required of churchmen. A priest who stuck to his parish in these times would necessarily be poor, by that reason alone.²⁰ He had turned his back upon the lures of simony. What better object lesson to untrue priests? His parish was poor, as most country parishes were since the pestilence. His parishioners had little to give. Chaucer might well be read to say that this noble exception to the general rule was so devoted to the interests of his flock that he could not suffer himself to insist upon tithes where the payment would cause them suffering, nor to excommunicate good men simply because they were too poor to pay. He preferred to bear the pains of a still greater poverty rather than be the agent of injustice, because he was truly interested in the souls of men. This may be counter to the selfishness of the prevailing papal custom,²¹

¹⁹ *Cant. Toles*, A. 481-85.

²⁰ Cf. Langland's often cited lines (as printed by Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, p. 124)

Parsons and parish priests complained to the Bishop
That their parishioners had been poor since the pestilence time
To have license and leave in London to dwell
And sing for simony, for silver is sweet.

²¹ "It has come to our ears that rectors of our diocese scorn to keep due residence in their churches, and go to dwell in distant and perhaps dishonest places, without our license, and let their churches out to farm to persons less fitted. Lay persons with their wives and children sometimes dwell in their rectories, frequently keeping taverns and other foul and dis-

and to this degree be Wyclifian, but it is not heterodoxy. It is simply the wise exercise of judgment. Even Tatlock admits a reservation on the more vital matter of the Eucharist, which he attributes to Chaucer's "latent streak of mysticism."²³ But has Chaucer in any way committed himself to anything but a picture of a noble priest—one so old fashioned as to be sincere?

This provincial parson is no weakling, however. He will not be imposed upon.²³ When fair means fail he does not hesitate to give reprimand. Chaucer gives us a practical illustration of this attitude when the Parson reproves the Host for swearing.²⁴ The Shipman and the Host get their revenge by more or less waggish remarks about "lollers" and "cokkel" sown among the clean corn.²⁵ Tatlock²⁶ has explained that the term "loller" may not in itself prove anything against the Parson, though others have stressed this word. Anyone who recalls the erroneous use—sincere as well as ribald—of the words "Puritan," "Quaker," "Fifth Monarchy," "Methodist" and the like of later times will better appreciate the possible significance of this term about 1385-95. But swearing was an orthodox sin. The church expressly forbade it. It was so conventional that even the Pardoner in his pulpit patter declaims against it.²⁷

The Parson is no "loller" in his sermon, at least. That even Simon had to admit and to explain away on the ground of probable garbling. Beginning with a Vulgate text he sweeps magnificently through the most authoritative church fathers to support most dogmatic assertions, finally discoursing

honest places in them."—Arch-Bishop Sudbury, as cited by Trevelyan, *op. cit.* p. 124.

It is clear that other members of the church than Wyclif recognized the unfaithfulness of parsons.

²³ *Op. cit.*, 72.

²⁴ *Cant. Tales*, A. 521-23.

²⁵ Shipman's Prologue, B. 1170-71.

²⁶ Shipman's Prologue, B. 1173-83.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*,

²⁸ *Cant. Tales*, C. 631-38.

upon each of the seven deadly sins, with all their families. It may or may not be significant that Saint Augustine is most often cited.²⁸

We shall probably never know what Chaucer's personal religion was.²⁹ We know that he apparently died in holy church. Neither do we know whether his final confession means a recantation of former heretical opinions or simply a more or less conventional repentance of the churchman concerned with the entrance of his soul on the after life. His attitude toward reform during the period when he was writing the *Canterbury Tales*, however, is fairly clear. He has given us portraits of a few noble Christians and of some who are not true to Christian precept. The Knight is militant and the Parson is saintly. One extends the faith by righteous arms and the other works for the salvation of men's souls. There was a Monk who had done better to have been a head of family. The Friar is too clever, and the Pardoner is a pious fraud. Both rob the secular priests of their righteous offices. The Monk, the Friar, the Pardoner, the Summoner all show the defects of the present regime. Sincerity and rottenness stand side by side. How can we interpret Chaucer farther than this? His Parson is not even in complete agreement with Wyclif's beliefs. How can he be truly Wyclifian, much less a Lollard? At least, let us be careful of our terms.

EZRA KEMPTON MAXFIELD

²⁸ Wyclif's theology was strongly Augustinian, as Bradwardine's had been before him.

²⁹ We might as well maintain that he was pagan because he keeps classical deities in certain of his poems.

III. CHAUCER'S USE OF THE VULGATE

"His studie was but litel on the Bible," Chaucer's remark concerning the Physician, has been applied by critics to Chaucer himself. The prevailing view is doubtless that expressed by Tatlock:¹ "The more one investigates Chaucer's reading, the more convinced one becomes that his familiarity with the Bible (and other quotable literature, like Cato and Seneca) was largely at second-hand." Up to this time, however, investigation of Chaucer's biblical material has been slight, as a glance at Miss Hammond's *Manual* will prove.

The reference to Chaucer by Miss Deanesly in a recent addition to the *Cambridge Studies in Mediaeval Life and Thought*² supports the view of scanty biblical knowledge on his part and that of his age. Such scantiness, not only among the laity but among persons of specialized religious training, might more properly be called dearth. The fundamental reason for ignorance and blunders, so the author believes, lay in the very limited opportunities for first-hand acquaintance with the Scriptures. Copies of the Vulgate were extremely scarce, not only in complete form, but in separate portions. Service books likewise were very rare, even those in the possession of the clergy. Nor did French missals³ take their place. Finally, an examination of two

¹ *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, p. 202, note 4.

² *The Lollard Bible*, p. 224.

³ That the number of French missals has perhaps been underestimated may be inferred from the statement of A. C. Paves, *A Fourteenth Century Biblical Version*, p. xix (1902): "No hindrance can have been put in the way of translations of the Bible into French or of the use of the Scriptures amongst those classes in England who were familiar with the French tongue, and whose means enabled them to purchase the costly, often finely illuminated manuscripts. Copies of entire or partial Biblical translations—above all the favorite Book of Psalms, the Apocalypse, the 'Bible historiale'—mostly executed by English scribes, still abound in our public and private libraries, not to mention the many copies of English provenance which have found their way into continental collections." Compare the similar

largest collections of wills, those of London and York, reveals only five certain instances of laymen who possessed Vulgates before Wycliffe's day.⁴ But the Vulgate can hardly have been so rare a book as this author supposes. There are at present about 5,000 thirteenth century Vulgates. The British Museum alone has 300. Again, the validity of Miss Deanesly's conclusion from the silence in wills has been challenged: "We cannot reason from lack of evidence."⁵

In support of the view that the biblical information of the fourteenth century was more common, more comprehensive, and more accurate than has hitherto been supposed, I plead Chaucer's use of the Vulgate. Though it would be venturesome to assume that Chaucer owned a Vulgate, it would, in my judgment, be equally daring to assert that he could not have had one in his library. Certainly one of his characters possessed a copy. This was the clerk of Oxenford mentioned in the Wyf of Bath's Prologue. He had at least two books, one containing among selections from authors ranging from Ovid to Jerome, the Parables of Solomon. The other was the Bible itself, a complete Vulgate,⁶ we should infer, for

. . . he would *upon his Bible seke*
That ilke proverbe of Ecclesiaste, etc.

Chaucer's fidelity in describing his age is so great that one is tempted to stress Jankyn's case as highly significant of the ownership of a Vulgate by a person in moderate circumstances, although, it is true, he had married a well-to-do wife. But if less fortunate than Jankyn, Chaucer could have

view of Miss Margaret Joyce Powell, *The Pauline Epistles*, p. lvi: "French versions were current among the upper classes in England before Wyclif's time." In a note (p. lvi) the author quotes S. Berger, *La Bible française au Moyen Age*, pp. 115, 145 f., 23 f., as mentioning several French biblical translations made in the fourteenth century or earlier.

⁴ *The Lollard Bible*, p. 220.

⁵ *The Athenaeum*, February 4, 1921.

⁶ Note that Chaucer nowhere says *Redeth the porthors*, although *porthors* scans as well as *Bible*. Why does Chaucer use *porthors* only once (B 1321) and then not in reference to a storehouse of biblical information?

borrowed a Vulgate from some London ecclesiastical library, or could at least have secured permission to use it under a monastery roof. That he had the text of the Vulgate beside him at times a detailed study of the Monk's biblical 'tragedies' will clearly show. Nor was Chaucer the only non-ecclesiastical writer of his age who had a knowledge of the Bible.

Jean de Meung, who died about thirty-five years before Chaucer's birth, was the author of practically all of the *Roman de la Rose* which deals with scriptural material. Though tradition suggests it does not prove that he had exceptional opportunities for theological study. He was, however, beyond doubt conversant with the Scriptures. Exclusive of abundant general allusions, the *Roman de la Rose* contains about seventy passages of specific and often lengthy reference.⁷ Moreover, Jean de Meung's scriptural knowledge does not end with the *Roman de la Rose*, if he be (as has not yet been disproved) the translator of the French version of the *Liber Consolationis et Consilii* of Albertano of Brescia. He omits a number of texts from his Latin original and introduces nearly thirty into his paraphrase. As in the *Roman de la Rose* he puts the emphasis on Wisdom literature, but these inserted texts coincide very slightly with those in the *Roman*—a further proof of his scriptural knowledge.

Still a fairer example than Jean de Meung is Chaucer's contemporary, Gower. The judgment of G. C. Macaulay⁸ is that Gower knew the Bible thoroughly and gave biblical quotations at first-hand. I find in the *Confessio Amantis* alone references to twenty-seven books.⁹ Gower's preference for Genesis and the four Books of Kings befits his narrative purpose. Some of the stories he retells at considerable

⁷ They run through Genesis, Deuteronomy, Judges, I. Kings (I. Samuel in the A. V.), Tobit, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, Matthew, Luke, John, Acts, Romans, I and II Corinthians, Ephesians, I Thessalonians, Hebrews, James, I John, I Peter, and the Apocalypse.

⁸ *Gower's Complete Works*, I, lvi.

⁹ Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Judges, I, II, III, and IV Kings, Tobit, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus, Isaiah, Daniel, I Maccabees, Matthew, Mark, Luke, Romans, I Corinthians, Colossians, James, I and II Peter, and the Apocalypse.

length, as in the case of Rohoboam's folly¹⁰ (III. Reg. XII: 1-24). How Gower could have handled this interesting paraphrase without a Bible is difficult to imagine.

I

It seems probable, then, that the scarcity of Vulgates and of biblical knowledge has been unduly emphasized, and that Chaucer may easily have had access to the Vulgate. But inasmuch as the overwhelming number of his sources were themselves impregnated with scriptural and patristic literature, it will not be safe to conclude in a given instance that Chaucer used the Vulgate at first hand until we have compared his immediate source, so far as it is possible to find it, with the text of the Vulgate and established a closer agreement with the Bible than with his "source." In case of doubt it will be safer to follow precedent and prefer such a source to the Vulgate itself. The term "Vulgate," however, is used to include passages of the Vulgate contained in service books. However desirable a thorough examination of all fourteenth-century service books¹¹ might be, the range of Chaucer's references and allusions would still suggest that Chaucer was following the Vulgate directly, unless particular evidence points to the Breviary (by far the most inclusive service book of his time) or some other manual of devotion. With "Vulgate" thus inclusively defined, let us analyze Chaucer's use of sources more or less saturated with The Bible. (1) In the *A B C*, *The Romaunt of the Rose*,¹² the *Melibeus* and the *Boethius* (far less important for our purposes), he is a direct or nearly direct translator. (2) He is at once imitator and free hand worker in the *Second Nun's Tale*, which varies from close translation to paraphrase and original handling.

¹⁰ Macaulay, *op. cit.*, *C. Amantis* 7: 4027-4147.

¹¹ For interesting researches in this field and the charming by-paths of mediæval hymns, see especially the work of Carleton Brown, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXX: 231 ff.; *Mod. Philol.*; III, 467 ff.; *ib.* IX, 1 ff.; *P. M. L. A.* 486; Chaucer Soc. 2nd Ser. No. 45.

¹² The impress upon Chaucer of biblical material in the *Roman de la Rose* must be considered important, however much or little of his translation is extant.

This version must be compared with that of the St. Cecilia story in the *Legenda Aurea* and other available sources.¹³ His method is somewhat similar in the *Clerk's Tale*, which must be set beside Petrarch's Latin version of Boccaccio's story. With the *Monk's Tale* all corresponding biblical material in Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* must be compared. The *Man of Law's Tale* must be studied in its French source, that Chaucer's indebtedness to the Dominican Trivet may be weighed. Again, parallel passages in Boccaccio and Chaucer must be examined and all biblical borrowings in the *Knigh's Tale* and *Troilus*¹⁴ be acknowledged. (3) In the third case, when Chaucer is depending upon no source yet found, he must be scrutinized, lest his reversion to biblical material previously known pass for an evidence of independent knowledge at this point.

The tabulations under *V* will show the number of biblical references in Chaucer's translations, adaptations and purely original work. No merely general references to God, Christ, and the Trinity are there included and all oaths are omitted. Separate account has been taken of the most general reference to Creation, the Fall of Man, the Incarnation, the Nativity, the Temptation, the Passion, the Resurrection, the Final Judgment, and the Apostles, and no one of such references is listed among Chaucer's borrowings.

II

Before Chaucer's direct and indirect borrowings are illustrated, consideration must be given to the sources of four of the *Canterbury Tales*, which brought him definite biblical information in large measure: (1) the *De Contemptu Mundi*, (2) the French translation of the *Liber Consolationis et Consilii* of Albertano of Brescia, (3) the sources of the *Parson's Tale*, and (4) the letters of St. Jerome against Jovinian. This material in four lots (the sources of the *Parson's Tale* being for the moment considered as a unit)

¹³ See Kölbing's, "Zu Chaucer's Cecilien Legende," *Engl. Stud.* I, 215 ff.

¹⁴ See W. M. Rossetti, *Chaucer's Troilus and Creseide compared with Boccaccio's Filostrato*, Chaucer Society, 1873.

afforded definite additions to Chaucer's treasury of scriptural texts in far more compact form than any stock he had previously acquired. If he kept beside him a copy of his own works he continued to have on hand a good store of biblical quotations. Whether or not he retained in his possession all the sources of these four tales, i.e. the *Man of Law*, *The Melibeus*, *The Parson's Tale*, and *The Wife's Prologue* (here considered as a tale), he doubtless kept his own translation of *De Contemptu Mundi*. Now this translation belongs somewhere between 1386 and 1394.¹⁵ Therefore Chaucer had this convenient stock of biblical quotations to draw from at least for some time, probably for the last fourteen years of his life. If he uses material he has not previously taken directly from the Vulgate, we must then consider the *De Contemptu Mundi* as an important influence. If, however, he makes comparatively little use of this, we must nevertheless examine the sources of the *Melibeus*, the *Parson's Tale* (so far as they are known), and the *Wife's Prologue* before we credit Chaucer with the Vulgate source.

Chaucer's reason for translating the *De Contemptu Mundi* is still a matter of speculation. As to his initial interest in the rayless pamphlet of Pope Innocent, Professor Lowes¹⁶ has suggested the influence upon the English poet of the translation of Deschamps. The date of this, appearing in the dedication to Charles VI on April 18, 1383, fits well with the probable time of Chaucer's concern with the treatise. Professor Lowes mentions the "bare possibility" that Deschamps may have sent to Chaucer, among other poems, his translation (or paraphrase), which appears under the title, *Double Lay de la Fragilité humaine*. If this be true, and Chaucer saw the whole paraphrase, he found a scheme of appropriation akin to his own methods of composition.¹⁷

¹⁵ See Lowes, *P. M. L. A.* XX, 790-4.

¹⁶ *P. M. L. A.* XX, 795, Note 1.

¹⁷ Deschamps versifies the sections of the chapters of the treatise in this order: 1:1; 1:3; 1:5; 1:6; and 8; 1:7; 1:9; 1:10; 11:6; 1:16; 1:12; 1:19; 1:20; 1:22; 1:23; 1:24; 1:23; 1:29; 1:14 etc.; *Ouvres Complètes D'Eustache Deschamps*, Soc. d. Anc. Textes franc., Tom. 2.

But it is noteworthy that Chaucer and Deschamps, so far as we can judge from Chaucer's fragments, *agreed in choosing only three or four chapters for versification*.¹⁸ Chaucer is here by comparison with Deschamps almost a close translator of Pope Innocent. Chaucer's habit is to combine sources. Since he fails to do so here, he seems, though perhaps familiar with Deschamps' purpose, or even accomplishment in a general way, quite unaffected by the actual results of the French paraphrase.

Comparison of the Latin and the French source of *Melibeus* enables us, I believe, to decide a question not hitherto conclusively settled: viz., Chaucer's direct use of the *Liber Consolationis et Consilii* while he translated the French version. Mätzner¹⁹ does not discuss Chaucer's use of the Latin and makes no suggestion in regard to this in his notes

¹⁸ The difference of the poets will appear in these passages based on *De Contemptu Mundi* 1:23.

Semper enim mundanae laetitiae tristitia repentina succedit. Et quod incipit a gaudio, desinit in moerore. Mundana quippe felicitas multis amaritudinibus est respersa. Noverat hoc qui dixerat: Risus dolore miscebitur, et extrema gaudii luctus occupat. Experti sunt hoc liberi Job, etc.

Deschamps (*ibid.*, pp. 276-7)

Mais regardez tous les delis
Du monde et des hommes jolis
En armes ou en mariage:
A joie commencent toudis
Et finent en plours et en cris:
Trop y a de dueil et de rage;
Certes ce sont deduit sauvage
Qui trop s'i fiè il est honnis.
Si corpz muert et li esperis
En descent en l'ombreuse cage.

Chaucer (B 421-427)

O sodeyn wo! that ever art successour
To worldly bliss! Spreynd is with bitterness:
The ende of the joye of our worldly labour!
Wo occupieth the fyn of oure gladnesse,
Herke this conseil, for thy sickernesse,
Upon thy glade day, have in thy mynde
The unwar wo or harm, that comth behynde.

¹⁹ *Allengl. Spruchp.* I, 373-375.

on passages agreeing with the Latin and omitted in the French version. Köppel,²⁰ who conjectured that Chaucer did not take Albertano into account, says frankly that he had no French copy and relied upon quotations from Zupitza and Mätzner. Skeat²¹ assumes without discussion that Chaucer had beside him both the Latin and the French, but fails to note that more than once an apparent divergence from the Latin is really a translation of the French. Tatlock²² believes that when Chaucer wrote the Prologue to *Melibeus* he certainly knew both the Latin and the French versions and suggests that he "may have owned a copy of the Latin all the time." Tatlock mentions additions and omissions, and comments on the general treatment of the Latin by the French translator. A few alterations, not hitherto noted, show that Chaucer had the Latin on hand at the outset, unless it can be proved that Chaucer's French manuscript differed from that in *Le Ménagier de Paris*,²³ the present basis of investigation, in these identical alterations. Here is a case in point:

Albertano²⁴

ait enim Jhesus Sirac: Musica in luctu importuna narratio.

Le Ménagier (1: 192)

Car la narration de celui qui presche à ceulx que ne veulent oïr, est ennuy'euse; c'est à dire que autant vault parler devant cellui à qui est ennuyé comme chanter devant cellui qui pleure

Chaucer (B 2235)

for Jhesus Syrak saith, that musik in wepyng is a noyous thyng;

Here is another piece of evidence:

Albertano (*loc. cit.*, l. 24)

ut verba sua cum festinatione finiret dictumque fuit illi: ubi non est auditus, non effundas sermonem, et importune noli extolli in sapientia tua.

²⁰ Herrig's *Archiv*. LXXXVI: 30.

²¹ See *Works*, V, 212.

²² *Chronology*, p. 190, note 2.

²³ For a recent reference to the publication, promised by the Chaucer Society, of the *Melibe et Prudence*, from the MSS. by Dr. Mary Noyes Colvin, see J. Leslie Hotson, *Studies in Philology*, XVIII. 436.

²⁴ See Sundby's edition, Chaucer Society, Second Series, No. 8, p. 10, 1.29.

This text, *Ubi non est*, etc. (Ecclus. XXXII: 6), does not occur in *Le Menagier*. The corresponding passage (*Ibid.* I: 192) runs,

Quant ce sage ancien vit qu'il ne povoit avoir audience il ne s'efforca plus de parler.

Chaucer (B 2235):

for Solomon saith, *Ther as thou ne mayst have noon audience, enforce thee not to speak.*

Note that direct use of Albertano comes within five lines (in Sundby's edition) of the passage discussed above. But if Chaucer had the Latin beside him, why did he abandon his habit of fusing sources? The explanation, I think, is simple. He began his translation with both versions beside him. But he found the French translator's method entirely satisfactory, for the latter had made material alterations, large cuttings and numerous insertions, which include the nearly thirty texts of Scripture already noted. Furthermore, nothing could seriously alter the general tone and structure of *Melibeus* short of a fundamental reshaping, which Chaucer did not care to undertake.²⁶ Liking the story at the outset and finding it remodelled satisfactorily, why should he make further considerable changes?

The use of biblical passages in the *Parson's Tale* is of greater interest than in the *Melibeus*.²⁶ The relation of the *Parson's Tale* to its source is still incompletely worked out. Miss Petersen,²⁷ who has found the two close sources, the *Summa Casuum Poenitentiae* of Raymund of Pennaforte, and the *Tractatus de Vitiis* of Guilelimus Peraldus, believes that Chaucer's original was a single treatise, consisting of a worked over copy of the *De Poenitentia* into which had been fitted a similarly worked over copy of the *Summa de Vitiis*.

²⁶ For slight, yet interesting changes, chiefly in pronouns, see J. Leslie Hotson *op. cit.*, who believes Chaucer made these with great significance.

²⁷ The whole sermon I accept as genuine. Against this view are Simon, Eilers, and ten Brink; for it, Furnivall, Koch, Düring, Köppel, Miss Petersen and Spies, to mention only scholars who have given the matter especial consideration.

²⁷ *Sources of the Parson's Tale*, p. 80.

Heinrich Spies²⁸ considers it in the highest degree improbable that Chaucer found the sermon on penitence and the treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins combined into one work. The question, however, does not affect the present investigation. Now in this unknown source (or sources) lie many biblical texts which appear neither in the *Summa Casuum Poenitentiae* nor the *Tractatus de Vitiis*. The *Somme des Vices et des Vertus* of Frère Lorens, once considered the source of the *Parson's Tale*, scarcely helps at all in supplying these, for this author interweaves texts very sparsely, and in a manner certainly not helpful to Chaucer. Where, then, did he find these biblical quotations? To imagine that his interest in the Parson, which was certainly keen, led him to hunt them up and insert them is a pleasant supposition, but such a method of composition is unlike Chaucer's. That he would systematically put patches on a big piece of cloth in precisely the same pattern by which Raymund or Peraldus ornamented his fabric seems to me very improbable. If Chaucer could have carried all these texts in his head the argument for a considerable first-hand knowledge of Scripture is already proved. But to believe that these quotations originated from him is an unwarrantable assumption. All these texts have been listed as derived from the unknown sources of the *Parson's Tale*. There is a fourth and last repository of texts for Chaucer, the *Epistles of St. Jerome against Jovinian*. This collection is far more comprehensive than the stock in the two versions of *Melibeus* or the *Parson's Tale* and exceeds even the *De Contemptu Mundi* in the number and variety of texts, but is far less compact in its presentation of them. In the phrasing of these extremely abundant Bible passages Jerome at times shows an interesting divergence from the language of the Vulgate. The translation of the latter ran from about 383 A. D. to 405. The letters, dated at 393, thus come midway in this period. It would be difficult to say whether Jerome would feel at this time as more authoritative, his own new phrasing in the Vulgate or the earlier European

²⁸ Chaucer's *Religiöse Grundstimmung*, Halle, 1913.

Latin form. But to be sure of crediting the *Epistles to Jovinian* with all possible influence I have given the epistolary source the preference, even in the works of Chaucer generally conceded to be earlier than the period of Jerome's influence (i.e. around 1385), unless the difference in the phrasing of Jerome's letters and the Vulgate pointed to the latter as Chaucer's source.

III

At this point it may be well to pause for an ever-recurring question, the possibility of Chaucer's nearness in some way to Wycliffe. Granted that the poet had access to a Vulgate and used it, may he not have relied somewhat on the Wycliffite versions? The first Lollard translation, dating from about 1382, came early enough to have made an impress on Chaucer; the second, completed between February 1395 and the year 1397, could have counted for but little. Occasionally a group of lines in Chaucer permits a fairly extended comparison. Skeat calls attention in such a case²⁹

²⁹ The renderings are as follows:

Chaucer:

Looke, that in the staat of innocence, when Adam and Eve naked were in Paradys and no thyng ne hadden shame of hir nakednesse, how that the serpent, that was moost wily of all othere bestes that God hadde made, seyde to the womman, 'Why comanded God to you ye sholde not eten of every tree in Paradys?' The woman answered, 'Of the fruyt,' quod she, 'of the trees in Paradys we feden us, but soothly of the fruyt of the tree that is in the myddel of Paradys God forbad us for to ete, and nat touchen it lest peradvanture we sholde dyen.' The serpent seyde to the womman, 'Nay, nay, ye shal not dyen of deeth; for sothe, God woot that what day that ye eten ther-of youre eyen

Wycliffe (Genesis III: 1-7):

But and the serpent was *jeller than alle lyvyng beestes of the erthe* which the Lord God hadde maad. Which serpent seide to the womman, Why comandide God to you that ye schulden not ete of ech tree of paradis? To whom the womman answerde, We eten of the fruyt of trees that ben in paradis: sothely, God comandide to us that we schulden not ete of the fruyt of the tree, which is in the myddes of paradys, and that we schulden not touche it lest peraventure we dien. Forsothe the serpent seide to the womman, Ye schulen not die bi deeth; for whi God woot that in what euere dai ye schulen ete thereof your iyen schulen be opened and ye schulen be as Goddes, knowynge

(*Parson's Tale* I: 325) without, of course, implying any connection. The significance of the likeness is at once lessened by the marked difference in the descriptive phrases. Moreover, the Wycliffe version is the second. That Chaucer should have seen it when he was writing the *Parson's Tale*

shul opene, and ye shul been as goddes, knowynge good and harm.'

The womman thanne saugh that the tree was good to *feedyng*, and *jair* to the *eyen*, and *delitable* to the *sight*. She took of the fruyt of the tree and eet it, and gaf to hire housbonde, and he eet, and anon the eyen of hem bothe openeden; and whan that they knew that they were naked they sewed of fig leaves a *maner* of *breeches* to *hiden hire members*.

⁸⁰ The Parson's Text.

Jer. VI. State super vias et videte, et interrogate de semitis antiquis, quae sit via bona et ambulate in ea; et inuenietis refrigerium animabus vestris. (From the unknown sources of the Tale.) Stondeth upon the weyes and seith and axeth of olde pathes, *that is to seyen of olde sentences*, which is the goode way, and *walketh* in that way, and ye shall fynde refresshyng to youre soules.

But there are far more striking differences elsewhere:

Gen. Pro. 514:

He was a shepherde, and not a mercenarie.

Reeve's Tale, A 3919-3920:

He kan wel in myn eye seen a *stalke* But in his owene he kan nat see a *balke*.

good and yvel. Therefor the womman seiȝ that the tre was *good and swele to ete and jair to the iȝen and delitable in biholdyng*; and she took of the fruyt thereof and eet and gaf to hir hosebande and he eet. And the iȝen of both weren opened and whaune thei knowen that they weren naked, thei *sewidene the leeuves of a fige tree and made breeches to hem silf*. (Forshall and Madden's edition of Wycliffe's Bible, I, 83.)

Wycliffe's First Version.

Stondeth up on weies and seeth and asketh of the olde pathes *what* is the goode *weie*; and *goth* in it and yee shul fynde refresshyng to your soules.

Wycliffe's First Version, John X: 13:

For sothe the *marchaunt* fleeth, for he is a *marchaunt*.

Second Version:

For sothe the *hired hyne* fleeth, for he is a *hired hyne*.

Wycliffe's First version, Mat. VII: 3:

. . . but what seest thou a *jestu* (or a litil *mole*) in the eye of thin brother, and thou seest not a beam in thin owne eye.

is not impossible. Again, the Parson's words here are from neither Raymund nor Peraldus, but the unknown source of the tale. But that Chaucer should have gone to a new vernacular version for the story of the Temptation is well nigh unthinkable. Furthermore, comparison of Chaucer and the Wycliffite versions in practically all other cases³⁰ brings out great unlikeness of phrasing and diction. This result is not surprising. Whether Chaucer was interested in Lollardry at all or not, one cannot associate him with that impulse of the reform movement which directed itself toward a popularization of Holy Writ as the guide of life. The non-Latin reading folk were Wycliffe's primary object. The changes from the first to second version, the substitution of Saxon words for Romance, the English sentence order for the Latin, show clearly the effort to reach a wider public. It is almost impossible to conceive of Geoffrey Chaucer as feeling himself among the people in need of Wycliffe's vernacular version. Certainly it left no impress on his style.

The question of an English version naturally suggests the possibility of Chaucer's acquaintance with the Psalter of Richard Rolle of Hampole,³¹ a highly esteemed translation, which it is perfectly possible for him to have known from childhood. But comparison of Chaucer's phrasings with Hampole's reveals such interesting dissimilarities as the following:

Prioress's Tale, B. 1645-9:

For noght only thy laude precious
Parfourned is by men of dignitee,
But by the mouthe of children thy
 bountee
Parfourned is; for on the brest
 soukyng
Sometyme shewen they thyn
 heriynge.

Hampole.³²

Of the mouth of noght spekand and
sowkand thou has made louynge,
for thi enmys.
Ex ore infantium et lactentium per-
fecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos
(Ps. VIII: 3).³³

³⁰ Translation of the Psalms had long been considered more permissible than that of other parts of the Bible (see the *Lollard Bible*, p. 132, note, and Wescott, *General View of the History of the English Bible*, Second Edition, p. 12; Paues, *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*, p. x.

³¹ See the edition of Hampole's Psalter by H. R. Bramley, p. 28.

³² This Psalm occurs in the Prymer. See Carleton Brown, *P. M. L. A.*

<i>Friar's Tale</i> D 1657-8:	Hampole:
The leoun sit in his awayt alway	. . . . he wayts in hidell as lion
To sle the innocent, if that he may.	in his dyke. . . .
	. . . . <i>insidiatur in abscondito quasi</i>
	leo in spelunca sua (Ps. X 9).
<i>Man of Law's Tale</i> , B 762:	Hampole:
My lust I putte al in thyn ordinance.	. . . . In thi hend my kuttis ²⁴
	. . . . in manibus tuis sortes meae
	(Ps. XXX: 16).
<i>Merchant's Tale</i> , E 1400-1:	Hampole:
Freendes, I am poor and oold	. . . . thou sauved me fra lyght-
And almost, God woot, on my	and in the lake ²⁵
<i>pittes</i> brynke;	. . . . salvasti me a descendentibus
	in lacum (Ps. XXXX: 4).

The comparative examination of Hampole's renderings and all others of Chaucer's psalter borrowings and allusions merely gratifies literary curiosity and aids only negatively in the still undeveloped study of the poet's obligations to vernacular literature.

IV

If, then, the Vulgate, and not vernacular versions, meant Holy Writ to Chaucer, let us examine his borrowings, both indirect and direct.

First, is there any evidence in his translations of his independent knowledge of the Scriptures? In one of his earliest works occurs an instance long pointed out by Skeat, the *ancille* of the *A. B. C.*, v. 109, a word not suggested at all by the original passage in Deguileville, used nowhere else by Chaucer and not at all by Gower or the author of *Piers Plowman*. But the *A. B. C.* affords another proof:

XXI:486 ff; also the same author, Chaucer Soc. Publications, 2nd Ser. No. 45, p. 127, for a complete list of the contents of a Prymer.

²⁴ *Ib.* p. 109.

²⁵ *Ib.* p. 103.

Degueilleville.³⁶
 Las! Mes quant la grant assise
 Sera, se n'y es assise
 Pour moy mal y seray vetü.
 De bien n'ay nulle reprise.
 Las m'en chain quant bien m'avise
 Souvent en doy dire heü.

Chaucer, *A. B. C.* vv. 36-40.
 But merci, Lady, at the grete assyse
 When we shul come before the hye
 justyse!
*So litel fruit shal thanne in me be
 jounde*
 That, but thou er that day me wel
 chastyse
 Of verrey right my werk wol me
 confounde.

Chaucer has added the familiar idea based on Romans VII: 4:—*qui ex mortuis resurrexit ut fructificemus Deo*. Again, as Skeat³⁷ indicates, he adds a text (ll.59-61), in a largely altered stanza:

And with his precious blood *he wroot the bille*
Upon the crois in general acquitaunce
To every penitent in full creauce.

The cases of Chaucer's similar independence of Jean de Meung are important. Fansler³⁸ believes that the *Dalida* for *Delila* (*Monk's Tale*, B.3253; *Book of the Duchess* l. 737) came from the *Roman de la Rose*. But this spelling occurs in Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, in the *Cursor Mundi*, and the *Confessio Amantis*. In the *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* the form *Dalyda*³⁹ appears. Moreover, it is difficult to see any influence of the phrasing in the *Roman de la Rose* upon the 'tragedy' of Samson: e.g.

Chaucer (B 3246; 3253-4; 3256-8).	<i>Roman de la Rose</i> ⁴⁰
Ne on his heed came rasour noon,	Dalida la malicieuse
ne sheere. . . .	Par flaterie venimeuse,
Unto his lemman Dalida he tolde	A Samson, qui tant ert vaillans,

³⁶ Skeat, *Works*, I: 263.

³⁷ *Ib.* 454. The text is Col. II: 14.

³⁸ *Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose*, pp. 30-31.

³⁹ For these four instances I am indebted to Dr. Carleton Brown. Apropos of *Dalida* it is important to note the striking absence in Chaucer of French forms of biblical names. For example, in rendering *Abigail delivra Nagal son mari de David* (*Melibeus* B 2285; *Le Menagier* I: 195), he keeps the *Nabal* of Albertanus and the Vulgate (I Reg. XXV: 14). See Sundby, *op. cit.* p. 17. ll. 12-13.

⁴⁰ Michel, *Le Roman de la Rose*, Tome Second, vv. 17, 614-17, 625.

That in his heeris al his strengthe
lay. . . .

And sleepynge in his barm upon a
day

She made to clippe or sheere his
heres away,

And made his foomen al his craft
espyen;

(Compare also the *Wife's Prologue* (D 721-2): Tho redde he me
how Sampson loste his heres: Sleepynge his lemman kitte it with hir sheeres.)

Tant preus, tant fors, tant bataillans
Si cum el le tenoit forment

Soef en son giron dormant,
Copa ses cheveux o ses forces,
Dont il perdi toutes ses forces

Quant de ses crins le dépela,
Et tous secrez li révela,
Que li fox contés li avoit
Qui riens céler ne li savoit.

Furthermore, when Chaucer in the *Summoner's Tale* deals with a scriptural passage which he might have recalled as expatiated upon in the *Roman de la Rose*, he clearly uses a Vulgate term not appearing in the French:

D 2185-8:

'No "maister," sire,' quod he, 'but
servitour,
Thogh I have had in scole swich
honour;
God liketh nat that "Raby" men us
calle,
Neither in market ne in youre large
halle.'

Roman de la Rose.⁴¹

Et ament que l'en les salue
Quant il trespasent par la rue
Et veulent estre apelé mestre
Ce qu'il ne devoient pas estre:

The Vulgate, of course, is *Vos autem nolite vocari Rabbi: unus est enim magister*, etc. (Mat. XXIII: 8). Again, in the *Squire's Tale* (F 518-20) when the unhappy falcon delineates her lover's character, declaring

As in a tombe is al the faire above,
And under is the corps, swich as ye woot,
Swich was the hypocrite, bothe coold and hoot;

Chaucer put into her reproach the simile of the sepulchre from Matthew XXIII: 27. Jean de Meung⁴² did not give him the figure. And there is still another instance of his ability to supplement a reminiscence of Jean de Meung by a

⁴¹ *Ib.* vv. 12, 570-12, 573.

⁴² Skeat suggests the parallel to the *Romaunt of the Rose*, ii. 6887-6922. See Michel, *op. cit.*, vv. 12, 540-12, 556 for corresponding lines in French.

knowledge of the Vulgate. Skeat has noted that the order of biblical illustrations in the *Merchant's Tale* (E 1362-74) is the same as in *Melibeus* (B 2285-2290), but the detail of the *kydes skyn about his nekke* in reference to Jacob and his mother's plan of disguise for him (E 1362-5) is in neither the French text nor the Latin. It proceeds from Chaucer's knowledge of *pelliculas hoedorum circumdedit et colli nuda praelexit, illi etc.*

The last example, *Melibeus* (B 3075) is an insertion of Chaucer's noted by Tatlock.⁴³ for douteless if we be sory and repentant of the synnes and giltes which we han trespassed in the sighte of oure Lord God, *he is so free and so merciable that he wole forgoen us oure giltes* and bryngen us to his blisse that never hath ende. *Amen.* Chaucer is introducing (perhaps from memory,⁴⁴ as the alteration suggests), I Joan. I: 9: *Si confiteamur peccata nostra, fidelis est et iustus ut remittat nobis peccata nostra et emundet nos ab omni iniquitate.*

Let us turn next to material Chaucer is not translating but paraphrasing or more broadly adapting. In the *Man of Law's Tale* (B 485-6) he substitutes for Trivet's reference to Noah's preservation the rescue of Jonah, because the case of the solitary prophet fits Constance's distress more artistically. In the same tale (B 502-4) he introduces the mention of the Feeding of the Five Thousand, closing with that exquisitely reverent interpretation of the miracle,

God sent his foyson at hir grete neede.

Two passages in the *Clerk's Tale* show a similar initiative on Chaucer's part. The alteration in E 206-7,

But hye God some tyme senden kan
His grace into a litel oxes stalle;

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 191, note 2.

⁴⁴ Did Chaucer's memory lead to the curious instance of his correction in *Melibeus*, B. 2305? Albertano in rendering, *Si quis autem vestrum indiget sapientia, postulet a deo.* (Jac. 1.5), changes *vestrum* of the Vulgate to *nostrum* (Sundby, *op. cit.*, p. 31, ll. 13-14). The French translator follows with *se aucun de nous*, but Chaucer follows the Vulgate, *Seint James eek seikh, If any of you have need of sapience, etc.*

though it may be anticipating ll. 290-1,

And she sat down hir water pot anon
Beside the thressfold *in an oxes stalle*,

clearly suggests his thought of the Nativity. Petrarch's corresponding passage is, *Sed ut pauperum quoque iuguria nonnunquam gratia coelestis invisit*.⁴⁵ The other insertion is drawn from Job III: 3, *Pereat dies in quo natus sum et nox in quo natus sum et nox in qua dictum est: conceptus est homo*, which Chaucer thus versifies (E 901-3):

Hir fader that this tydyng herde anoon,
Curseth the day and tyme that nature
Shoope hym to ben a lyves creature;

Naturally the best passages for a study of Chaucer's dependence on the Vulgate occur in the Monk's biblical 'tragedies.' Skeat⁴⁶ has remarked the greater closeness of the poet to the Vulgate than to the same story in Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*. A minute examination of all the parallel passages in Chaucer and Boccaccio reveals striking differences of treatment, and throws in high relief Chaucer's painstaking study of the Vulgate, his ceaseless interest as he darts back and forth among the verses, his care to match phrase with phrase in his characteristic transpositions. That he must have had the Vulgate beside him for a considerable time is clear as daylight. To Skeat's observations may be added the following:

But to his wyves tolde he his secree,
Thurgh whiche he slow hymself for wrecchednesse. (B 3211-2)

Chaucer understands the Vulgate story—that there were two wives and two disclosures, the first of the solution of the riddle, the second of the secret of Samson's strength. Compare with his exactness the more general treatment in Boccaccio:⁴⁷ *cuius occultum cum apperuisset blanditiis coniugis*. Again, set Chaucer's words (B 3227)

⁴⁵ *Originals and Analogues*, Second Series, No. 7, 10, 15, 20, 22, p. 155.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, V. 228.

⁴⁷ Bocatii de Certaldo: de Casibus Virorum Illustrium libri novem MDXLIIII.

A thousand men he slew eek with his hond,
 beside the equivalent in Boccaccio, "*Philisteos eum trahentes cecidit atque fudit*" and the Vulgate. *interfecit* . . . *mille viros* (Jud. XV: 15). Also in ll. 3269-3284. where Chaucer might seem to be following either Boccaccio or Judges, he clearly derives from the Vulgate *omnes principes*, the *princes everichoon* (B 3277), a phrase which Boccaccio lacks.

The Belshazzar story affords cases of interestedly close translation. In lines 3413-4

Eek thou that art his sone and proud also
 And knowest *alle thise thynges* verrailly

Chaucer echoes *cum scires haec omnia* (Dan. V: 22). In the 'tragedy' of Nebuchadnezzar he follows the dimensions in height of the statue of gold (B 3349-50), but changes the six cubits in breadth (Dan. III: 1) to *sevene*, obviously for a metrical reason. Even an error in fact in the same story, as to the eunuchism of the Hebrew children (B 3341-3), arose because Chaucer's eye was on Dan. I: 3: *Et ait rex Asphenex praeposito eunuchorum ut introduceret de filiis Israel*, etc. Again, the Antiochus passage contains significant verbal renderings. Compare the following:

B 3793-4:

And certainly the *wreche* was reson-
 able
 For many a mannes *gultes* did he
þeyne;

II Mach. IX: 6

Et *quidem* satis *juste* quippe qui
multiis et *novis* cruciatibus aliorum
torserat viscera, etc.

B 3776-7:

And in the balance weyen ech *mon-*
layne;
 And all the *floodes of the see* re-
 strayne;

II Mach. IX: 8

Isque, qui sibi videbatur etiam
fluctibus maris imperare, supra
 humanum modum superbia repletus,
 et *montium altitudinis* in statera
 appendere, etc.

B 3805-6:

The wreche of God hym smoot so
 cruelly,
 That thurgh his body wikked
 wormes crepte,

II Mach. IX: 9

ita ut de corpore impii *vermes*
 scatirerent, etc.

B 3774-5:

. . . he wende he mighte attayne
 Unto the sterres upon every side;

II Mach. IX: 10

Et qui paulo ante *sidera coeli con-*
tingere se arbitrabatur, etc.

Illustrations of Vulgate material in the unknown sources of the *Parson's Tale* must be omitted for lack of space, but a list of these 135 texts may aid sometime in the identification of the ultimate source. Granting as before that Chaucer derived all the passages at second-hand, do we find traces of biblical lore in his treatment of texts from the known sources, the tracts of Raymund and Peraldus? Until the ultimate source is found to refute us, we clearly do. Notice first an addition to Raymund, even when Chaucer is in the context following him closely, and therefore probably not relying on any other source:

I: 995

Swich was the confession of the
Magdalene, that ne spared for no
shame of hem that weren *alle* feeste
for to go to oure Lord Jhesu Crist and
biknowe to hym hire synnes.

Raymund:⁴⁸

exemplum Mariae Magdalene, Luc.
8,⁴⁹ adeo fortis erat in confitendo
propter amaram interiorum compunc-
tionem quod nullo pudore obstanti
publice fuit confessa turpitudinem
peccatorum.

The evidence of the *feeste* as a setting appears in Luc. VII: 36: Rogabat autem illum quidam de pharisaeis ut *manducaret cum illo*; and in verse 49, *Et coeperunt qui simul accumbebant* dicere, etc. The impress of this scene on Chaucer's mind leads him to supply the Magdalene's name in I: 500:

Judas grucchcd agayns the Magdaleyne when she enoynte the heved of our Lord Jhesu Crist with hir precious oynement,

though he confuses the anointing of this penitent (whoever she may have been) with that of Mary of Bethany. Peraldus⁵⁰ gives him only, *Quare hoc unguentum non venditur trecentis denariis?* Another addition to Peraldus, vivid and truly Chaucerian, is the *poure clothes of his disciples*⁵¹ (I: 435), in reference to the garments laid upon the ass in the Triumphant Entry⁵² into Jerusalem. Again Chaucer supplies a

⁴⁸ Petersen, *Sources of the Parson's Tale*, p. 19.

⁴⁹ Raymund is napping here. He means the seventh chapter.

⁵⁰ Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁵¹ *Ib.*, p. 40.

⁵² See Mat. XXI: 7: *Et adduxerunt asinam et pulum et imposuerunt super eos vestimenta sua etc.*

more definite idea in 'He that hateth his brother is homycide' (I: 565) and follows I Joan III: 15, *Omnis qui odit fratrem suum homicida est*, in contrast with the generalization of Peraldus⁵³: *Illi autem qui sunt in peccato odii homicidae sunt, iuxta verbum Johannis*.

The texts from Peraldus alone outweigh in number, but not in interest, those from Jerome. The poet's enjoyment of this majestic theologian has long occupied Chaucer scholars, particularly Köppel⁵⁴ and Woolcombe.⁵⁵ The former⁵⁶ has shown two cases in the *Merchant's Tale* (E 2141, 2142) in which Chaucer has woven into Jerome a phrase clearly traceable to the Vulgate alone. Woolcombe⁵⁷ in his study of parallels in Jerome and the *Wife's Prologue* (D 14-16) fails to note an addition by Chaucer significant for our purposes:

Herkne, eek, which a sharpe word, for the nones,
Beside a welle, Jhesus, God and man
Spak in repreve of the Samaritan:

About the well Jerome is absolutely silent, but the Vulgate (Joan. IV: 6) gives, of course, Jesus *sidebat sic supra fontem*. Moreover, not Jerome, but the Vulgate (or possibly the *Parson's Tale*) supplies this text: *Mulier sui corporis potestatem non habet, sed vir. Similiter autem et vir sui corporis potestatem non habet, sed mulier* (I Cor. VII: 4). On this the Wife bases one of her spirited declarations (D 156-161). Another text in First Corinthians, not yet traced to passages of Jerome known by Chaucer, appears in the same Prologue (D 147-148):

In which estaat as God hath cleped us
I wol persevere, I nam not precious.

Compare St. Paul's words, (I Cor. VII: 20), *Unusquisque in qua vocatione vocatus est, in ea permaneat*.

⁵³ Petersen, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁵⁴ See *Anglia* XIII: 174 ff.

⁵⁵ See *Chaucer Society Essays*, Part III, pp. 298-306.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

⁵⁷ See *Chaucer Society Essays*, Part III, p. 298.

V

The most arresting examples of Chaucer's biblical knowledge appear in works without a known immediate source. Where did Chaucer learn Christ's beautiful simile of the children in the market-place (Luc. VII: 32), alluded to in the *Reeve's Prologue* (A 876):

We hoppen ay whil that the world wyl pype . . . ?

In the *Friar's Tale* (D 1350-1) where did he get the idea of Judas Iscariot's *purses smale* except from *quia fur erat et loculos habens*— (Joan XII: 6)? Or the thought in the same tale (D 1661-2)

He may not tempte you over your might,
For Christ wol be youre champion and knyght;

vos tentari supra id quod potestis, etc. (I Cor. X: 13)? The *Summoner's Tale* alone is convincing proof of Chaucer's first-hand familiarity with Holy Writ. The story contains twenty-three scriptural references or allusions. Three I have credited to knowledge Chaucer may have derived from the *Parson's Tale* material, though they are so familiar as to need no source but his memory. Three others proceed from Jerome, and one, so general as to be almost negligible, may come from either Jerome or Pope Innocent. Chaucer, then, may claim fifteen.⁵⁸ They are not at all recondite, to be sure; neither are they exceptionally familiar. Three or four are especially interesting:

D 2085-2087

Prov. XXII: 24

Lo, what seyde he that so wel telle
kan:

Noli esse *amicus homini iracundo*
neque ambules cum *viro furioso*

Ne be na *jelawe* to an *irous man*
Ne with no wood man *walke* by the
weye,

D 1932-4

Ps. XLIV: 2

His preyere is full of gret reverence
When they for soules seye the
Psalm of Davit,
So "buf," they seys, "cor meum
eructavit,"—

Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum.

⁵⁸ In order of appearance they are 2 Cor. 3:6; Luc. 5: 10; Col. I: 25; Ephes. 4: 31; Joan 4: 34; 1 Tim. 6:8; Marc. 9: 28; Mat. 5:3; Ps. 44: 2;

D 1988-1991

Touchynge this thyng, lo what the
wise seith,

"Withinne *thyn hous* ne be thou no
leoun:

To thy subgitz do noon *oppressioun*
Ne make theyne acqueyntise fro thee
flee."

Noli esse sicut *leo in domo tuo* ever-
tens *domesticos tuos et opprimens*
subjectos tibi:

Lastly, a line in the *Summoner's Tale* is valuable not only for its own sake but for light on a puzzling bit of character analysis in the *General Prologue* (A 435-8). The Summoner's words,

My spirit hath its fostryng in the Bible (D 1845)

Skeat derives from Joan IV: 34: *Meus cibus est ut faciam voluntatem eius, qui misit me ut perficiam opus, eius*; and from Job XXIII: 12: *in sinu meo abscondi verba oris eius*; but these texts are less applicable, I believe, than Mat. IV: 4: *Non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo quod procedit de ore Dei*, especially since the speaker is discoursing delightfully upon the contrast between his easy satisfaction in such food as capons and roasted pig and his zest for spiritual nourishment. Now does not this idea of the necessity of feeding upon the Word explain the gap in thought in the last two lines of this passage?

Of his diete mesurable was he,
For it was of no superfluitee,
But of greet norissing and digestible.
His studie was but litel on the Bible?

The qualitative test in a study of Chaucer's first-hand knowledge of the Scriptures is highly significant. He does far more than repeat the commonest passages. The Pater-noster, the Magnificat, the Commandments (except in source passages) play no part. He uses very slightly the Psalms in the Prymer, familiar as they doubtless were. Indeed from his early period when he twined into Deguileville's *A. B. C.*

Jac. I: 22; Luc. 10: 7; Ecclus. 4: 35; Prov. 22: 24, 25; 3 Reg. 18: 42;
Mat. 23: 7, 8.

the quotation from Colossians, he showed at times a liking for texts by no means wellworn, as we count them to-day. Again, he has a wide range. His Bible, be it remembered, included not only the sixty-six books of the Authorized Version but (besides slight additions to several of these, notably Daniel), First Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, First and Second Maccabees.⁵⁹ Chaucer's independent borrowings (i.e. quotations, references and allusions) are from 48 of the 74 books. He omits only Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Ruth, First Chronicles (*Primus Paralipomenon* in the Vulgate), Ezra, Nehemiah (Second Esdras), Wisdom of Solomon, Baruch, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, and Malachi. In the New Testament he has direct borrowings from all the books except Philipians, First and Second Thessalonians, Second and Third John, Jude, Second Timothy, Titus, and Philemon. Dante in all his works⁶⁰ refers to but 56 books, that is, to eight more than Chaucer.

Finally, let us look at the quantitative test. The list of quotations from the Bible in Skeat⁶¹ is curiously unjust to the great editor. It contains only 285 references, though his annotations include nearly 300 more, and the references omitted are often as interesting and valuable as those in his catalogue. Occasionally, too, he lists an additional reference (e.g. to the corresponding passage in another Gospel) as an important item. To his fundamental research may be added nearly 125 passages. (Skeat by no means claimed a full list for the *Parson's Tale*.⁶² Again, in the light of Miss Petersen's⁶³ researches in Holkot, Raymund and Peraldus, a few texts need reassignment among books in the Bible according to express references now to be found in Chaucer's source

⁵⁹ This list, which differs slightly from that in a modern Vulgate, is based on a thirteenth or fourteenth century Vulgate in the Harvard Library.

⁶⁰ See Moore, *Studies in Dante, First Series*, for the list of Dante's biblical passages.

⁶¹ Vol. VI: pp. 381-384.

⁶² *Op. cit.*, V: 477.

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, and *Sources of the Nun's Priest's Tale*.

passages.) The total number of references, quotations, and allusions may be estimated at 700, in round numbers. If it be argued that half a dozen or so of the quotations (e.g. *In Principio*,⁶⁴ or *Benedicite*) are traceable so obviously to the current speech of ecclesiastics that their biblical origin is forgotten, the inclusion of such expression, necessary after all for exactness, is amply paralleled by the exclusion of the purely general passages mentioned above. (If these are added the total is 730). And now how much of the Bible does Chaucer know at first-hand?

Let us begin by subtraction. The passages derived at second-hand I have assigned thus: to authors Chaucer translates, 114; to indeterminate sources, because several are possible, 21; Dante, 1; Boccaccio, 1; Petrarch, 2; Machaut, 1; Deschamps, 3; a hymn, 1; Aloysius Lipomanus, 1; Petrus Comestor, 1; Petrus de Riga, 2; Albertano of Brescia, 3; Jacobus de Voragine, 1; Holkot, 9; Jerome, 39; Pope Innocent, 14; Raymund, 13; Peraldus, 52; unknown sources of the *Parson's Tale*, 135.

In passing we may note that when Chaucer's interest in one of his four large treasuries of texts (discussed above) has exhausted itself, he seldom returns to it for biblical material. The most numerous reversions, which are to be traced to the *Parson's Tale*, are after all not abundant. Again, there is slight use of the *De Contemptu Mundi*, which he may be supposed to have had beside him for many years. Remembering Chaucer's disposition to return to a source (when his readers to-day have forgotten it and think of him only as occupied with a fresh one), one finds this attitude puzzling. The only explanation is that Chaucer preferred the Vulgate itself, either because he knew it well at all times or had ready access to it.

After the subtraction of second-hand borrowings there remain unquestionably to Chaucer's credit about 275 cases of direct dependence upon the Vulgate. Ten or twelve more of his passages show, I believe, biblical impress, and are

⁶⁴ See R. A. Law's interesting discussion of Chaucer's use of this phrase, *P. M. L. A.*, XXXVII, 208 ff.

therefore included in the total 700, but might seem less convincing to other students of Chaucer. If it be urged that the numerous adjacent verses influencing the *Monk's Tale* should hardly be counted separately, these might be cut from nearly ninety to half the number and Chaucer's showing would still be about 240.

Yet Chaucer's knowledge of the Scriptures may be independent and comprehensive and yet so inaccurate as to need serious discounting. But when we have admitted that he spares himself errors because he is not tempted to elaborate his biblical references, and unlike Gower, does not go far afield, we need say no more. Enough has been made of his blunders.⁶⁵ Space forbids comments here on mistakes that in themselves illuminate his knowledge rather than his ignorance.⁶⁶ Compared with the hopeless errors of the Knight of La Tour-Landry,⁶⁷ who in composing a book for ethical instruction was aided by two clerks and two priests, Chaucer's mistakes are tame, esoteric, and totally undiverting. In fact, in a minute and extended investigation of his biblical borrowings, they almost drop out of sight. We may conclude that he had a more accurate as well as a more comprehensive and direct acquaintance with the Vulgate than has hitherto been supposed.

GRACE W. LANDRUM

⁶⁵ See Lounsbury. *Studies in Chaucer*, II: 186-188.

⁶⁶ Skeat, *op. cit.*, III: 333 fears that "Chaucer was really thinking of the centurion" in the Legend of *Lucretia* (ll. 200-203), though he speaks of a woman's faith. But that he could really give a good account of the Syro-Phoenician woman's faith he proves in the *Second Nun's Tale* (G 59-61). Again, Skeat, *op. cit.*, V: 294, notes Chaucer's slight mistake in associating the *barley breed* (D 145-6) with St. Mark's account of the miracle. The interesting point is that Chaucer has such definite associations with the *panes hordeaceos* of the Vulgate (Joan VI: 9) that the *hordeo* and *hordeum* of St. Jerome recall the Gospel story.

⁶⁷ Deanesly, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-7; 223.

IV. CHAUCER AND ALDgate

Though we are particularly fortunate in knowing a good deal about the life of Chaucer, nevertheless some of the facts are not wholly intelligible. More and more, however, as "men observingly distil them out," various cruxes are being disposed of. One of the most important of these perplexing problems, which if solved will clear up much besides, is the poet's sudden loss of Aldgate in 1386. This year was a crucial one in the poet's career: for the political happenings at that time—not only were national issues at stake, but London was passing through its most critical period in history—seriously affected Chaucer's welfare. There is, also, a possibility that the poet's sudden misfortune at that time is reflected in some of his poems.

The known facts regarding his lease of Aldgate are as follows. In 1374 (May 10) the Mayor and Aldermen of London granted to the poet "totam mansionem supra portam de Algate, cum domibus superedificatis et quodam celario subtus eandem portam, in parte australi eiusdem porte, cum suis pertinenciis ad totam vitam eiusdem Galfridi"¹ No rent was exacted,² though he was to keep it in repair. The City promised to keep no prisoners during the tenancy, but stipulated that possession would be resumed when it concerned the defence of the City. In 1386 (Oct. 4) the Common Council resolved that no such licences would be granted in the future "by reason of divers damages that have befallen the said city, through grants made to many persons, as well of the Gates and the dwelling-houses above them, as of the gardens and vacant places adjoining the walls,

¹ *Life Records*, pp. 190f.

² In 1342, the one other time that Aldgate (Alegate) was granted in the reign of Edward III, the tenant, John Lucas, clerk of the Sheriffs, paid a yearly rent of 13s.4d. in addition to keeping it in repair (*Calendar of Letter-Books*, F, ed. R. R. Sharpe, London, 1904, p. 81). It is interesting to note that Aldersgate was apparently (see however under "Cripplegate") the only other gate leased in Edward's reign.

gates, and fosses of the said city: whereby great and divers mischiefs may readily hereafter ensue."³ On the very next day,⁴ however, a fresh lease (for life) was granted to Richard Forester,⁵ presumably a friend of the poet.

How shall we reconcile this apparent inconsistency: this, as it has appeared to some, total disregard of friendship, as well as a "flagrant violation of the law"? Coulton⁶ thinks that it "may very likely have been a prearranged job among the three friends . . . ⁷. The whole transaction, however, shows clearly that the Aldgate lodging was considered a prize in its way."⁸ The facts in the case, as will be shown, in no way support such an assumption.

Not all the gates in Chaucer's day, if the records may be trusted, had occupants.⁹ Some were used regularly as prisons,¹⁰ others as prisons temporarily. But between 1374 and 1395 there were five gates which at one time or other were tenanted,—Cripplegate, Ludgate, Postern, Aldersgate, and Aldgate. The ins and outs connected with the leasings and counter-leasings of the first four will shed much light on Chaucer's loss of his dwelling.

³ Riley, *Memorials of L.*, p. 489. Cf. Coulton, *Chaucer*, 1908, p. 94; *Letter-Book*, H, p. 290. Oct. 4 was "Thursday next after the Feast of St. Michael (29 Sept.)."

⁴ *Life Records*, p. 264. Aldgate seems not to have been granted again until 1466-67 (*Letter-Book*, L, p. 70).

⁵ This is undoubtedly the same person who was esquire of the King, as well as the poet's attorney in 1378. Professor S. Moore (*Anglia*, XXXVII, p. 12) has all but proved as much.

⁶ Page 94.

⁷ Chaucer, Forester, and Mayor Brembre.

⁸ Skcat (I, p. xxxviii) in discussing the date of the *LGW*, believed that we "may suppose that he (Chaucer) had already practically resigned his house to his friend in 1385, when he was no longer expected to perform his official duties personally." Compare Tatlock, *The Devel. and Chron.*, p. 139; *passim*, Hulbert, *Chaucer's Official Life*, 1912, p. 68; Lowes, *P. M. L. A.*, xx, pp. 772f.

⁹ There were gatekeepers who lived adjoining the gates or had small rooms on the ground floor (cf. *Letter-Book*, H, pp. 9, 83). In 1375 they were required "to safeguard their several gates" (*ibid.*, p. 9). I may state here that the index to this volume is wholly unreliable.

¹⁰ Newgate for example.

Cripplegate at once confronts us with difficulties. In 1375 (about Oct. 1¹¹) the mansion over the gate together with its stables was leased for life to John Watlyngton, Common Sergeant of Arms of the City.¹² No mention is made of a grant eight years before (1367), when the Black Prince "specially begged the Mayor that Thomas de Kent might have Cripplegate."¹³ Another surprise awaits us. In a later record (about 1408) we find that in 1390 Adam Bamme, the Mayor,¹⁴ had granted the mansion to Hugh Battesford¹⁵ "to hold the same for life as John Watlyngton, late Common Serjeant-at-arms, had held the same by grant of William Walworth, late Mayor" in 1375. After reciting the ordinance that no city gates should be granted, and stating that Battesford had died,¹⁶ the deed informs us that the tenements above Cripplegate were leased to John Credy, the Mayor's esquire, for life, except in time of war.¹⁷ Since Bamme did not become mayor until Oct. 13 (1390),¹⁸ and was not sworn in

¹¹ "Monday after the Feast of St. Michael [29 Sept.]."

¹² *Letter-Book*, H, p. 2; *Memorials of London*, *op. cit.*, p. 387. Watlyngton had been a Sergeant of the King in 1369 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1367-70, p. 348). At another time he is mentioned as "clerk" (*ibid.*, 1381-5, p. 294). For duties, etc. of the Common Sergeant see *Liber Albus*, Rolls Series, I, pp. xlvii, 49. The above grant was made by Walworth about a fortnight before the election for mayor. Another victualler, John Warde, succeeded Walworth. The bearing of all this upon Chaucer is discussed later in this paper.

¹³ Coulton, p. 93. He does not cite his authority, nor do I find any mention of it in *Letter-Book*, G. There were apparently two Kents—one a fishmonger (*ibid.*, H, p. 84), another a skinner (*ibid.*, pp. 302, 388).

¹⁴ Became mayor Oct. 13, 1390 (*Letter-Book*, H, pp. 358f.).

¹⁵ Or Batisford. He was Common Sergeant of the City two years later (*Letter-Book*, H, p. 375). This was under Hende, draper, elected mayor Oct. 13, 1391 (*ibid.*, p. 368). Hende succeeded Bamme, but was removed by the King and sent to prison. Staundone, grocer, succeeded Hende (*ibid.*, p. 379 n.; cf. intro. p. liii).

¹⁶ Feb., 1408.

¹⁷ *Letter-Book*, I, pp. 65f. Staundone, grocer, was mayor. This is the first reference to Credy, though he had served fourteen years as esquire of the Mayor.

¹⁸ *Letter-Book*, H, pp. 358f. Bamme was a goldsmith (*ibid.*, p. liii). His opponent was Wm. Venour, grocer, and Higden (IX, p. 217) states that it was a hotly contested election. Bamme had been alderman in various

until Oct. 28, he must have leased the dwelling to Battersford within the next two months. Cripplegate, therefore, was granted in 1369, 1375 (two weeks before election for mayor), and 1390 (soon after election)¹⁹.

Aldersgate was first²⁰ granted October 27, 1375 to Ralph Strode (Chaucer's friend)²¹, Common Pleader of the City. He was to have the dwelling as long as he remained in office.²² Two years later (Nov. 4, 1377) Mayor Brembre²³ extended the lease for life.²⁴ Dec. 11, 1382 (during the mayoralty of John Northampton) because Strode "had of his own accord relinquished his office,"²⁵ and as a consequence forfeited his rights to the mansion, the apartments were let to Wm. Wircestre and Philip Walworth,²⁶ Sergeants of the Mayor.²⁷

Now follows a notable example of the manner in which the King and the Mayor conducted their affairs. Wircestre and Walworth had previously held Ludgate,²⁸ but "at the repeated request of the King" John Beauchamp, the King's

wards (cf. *Letter-Book*, H, index). When he died in 1397 the famous Whittington succeeded him (*ibid.*, p. 436).

¹⁹ For conditions in 1386 see *infra*.

²⁰ The gate as a matter of fact had been leased years before (1337) to a carpenter for a period of twenty years (*Letter-Book*, F, p. 18).

²¹ The "philosophical Strode." For the identification of the Oxford and London Strode see Kuhl, *P. M. L. A.*, xxxvi, 270 ff.

²² *Letter-Book*, H, p. 15. Cripplegate had been granted less than a month before; the lease to Strode was made on Walworth's last day as mayor.

²³ John Warde, pepperer, had been mayor meanwhile.

²⁴ *Letter-Book*, H, p. 83. Appended to this document is an order annulling the grant "for certain reasons." Sharpe, the editor, thinks this was tacked on during Northampton's mayoralty (*ibid.*, p. 245 n.), for the reason that Brembre in 1384 and again in 1386 gave Strode a pension for having been ousted from Aldersgate in the time of Northampton (*ibid.*, p. 208 n.).

²⁵ See previous note. For his loss Strode received (May 4, 1386) an annuity of four marks (*ibid.*, p. 287).

²⁶ Related to Wm. Walworth? In my search I have failed to find any ties.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 208. They were to have custody of the gates as well as of the mansion and gardens. That the two Sergeants were in the employ of the Mayor is certain (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 47, 53, 78, 97, etc.).

²⁸ Granted to them Sept. 14, 1378. For further discussion see *infra* (Ludgate).

esquire, was given Ludgate. *On this very same day*,²⁹ however, it was decided that the houses over Ludgate should be turned into a prison, and the "aforesaid John Beauchamp prayed that he might have the said houses and gardens over Aldrichesgate, and the same were granted to him."³⁰ Thereupon Ludgate and its houses were again granted as before "to the said William and Philip" until it should become a prison. That this latter grant was a dead letter is only too obvious when it is learned that prisoners were sentenced to Ludgate at the February meeting of the Common Council.³¹

In 1386 (May 23) Aldersgate was leased to John Fekyng-ham, King's esquire,³² for life.³³ He, like Chaucer, was to keep the place in repair, and the City was to assume possession in a time of danger. Though we are not prepared for this lease to another officer of Richard, we are much less prepared for the following. In 1395 (December 4) Aldersgate was granted to John Blytone, "late the Mayor's esquire,"³⁴ which Nicholas Covelee, Sergeant of the Chamber (Mayor's) occupies.³⁵ This makes us pause, for Fekyngham was still living and employed by the King.³⁶ The whole affair, how-

²⁹ Italics mine. At this same meeting of the Common Council held on Dec. 11, 1382 (*Letter-Book*, H, p. 208).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 213. Of course Northampton belonged to the unpopular faction. He would willingly risk his reputation in order to win the King's confidence. He succeeded, for it was the desire of Richard that the citizens re-elect him as Mayor.

³² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1385-9, p. 344; *ibid.*, 1391-6, pp. 361f., 538.

³³ *Letter-Book*, H, p. 284. There is no reference to Beauchamp, beheaded two years before. On this same day it was voted that Strode should be "retained as standing counsel for the City" (*ibid.*, p. 288). Oct. 6 Fekyngham was given a grant in money, as well as a brew-house formerly held by one John Sterlyng (*ibid.*, p. 288). Sterlyng had been given Postern the preceding May (the 4th). See *infra* under Postern.

³⁴ More, vintner, had been elected mayor Oct. 13 (1395), and sworn in on the 28th following (*ibid.*, p. 426).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 433. Blytone, in addition to a life lease, is to have 100 s. yearly. He had been banished to Corfe Castle with Northampton's brother in 1384 for disturbances in London (*ibid.*, pp. 229, 232). Covelee was Sergeant in 1392 (*ibid.*, p. 375). There is no reference as far as I can find to the grant made him sometime between 1386 and 1395.

³⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1396-9, p. 87. He was keeper of a royal manor in 1397.

ever, prepares us somewhat for the poet's experiences at Aldgate.

To summarize briefly: Aldersgate was leased in the last quarter of the fourteenth century on October 27, 1375; November 4, 1377; December 11, 1382; May 23, 1386; December 4, 1395. It will be observed that these changes were made shortly after the October elections for Mayor, except in the year 1386. Before an attempt is made to account for this change of affairs, let us see what happened at the other gates.

Ludgate, as already noted, offers difficulties. It was leased Sept. 14, 1378,³⁷ apparently for the first time.³⁸ Mention was also made of the fact that it was regranted to the same officers of London, Dec. 11, 1382; that is, until it should become a prison, which was in two months. To reconcile the above with the following is, therefore, not easy. October 3, 1384 the custody of the houses over Ludgate including the gate itself as well as the *prisoners*³⁹ was granted to Richard Jargeville,⁴⁰ City Sergeant.⁴¹ Two years later (July 11, 1386⁴²) John Charneye, City Coroner, and John Botkysham (Bottesham), King's sergeant, were given possession of it for life.⁴³ As in the case of Aldersgate, it is to be noted that all the leases except that in 1386, were made shortly before or after the October elections.

³⁷ *Letter-Book*, H, p. 97. To Wm. Wircestre and Philip Walworth. They were to have it on one condition: that if the "gate became a free prison," the "Chamberlain" should provide manacles, etc. at the expense of the City.

³⁸ I have made a fairly careful search.

³⁹ Italics mine.

⁴⁰ *Letter-Book*, H, p. 253. This grant was made by Brembre ten days before election for mayor. He was re-elected (*ibid.*, p. 251). Jargeville is to have the place during the pleasure of the Mayor and Aldermen.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

⁴² Just after John of Gaunt embarked for Spain. Fuller discussion follows at end of this paper.

⁴³ *Letter-Book*, H, p. 292. The grant included the prison and gate. There was to be no rent, but "subject to certain reservations." In case of extortion the grantors are to resume possession. Possibly the unsettled condition of that year accounts for the peculiar conditions of leasing.

The remaining gate, "le Posterne," offers like difficulties, and substantiates some conclusions already drawn. About October 1, 1375⁴⁴—on the same day Cripplegate was leased—the houses "at the postern near the Tower" were leased to John Cobbe, the Mayor's⁴⁵ sergeant.⁴⁶ We next learn that in December,⁴⁷ 1385 the keepership of the Postern with its houses adjoining had "formerly been made to John Starlyng, Serjeant for the term of his life, at an annual rent of 40 pence, he keeping the same in repair, [but] it is now granted that he hold the same on the same terms, but without paying any rent."⁴⁸ May 4, 1386, with no reference to either of the former leases, Postern is again granted to him under similar terms as in the preceding December.⁴⁹ Postern, therefore, was leased about October 1, 1375; December, 1385; May 4, 1386.⁵⁰

The gate on London bridge was leased but once during these years,—to the Mayor's sergeant on Jan. 26, 1383.⁵¹

⁴⁴ Cf. *Letter-Book*, H, p. 290 n. 3.

⁴⁵ He was not sworn into office, however, until Oct. 26, two days before the Mayor took his office (*Letter-Book*, H, p. 14).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, H, p. 2. He was to have custody of the gate also. Walworth, a fishmonger, was succeeded by another victualler, John Warde. Cobbe was a butcher by trade (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1377-81, p. 432); a "scrutineer" of the Skinners' mystery in 1376 (*Letter-Book*, H, p. 29).

⁴⁷ "Wednesday the Feast of St. Lucia"—about Dec. 13.

⁴⁸ *Letter-Book*, H, p. 277.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 288. The same day Strode was given a pension (*ibid.*, p. 287). The grant of the previous Dec. states definitely houses *adjoining*, but in this present grant it seems clear that the "mansion" is meant. Compare the lease of 1398 (see next note as well as note to "gate on London bridge").

⁵⁰ John Credy, the Mayor's esquire, was given it Feb. 27, 1398. The lease was for life (*ibid.*, p. 443; this entry is not indexed). The City reserved the right to take possession in time of war.

⁵¹ John Dustone (*Letter-Book*, H, p. 212). In 1382 Dustone was a clerk of Northampton (*ibid.*, p. 197). The next reference to the gate is in 1399 when it was again leased to a Sergeant (*ibid.*, p. 447; not indexed). An esquire of the Mayor received it in 1421 (*ibid.*, I, p. 259).

The leasing of the gate and "the custody thereof" in 1383 seems at first sight to refer only to the keepership of the gate. The index of *Letter-Book*, H, gives it as such. However, in 1375 the gatekeepers of the various gates were appointed (*ibid.*, p. 9) with no reference to the gates themselves. Hence it seems clear that the grants of 1383 and 1399 refer to the dwelling.

- Like Ralph Strode he is to retain possession as long as he remains in office.⁵²

What conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing? In the first place, one is impressed by the fact that such expressions as "for life," "without rent," "the city to assume possession in times of danger,"⁵³ and the like are by no means uncommon; on the other hand, such phrases occur regularly, and indicate that the City, in granting Chaucer the dwelling in 1374, conferred such favors and made such stipulations as it was to make in the next few years.

It is likewise clear that the disregard (by the City) of the ordinance of Oct. 4, 1386, forbidding gates to be leased in the future, was not confined to Aldgate alone. Cripplegate and Aldersgate had similar experiences before 1395, Postern in 1398, and the gate on London Bridge in 1399. And furthermore, when the ordinance was passed Aldersgate was occupied, apparently,⁵⁴ by an esquire of the King, who was still alive in 1397.⁵⁵

Again, it is significant that the gates were leased, in most instances, to officials of the Mayor or the City. Cripplegate was granted in 1375 and 1390 to Common Sergeants,⁵⁶ and between 1386 and 1395 to the Mayor's esquire. Ludgate was given to two Sergeants in 1378, and regranted to them in 1382; in 1384 it passed again to another Sergeant. Postern in 1375 was leased to a similar officer; again before 1385 to another Sergeant, and was released to him the following year. And, finally, the gate on London bridge was given a Sergeant in 1383, and again in 1399.

The two exceptions are Aldgate and Aldersgate. The latter can be dismissed in a few words. In 1382 the "king

⁵² See *supra*.

⁵³ There was, as a matter of fact, a threatened invasion of the French in the summer and early autumn of 1386 (cf. *Letter-Book*, H, pp. 285f.; Coulton, p. 58).

⁵⁴ At any rate the gate had been granted May 23 (1386) to an esquire.

⁵⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1396-9, p. 87.

⁵⁶ On the same day, to be sure, regranted to Beauchamp, a royal servant. On the importance of letting the gates to Sergeants see *infra*.

prayed" that the gate be given to John Beauchamp, his esquire, who had asked for it.⁵⁷

Why Chaucer should have been given Aldgate at all is not clear. He was not in the employ of the City and he was the only Comptroller of the Customs who ever occupied one of the gates. But it must be remembered that the practice of leasing gates did not begin until the following year (1375). Possibly one reason for granting Aldgate to Chaucer may have been the fact that he was a royal esquire. Aldersgate, as we have seen, was granted at the King's request to another esquire, John Beauchamp.⁵⁸

But a better reason may be assigned. The King was under obligations to the poet, who had recently returned from an important diplomatic mission to Genoa. Edward III, in addition to paying the poet's wages (very tardily), later thanked Chaucer in, it would seem, "swich wyse as he coude"—a pitcher of wine daily.⁵⁹ Not a very great gift to be sure, but the King (as was often the case) was at this time in financial straits.⁶⁰

An interesting record is preserved which throws light on the condition of the royal exchequer at this particular period. In return for the great aid given him in time of need by the City, he presented the citizens with some wine. The gift not only proved to be inferior—it showed "signs of deterioration"—but in addition the citizens had to pay the freight, some £600 to £800.⁶¹ So, the King, who was not

⁵⁷ It is interesting to observe that this happened during the mayoralty of Northampton, opposed bitterly by the King's faction. On the strained relations between Gaunt and the royal ruler see *infra*.

⁵⁸ Cf. S. Moore, *Anglia*, xxxvii, pp. 10-12. Aldgate had been leased but once in Edward's reign, more than thirty years before. On the royal esquires cf. Hulbert's remarks (*Official Life*, p. 58).

⁵⁹ The records of course do not state that the wine was for services in Italy. The grant was made at Windsor, April 23. This seemingly was the only present given that day, and only minor business apparently was disposed of (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1370-74, pp. 433, 455). Hulbert (p. 24) finds that grants of wine were not common.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Letter-Book*, G, p. xxii (and references).

⁶¹ Modern reckoning. *Ibid.*, pp. 330, 333. The freight was paid in November—£ 42. Was Chaucer's daily pitcherful any better?

then in a financial position to give his esquire a house, may have asked the Mayor for a suitable place where the new Comptroller could take up quarters.

There is another possibility: Chaucer may have asked for the "mansion," or at least indicated his choice when the question of dwellings came up. It seems fairly certain that he would be house hunting anyway. His absence in Italy as well as his (and Philippa's) attachment to the household of the King in recent years suggests that he was now, for the first time, to have a separate establishment.

In many ways Aldgate would be desirable. It was within ten minutes' walk of his place of business.⁶² The dwelling (as well as the situation) must have been attractive, for when he was ousted some years afterwards a prominent royal esquire received the place.⁶³ Naturally of course the poet would desire a residence in keeping with the signal honor recently bestowed upon him.⁶⁴

Moreover, with the shelves of books fresh from Italy waiting to be read, what better quarters in a city could a poet and student wish than such a lofty eminence? That the dwelling proved to be an ideal one is seen (apparently) in what happened elsewhere. The following year Chaucer's friend, Ralph Strode, took the neighboring gate of Aldersgate. The well-known autobiographical lines in the *House of Fame* clearly indicate that the poet found the "mansion" favorable to literary pursuit. Here he was of the city and yet apart from it, a condition that has given inspiration and contentment to a long unending line of succeeding writers. What an exhilaration of spirits appears in those lines,—

And noght only fro fer contree
That ther no tydinge comth to thee,
But of thy verray neyghebores,
That dwellen almost at thy dores,
Thou herest neither that ne this (vv. 650ff.).

⁶² Almost due north of the Tower and the Customs building. Cf. Tatlock, *Devel. and Chron.*, p. 139. Kittredge believes that Chaucer was house hunting at this time (*The Date of Chaucer's Troilus*. Chaucer Society, 1909).

⁶³ On Forester see *supra*.

⁶⁴ He must have known of the Comptrollership by this time. However, compare discussion on Gaunt *infra*.

Perhaps it is not chance that Chaucer's first long poem written at Aldgate had to do with aerial flights!

Then, the most plausible conjecture, there is the Lancastrian influence. Just at this crucial moment, the last days of April,⁶⁵ Gaunt returned to London from his unsuccessful French invasion. From the known relations of the two men we may infer that he and the poet lost no time in renewing friendship. The Duke for various reasons was becoming very unpopular. His military failures in France had proved as disappointing as the Castilian fiasco.⁶⁶ On top of this unsuccessful generalship must be added the suspicion aroused by his Castilian marriage.⁶⁷ This union had been merely part of a larger plan; ultimately to win the crown of Castile.⁶⁸ He was, therefore, without many friends at home. And, moreover, though not active in politics, he was for the reasons just mentioned the center of political interest.

As a matter of fact, not long afterwards he did exert some influence in England. Sir Richard Stury, undoubtedly a friend of Chaucer's, had been banished from court, but through the Duke's power was restored.⁶⁹ And it may be significant that Vache and Clifford received from Gaunt fifty and one hundred marks respectively.⁷⁰ This was May 8, two days before Chaucer leased Aldgate. This particular time was a good one for interference, or (if one prefers to give a more charitable interpretation) for assistance. The old King was now in dishonored dotage. Though he doubtless would have been willing to assist Chaucer for his excellent services in Genoa (the wages and expenses were sadly in arrears), he was, as said, practically bankrupt. Accordingly, any aid on the part of the poet's patron, that would not

⁶⁵ He landed at Dartmouth April 26, and was at the Savoy by the first of May (*John of Gaunt's Register*, Camden Soc., Third Ser., xx, 1911. Nos. 667, 682; cf. S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, 1905, pp. 117, 123).

⁶⁶ Cf. S. A.-Smith, pp. 121-126.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 121ff.

⁶⁹ Waugh, *Scottish Hist. Review*, XII, p. 66. This was in 1378.

⁷⁰ *Register*, No. 1429. They were, of course, retainers. Cf. further note 90 on Gaunt's interest at this time in the political situation. Cf. also notes 83 and 100.

embarrass the kingdom, would be gratefully received. Why, therefore, should not the husband of the waiting woman of the Duke's wife, the Queen of Castile, be remembered; why, especially, when he also happened to be the poet who had immortalized in verse the beauty and charm of his beloved Blanche?

What are the evidences that Chaucer's good fortunes in the spring of 1374 are bound up with John of Gaunt? The very day (June 13) after he took his oath of office as Comptroller of Customs he was given a life annuity of £10 by the Duke of Lancaster for his own and his wife's services.⁷¹ Philippa, it will be remembered, had been generously rewarded by Gaunt on two former occasions. This gift, however, is the first substantial one to the poet. Both Geoffrey and Philippa were by this time on intimate terms with the Duke and Duchess of Lancaster. The elegy on Blanche was still fresh in Gaunt's mind,⁷² and, as Professor Kittredge has observed,⁷³ the poem "had been favorably received." Moreover, Philippa had endeared herself to the Duke's present consort.

In order to understand fully the relation of this waiting woman to the ducal household (a matter not always sufficiently recognized), it is necessary to recall a few facts. In the first place, Lancaster was away from home most of the time. Too, his French campaigns had been (as said) anything but successful. Though he was only partially responsible for the outcome, he had by no means won the hearts of his people. In addition, he entered into a second marriage with a foreign princess; this was a union purely of convenience, for his one burning ambition was to win the Castilian crown.

This marriage took place in September, 1371, and the Duchess was brought home sometime in the winter.⁷⁴ Hers,

⁷¹ *Life Records*, No. 83.

⁷² Cf. S. A.-Smith, pp. 77f. The Duke never did forget his first Duchess.

⁷³ *Chaucer and his P.*, 1915, p. 77.

⁷⁴ Cf. Kittredge, *Eng. Stud.*, xiii, p. 7; *ibid.*, *Date of Chaucer's Troilus* in *Chau. Soc.*, 2nd Series, vol. xlii, p. 45. S. A.-Smith says in one place (p. 93)

however, was a life of exile, for the marriage on her part had also been one of convenience.⁷⁵ She "had never," says her biographer, "identified herself with the country of her adoption and left no impress upon the life of the Court."⁷⁶ Her "strongest feelings were those of attachment to the memory of her father," and she always "remained Castilian at heart."⁷⁷

What bearing has this on Philippa Chaucer? About six months afterwards, namely, the 30th day of August (1372), "pur le bon et agreable seruice que nostre bien ame Damoysele Philippe Chause ad fait et ferra en temps auenir a nostre treschere et tres ame compaigne la Reine," she is given £10 "annuelement tanque a nous plerra."⁷⁸ In addition, the next May (on the first day) the Duke presents her with other gifts of a special nature.⁷⁹

It is the dates of these grants—a point hitherto unobserved—that are illuminating. The August annuity came on the very day that Gaunt was leaving for France,⁸⁰ and the other reward came at the time he was setting out for Plymouth, preparatory to returning to the same country.⁸¹ Moreover, the life pension is significant in that a special entry records it. Hence it was not one of many promiscuous gifts dispensed by a generous and wealthy nobleman; and the words "de nostre grace especiale" convey a personal touch not always found in the Duke's registers.⁸²

The one conclusion is that Philippa's services had become invaluable in Lancaster's household. In each instance his

that Gaunt landed at Plymouth with his bride in November, but elsewhere (p. 123) remarks that the Duke was still in Aquitaine in December.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 358.

⁷⁸ *Life Records*, No. 67.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 71. A May-day gift?

⁸⁰ S. A.-Smith, p. 98.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 103. He was leaving Plymouth for France May 10.

⁸² One finds such personal touches when a knight becomes the Duke's chief forester (one of Gaunt's favorite officers: S. A.-Smith, p. 216) (cf. *Register*, No. 609).

consort had remained behind, and on his most recent departure she and her children were sent north.⁸³ More than ever, therefore, Philippa would be needed.

Accordingly, in the spring of 1374 we find that the closest relationship existed between Geoffrey Chaucer and his wife and the Duke of Lancaster and his household. Nor was this intimacy in any wise checked by the poet's connections with his aged ruler. The King, as mentioned, was permitting his former esquire to suffer neglect. It was only the February⁸⁴ before that he had received his wages and expenses for the mission to Genoa, a sum long in arrears. It became increasingly difficult for the poet (and anyone else) to get the ear of the indifferent King, now abandoning himself to pleasure.⁸⁵ It is natural to assume, therefore, that Chaucer at this time shared the feelings of his countrymen toward Edward III. His wife, moreover, had been away for the year,⁸⁶ a fact that would not help matters. Hence it is hardly to be expected that Geoffrey Chaucer in the latter part of 1373 and the early months of 1374 was a happy and contented man.

It was just at this critical time—when he was most in need of sympathy and assistance—that his patron appeared on the scene. This was the last week in April.⁸⁷ What happens? The records for the next few weeks are eloquent.

April 23 (St. George's Day⁸⁸): Chaucer was granted a pitcher of wine daily by the King.

May 10: Aldgate leased to Chaucer by the city.

June 8: Chaucer given Comptrollership of Customs.

⁸³ To Tutbury Castle, between Stafford and Derby (S. A.-Smith, p. 104 and map p. 218). Was the Duke afraid to leave his family at London? In pointing out the relation between Gaunt and Chaucer's wife I do not forget his relation with Philippa's sister. But that *liaison* cannot explain everything.

⁸⁴ Proof that the poet remained at London instead of going to Tutbury also.

⁸⁵ The King and his son John may not have been on the best of terms at this time (cf. S. A.-Smith, pp. 117, 129, 184).

⁸⁶ Cf. note 83 and text.

⁸⁷ Cf. note 65.

⁸⁸ Day of the feast of the Garter (cf. S. A.-Smith, p. 121).

June 12: Chaucer takes oath of office as comptroller.

June 13: Gaunt grants Chaucer (and indirectly his wife) a life annuity of £10.

July 6: Two half-yearly payments of Chaucer's annuity, and five of Philippa's are paid at once to the poet himself by the King (Philippa had received none of her pension since 1369).

c. July 16:⁸⁹ Gaunt leaves for the North, to be away most of the time for nearly a year.⁹⁰

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Duke had come to the poet's (and Philippa's) rescue. To be sure, the gift of wine came three days before Lancaster landed at Dartmouth. This action of the King, however, is interpretable on the grounds of the poet's discontent reaching the ears of his patron. Or, the King, upon learning of Gaunt's return, may have thought it wise to reward Chaucer, thereby saving himself from embarrassment. Support of this is seen in the fact that Gaunt, as one of the Knights, might return in time to attend the feast of the Garter. It may be significant in this connection that Chaucer was the only person to receive a gift (at Windsor) on that day.⁹¹ The wine could hardly have been looked upon by the poet as a very substantial gift—certainly not so by the generous Gaunt. Accordingly, there is nothing improbable in supposing that the gift of wine moved the Duke to immediate action. Whatever the answer, the one outstanding conclusion is that Chaucer's fortunes (and his wife's) during these weeks coincide with the return of his patron. Not only did Chaucer return to favor, but his wife also: for the first time in five years, as noted, she received some of her pension from the King.⁹²

But may not, after all, the date of the annuity to the poet be a coincidence? For two reasons certain known facts

⁸⁹ Cf. *Register*, Nos. 1442 ff.

⁹⁰ Cf. S. A. Smith, p. 117. He spent this period in thinking about the political situation, and after retirement "he appeared as the exponent of a new policy" (*ibid.*, pp. 117f.).

⁹¹ Cf. *supra*.

⁹² This was but half the amount.

regarding Gaunt point in an opposite direction. In the first place, Lancaster prided himself on having an establishment second to none. "The Lancastrian household," says the distinguished biographer of this nobleman,⁹³ "is unique. No other in England can rival it; it rivals that of the King. The Duke aspired to the command of English armies and the control of foreign relations. He must therefore maintain a state to correspond with his position. Whenever a king or prince visits King Edward's court, the welcome at the Savoy must equal that of Westminster Palace. . . Hence a lavish expenditure upon the household. Like the King, the Duke has his Chamberlain, Steward, and Controller of the Household; all these are men of position. His chief butler and paneter . . . is an esquire; so is his master cook."⁹⁴ Again, "if the Duke spent freely on himself he spent it freely on others . . . The Duke is above all things a cheerful giver."⁹⁵

Another trait, no less important in this discussion, has John of Gaunt. His honor is easily touched. He who would protect John Wycliffe two years later, would inevitably support one much nearer him.⁹⁶ Now, one of the first pieces of information the generous and chivalrous-minded Duke must have got upon his return to London in April⁹⁷ was the fact that Geoffrey Chaucer's services had not been fully appreciated. It must have annoyed him to learn that here was living in neglect the husband of his consort's waiting woman (generously pensioned two years before), who was at the same time the very poet that had preserved the memory of his first wife. His honor must now, if ever, have been injured. No faithful retainer, if he knew it, was ever in want. And, as we have been reminded, the Duke "is above all things a cheerful giver." Hence, what more natural than the Comptrollership (and Aldgate) as well as a life annuity to the author of the *Book of the Duchess*?

⁹³ S. A.-Smith, p. 224.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 225 f.

⁹⁶ Stury's case has been noted also.

⁹⁷ See *supra*.

But why such a generous gift (£10), in addition to a like amount which Chaucer was to receive for his wages as Customs officer? The stipend for such an important post was not large. The King presumably would not have objected to a greater sum, had his coffers not been empty. Lancaster, however, would see to that. Chaucer at any rate had at last been rewarded (for his Genoa trip). If the wages would not permit him to live comfortably, the Duke could—and would—double his salary. Is it any wonder that the *House of Fame*⁹⁸ echoes a “content so absolute that not another comfort like to this succeeds in unknown fate”?

The events of the next year (1375) support the above interpretation. For the first time on record every City gate was leased that year; but—and this is the significant fact—in each case these gates were granted to officers of the City—chiefly to Sergeants (at arms): in other words to persons with power to arrest and keep the peace. This apparently means that the municipal powers were fearing (a fear that is supported by the chroniclers of the day¹⁰⁰) the Duke's designs; a fear, as we shall soon see, that was only too well-founded.

To summarize: A combination of circumstances may have given Aldgate (and the Customs office) to Chaucer. He was, in the first place, an esquire of the King. For his services at Genoa, which had been tardily recognized, his ruler was under obligation to him. However, King Edward, beset with financial and other evils, failed to recompense the poet. At this moment the Duke of Lancaster appears on the scene, and for some unaccountable reason things begin to happen. Perhaps Chaucer had the choice of a dwelling when opportunities came his way; certainly Aldgate was to all appearances an ideal place for a student and poet. Strode's lease the following year of the neighboring gate supports such a view.¹⁰¹ Moreover, the *House of Fame*

⁹⁸ Cf. my forthcoming article, “Was Chaucer Happily Married?”

¹⁰⁰ It has already been mentioned that Gaunt sent his family into the Midlands in 1373 (cf. notes 83 and 90).

¹⁰¹ Strode, of course, was employed by the City.

reflects not only a freedom from financial worries, but perfect happiness.¹⁰² All this would not be inconsistent with the Duke's projects which at that time were already suspected. If he was *not* instrumental in obtaining the dwelling and the Customs post for Chaucer, all facts connected with the future leasing of the gates point that way. For, from now on (as this paper will show), these gates will play a large share in the political corruption of London: a part in the political intrigues of the City that will involve no less a person than Geoffrey Chaucer himself twelve years later.

Not only were the gates granted to the officers of the City or the Mayor, but they were likewise leased, with almost unbroken regularity, just before or after election for Mayor. This election was held annually on October 13,¹⁰³ and the Mayor was sworn in on the following 28th.¹⁰⁴ Cripplegate was leased about Oct. 1¹⁰⁵ (1375); and between Oct. 13 and the end of the year (1390); Aldersgate, Oct. 27 (1375); Nov. 4 (1377); Dec. 11 (1382); and Dec. 4 (1395); Ludgate, Sept. 14 (1378); Dec. 11 (1382); Oct. 3 (1384); Postern about Oct. 1¹⁰⁶ (1375); December (1385); London Bridge, Jan. 26 (1383).

Four gates, it will be observed, were leased shortly before election—three within two weeks, and the fourth within a month. Of the other eight seven were granted between election day and the end of the year, and the remaining one in January. And one was actually leased the day before the mayor was sworn into office. That these gates were the mayor's "plums" no one, I believe, would for a moment deny.¹⁰⁷ If, however, doubt lingers in anybody's mind,

¹⁰² Cf. note 98.

¹⁰³ *Letter-book*, H, pp. 14, 47, 78, 154, 219f., 251, 289f., 358, 426. With the exception of 1365 and 1367 (and possibly 1366) this remained the date until 1546.

¹⁰⁴ *Letter-Book*, H, pp. 14, 47, 154, etc.

¹⁰⁵ Monday following the "Feast of St. Michael (29 September)."

¹⁰⁶ Cf. note 105.

¹⁰⁷ To be sure Chaucer's case offers an apparent exception.

the following incident should remove all suspicion. Ralph Strode, who had been granted Aldersgate in 1375 by a victualling mayor, was given a pension in 1384 and again in 1386 by a victualling mayor because he had been "speciously ousted" during the mayoralty of a non-victualling mayor in 1382.¹⁰⁸

What were the conditions in 1386? This brings us to the crux of the matter, for it was in that year that Chaucer lost his dwelling. Attention has already been directed to the unusual conditions at this particular time. We may now ask, how many changes were there, and when were they made? I find four¹⁰⁹—Postern, May 4; Aldersgate, May 23; Ludgate, July 11; and Aldgate, October 5. We are at once impressed not only by the number of changes (no single year during these two decades witnessed so many), but also by the dates on which they were leased. Three of the four were granted at an unusual time, for it has just been shown that the changes during the other years were invariably made just before or after the October election for mayor.

We are now prepared to investigate the reasons for these abnormal conditions. The year 1386 was, as is well-known, one of the most crucial years in London's history. It was then that John of Gaunt and his nephew, the young and irresponsible King, clashed after a long quarrel. Immediately after the election for mayor in October, 1383, Northampton, who had been defeated, at once resorted to conspiracy. He held meetings in various parts of the City with some of his sympathizers "to concert measures for the overthrow" of the victualling class.¹¹⁰ As a consequence, he was bound over in January (1384) to keep peace in the sum of £5000.¹¹¹ In February the King issued a writ to the Mayor to deliver

¹⁰⁸ See *supra* under Aldersgate. Note also the fact that the gates usually went to Sergeants (see *supra*).

¹⁰⁹ Cripplegate had been in need of repairs in 1383 (*Letter-Book*, H, p. 215).

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xxxv. Cf. Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, pp. 280ff.

¹¹¹ *Letter-Book*, H, p. 229n.

Northampton to the Constable of Corfe Castle.¹¹³ The following August he was sentenced to be hanged, but—thanks to the intercession of the Queen—was given a life sentence instead.¹¹³ In September he was sentenced to Tintagel Castle for ten years, and at the expiration of that time to give sureties for peace and not to undertake to come within 100 miles of the City.¹¹⁴

Meanwhile John of Gaunt and his companions were using their best endeavors with the King to obtain Northampton's release. Richard was given to understand that the majority of citizens was in favor of a distance of forty miles instead of 100—as originally ordered.¹¹⁵ The climax was reached March 28 (1386) when the "Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons being severally asked to declare on oath whether they thought it better for the peace of the City" that Northampton and his followers "should be allowed to approach within 40 miles of the City or be kept at the distance of 100 miles as previously ordered, declared that the approach of all or any of them within a distance of 40 miles would engender discord and debate in the City, which God forbid."¹¹⁶

John of Gaunt, who was now preparing to leave again for Spain on his wild goose chase, became roused with indignation. On the 7th, and again on the 12th of May (Postern and Aldersgate were leased on the 4th and the 23rd respectively), the Duke wrote Mayor Brembre upbraiding him for his "unreasonable and outrageous" conduct in winning the King's confidence.¹¹⁷ A compromise was effected June 3 when the King "at the urgent prayer of

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 245ff. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. xxxvii f. and notes.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-6; p. 266n.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 270-282, and notes.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* The "Mayor was asked to take with him the Aldermen and such Commoners as he would, and approach the King with the view of getting him to allow the original order to stand" (*ibid.*, p. 282).

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xli. The King had already given his promise to Gaunt that Northampton would be pardoned, but he was not to approach within forty miles of London.

John of Gaunt" ordered Northampton and his associates to be set free.¹¹⁸ July 7 (Ludgate was granted on the 11th) Gaunt set sail for Spain.¹¹⁹

What shall be said for Chaucer and his loss of Aldgate? That it was not due, directly at any rate, to Gaunt's departure is certain. It may be possible in this manner to account for the changes in the other gates earlier in the year. On the other hand, there is good reason also for believing that the King was not on unfriendly terms with Chaucer. If there had been any doubt in Richard's mind, Chaucer's loss would have come before Gaunt set sail, or certainly during the summer. Particularly significant in this connection is the fact that three gates had already been let this year (when the strife with the Duke was the fiercest), and all to royal or municipal servants. Chaucer, furthermore, still held his royal preferments, which he did not lose until December. Too, through somebody's influence (probably the King's) he had become J. P. (Kent) Oct. 12, 1385 and again June 28, 1386, as well as M. P. (Kent) in August or Sept. (1386).¹²⁰ Hence there is every reason for thinking

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 307; cf. p. xli. The prisoners were to find sureties for their good behavior, and were not to come within eighty miles of the City. Northampton did not, as formerly supposed, accompany Gaunt to Spain, for he was M. P. for Southwark in 1388 (Beaven, *The Aldermen of London*, p. 298).

¹¹⁹ Knighton, II, p. 207. Cf. S. Armitage-Smith, pp. 310f. Hulbert (*op. cit.*, p. 61), in trying to prove too much, makes the amazing statement (likewise omits his authority) that Gaunt left in March. (Since the Duke left London in that month Hulbert may have confused matters). That he did not depart from England until July has been known for years. See, for example, Kittredge, *Supposed Historical Allusion in the Squire's Tale*, *Eng. Stud.*, XIII, p. 12; Armitage-Smith (pp. 310f.), quoting Knighton (II, p. 207), states that the Duke left July 7. It is well-known that Gaunt gave testimony at the Scrope-G. controversy June 16 (*Scrope-G.*, etc., I, p. 49). The *Cal. Pat. Rolls* also fully testify that the Duke was still in England in July.

It was about a four day's journey from London to Plymouth—the port of embarkation (cf. n. 67). Was Ludgate granted on the very day that news came of Gaunt's final departure?

¹²⁰ It is not definitely known to whom the poet was indebted for these appointments. Hulbert (p. 60) believes that Gaunt had no influence in

that up to the first of October the poet was still in the confidence of the King.¹²¹

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Kent in 1385. Armitage-Smith (pp. 133, 137, 441) notes however that Fogg, fellow J. P. with Chaucer, owed his appointment to that office to the Duke. Fogg was a retainer of the Duke's, and followed him to Spain in 1386. A.-Smith further notes Gaunt's power in various counties. It is interesting to note that the poet's first appointment as J. P. came the day before the annual election for Mayor (Oct. 13); and the reappointment ten days before Gaunt sailed from England (see *supra*). At the time the poet was elected to Parliament Lancaster was away.

¹²¹ My next paper, on Chaucer's relations with Richard, will discuss the poet's loss of Aldgate as well as the two comptrollerships.

V. ENGLAND'S DISCOVERY OF THE *DECAMERON*

If Chaucer knew nothing at all of the *Decameron*, his failure to get hold of it has every aspect of mystery. If Chaucer was acquainted with that rich human document, the use which he made of it is to many of us a still greater mystery. Accordingly we are led to inquire how much the England of Chaucer's time, or even of the century after his death, may have known concerning Boccaccio's hundred tales, aside from the story of Griselda's persecution told at second- or third-hand. The facts concerning England's discovery of the *Decameron* are of course not summed up in what we know about Painter.

In attempting to answer this question we must consider first of all the over-sentimentalized friendship of Boccaccio and Petrarch. Whatever the Renaissance and the modern world owes to Petrarch for his ascetic devotion to learning, it does not owe to him a sympathetic cultivation of Boccaccio's genius. The volatile Boccaccio, who by the ecstasy and torture of sex emotion had been inspired to write the naïve *Fiammetta*, the bitter *Corbaccio*, and the cynical *Decameron*, who could experience a religious conversion from which perhaps he drew the emotional inspiration for a *De Profundis*, was smothered to death in his friendship with Petrarch. However consciously or unconsciously Petrarch exerted his influence, this fact remains. The new Boccaccio was as different from the old as cool calculation is from thoughtless ardor. He toiled at encyclopedic compilations in stilted and involved Latin, which Petrarch assured him was the language for posterity and fame. The Italian language with vital material of its youth lying at his hand for artistic experimentation and development he gave up entirely and joined Petrarch in sneering at it. He tried to think more of fame and posterity than of what lay in him to express, a ruinous attitude for an artist. Petrarch's character assumed more naturally the burden of a rigorous monastic rule in literature. Boccaccio was not a monk and never could be. He fainted

where his master trod with stern fortitude. The truth was that Petrarch's paths were not for Boccaccio, and yet Petrarch with all his level-headedness could never understand why two men who were akin in their deep love for literature should still demand different ways of approaching the literary life.

Boccaccio became in later life so earnest a disciple of Petrarch that he seemed quite capable of destroying his "youthful follies" in the vulgar tongue. He had in him a strain of extreme fanaticism. Luckily his earlier writings in Italian had gone into circulation and could not be suppressed. To-day a world that is innocently ironical regarding the ambitions of the author proclaims the *Decameron* his greatest artistic achievement, though he himself regretted it as the most criminal of his follies. Certainly he would have put it forward last of all as a candidate for that fame with posterity which Petrarch had taught him to visualize.

Boccaccio's attitude may help to explain why the *Decameron* was oddly slow in getting itself known by Europe. His later books, the *De Casibus Virorum* and the *De Claris Mulieribus*, easily distanced the *Decameron* in acquiring foreign popularity. Neither the wider acquaintance of European readers with Latin than with Italian nor the character of these Latin disquisitions, fond as the Middle Ages were of such stuff, fully explains the matter. In France, Spain, and England, as we shall see presently, Boccaccio was long recognized as a great writer by well-read men who had never even heard of the *Decameron*. In England there was Chaucer. If he, perfectly familiar as he was with the *Filostrato* and the *Teseide* and perhaps with the *Filocolo*, had never seen the *Decameron*, as many people now believe, what is the explanation?

Surely Boccaccio's own violent revulsion of feeling toward the book, though incapable of destroying it, could have had some influence on its circulation. What he says about it in later years has deep sincerity. From the artistic viewpoint it is pitiful to see the author casting off his gay brain-child in excess of zeal for a reformed character. His friend Mainardo

let the women of his household read the *Decameron* and innocently thought to compliment Boccaccio by telling him so.¹ It provoked a letter from Boccaccio with this impassioned repentance in his most rococo style:

Most certainly I do not commend you because you have permitted the noble ladies in your family to read my vulgar jests; rather indeed I beseech you in the name of your moral beliefs not to do this. You know how many things are therein which are indecent and inimical to chastity, how many unfortunate goadings to lust, how many incitements to crime even if breasts are sheathed in iron, because of which though noble ladies are not impelled to unchaste deeds—especially when sacred shame sits enthroned on their brows—alluring temptations steal in with stealthy step.²

He begs Mainardo not to do this again and to leave his unclean book to be read by young men-about-town who glory in having to their credit a string of successful attacks upon feminine chastity. If the ladies of your family read the book, Boccaccio continues in the heat of his self-castigation, "they will think me an unclean pander, an unchaste dotard, an impure man, a foul-mouthed defamer, and an avid relator of the wickednesses of others."

Boccaccio underwent a period of suffering which is clearly one of William James's "varieties of religious experience." It culminated in out and out religious conversion and a terrible sense of sin when in 1361 or 1362 the Carthusian monk Ciani made a long journey expressly to warn Boccaccio of his approaching death and sure damnation unless he should repent.³ Ciani travelled posthaste from the death-bed of the Saint Pietro Petroni, who had seen all this in a vision. It nearly made a fanatic of Boccaccio. How he wrote to Petrarch wanting to give up all literature as sinful, sell his

¹ See A. Hortis, *Studj sulle opere latine Boccaccio*, Trieste, 1879, pp. 296 ff.

² The English translation is my own. The original Latin may be found in Francesco Corazzini, *Le lettere edite e inedite di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio*, Firenze, 1877, pp. 298 ff.

³ See Edward Hutton, *Giovanni Boccaccio, a Biographical Study*, pp. 197 ff. for a brief account of the circumstances and for a bibliography. Also see Silvio Segalla, *I Sentimenti Religiosi nel Boccaccio*, Riva, 1909 p. 62.

library, and retire into a life of religious contemplation, and how Petrarch gave him cool-headed advice not to follow any such wild course is well enough known. No doubt when he felt the weight of his literary sins Boccaccio had in mind the *Decameron* and his love romances more than his sedate Latin compilations.

Boccaccio had gone far in the ten years since he had met Petrarch. He had finished the *Decameron* somewhere near 1350. In that year he met and began to worship his hero. At once he turned away from artistic creation in Italian and toward learned Latinizing which for his none too stable nature must often have been plain galley-slavery. Here and there in the *De Casibus* he hints humbly and with, it seems to me, an under-current of something besides light-heartedness, that Petrarch kept him at a labor which otherwise might have been too stiff for him. He never freed himself from his new program for the capture of literary fame by diligent application to Latin. Credit is due him, though, for maintaining an admiration for Dante even when Petrarch damned that great rival of his with faint praise because he had written in Italian.⁴ In this struggle between the inner feelings which ought to have dictated his writing and his falsely overlaid convictions there is reason enough for much of Boccaccio's unhappiness in later years.

Some people sense affectation in Petrarch's and Boccaccio's earnest condemnation of their writings in the vulgate. Cummings admits a possible snobbish pose on Boccaccio's part even while quoting from Filippo Villani, a practically contemporary biographer, the arresting statement that when Boccaccio had grown old he thought that his works in the vulgar tongue ought to be passed over in silence. "But he could not call them back and could not extinguish by his wish the flame which he had fanned."⁵ Boccaccio's letter

⁴ See the famous letter in which Petrarch during a long discussion studiously avoids mentioning Dante by name. Among other places this may be found in the useful collection by Victor Delvay, *Lettres de François Pétrarque à Jean Boccace*, Paris, 1891, pp. 30 ff.

⁵ Hubertis M. Cummings, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to*

to Mainardo and his religious storm and stress should stamp that statement as truth. Indeed the whole tone of the letters where Petrarch and Boccaccio work out a literary philosophy through discussion is so deadly earnest that the suspicion of affectation ought to fall away as one reads.

It means no violently wrenched conception of Boccaccio to think that in later life he not only felt ashamed of his works in the vernacular but, as Villani says, wished that he could put them out of circulation. Most especially he regretted the *Decameron*. If he was in any way able to discourage copyists from multiplying books of his early works, or able to hold back his early works when asked for master versions to copy from, he must have taken advantage of his ability in the case of the *Decameron*. It is particularly idle to say that because society then was broader in speech than society now, it did not regard this as an unusual book. It provoked hostile criticism, as a passage in the book itself shows.* Moreover, by all the evidence, Boccaccio and his friends, even the well-wishing Mainardo, classed the *Decameron* as at least an outspoken book. Boccaccio himself minced no words in calling it lascivious. We might guess that it was often copied and handled especially for the rakish gallants who were willing to pay for the strong flavor in the stories and content to take the literary quality on someone else's say so. Boccaccio mentioned such possible patronage in his letter to Mainardo. It is a very real question whether the *Decameron* to-day in an indecent red cover, innocent of any publisher's name on the title page, "published for the trade" as it is labeled with a frank commercial spirit, and sought eagerly by pubescent sophomores, is so utterly removed from medieval Italy as we have been trained to think. Otherwise why should Mainardo go out of his way to tell Boccaccio that he had *allowed* his ladies to read it? Obviously he was proud of being broad-minded.

the Italian Works of Boccaccio, University of Cincinnati Studies, X (Part 2), 1916, p. 175. I have translated the original Latin.

*Introduction to the Fourth Day.

Even before we come to the strange ignorance of the *Decameron* in England there are plenty of suspicious circumstances pointing toward a limited, or at least an irregular, circulation. Petrarch did not see a copy of it until he ran across it by chance in 1374, more than twenty years after it had been written. According to implications in the well known letter written by Petrarch to Boccaccio in this year and containing a translation of the Griselda story, Boccaccio had not even discussed the *Decameron* with his beloved literary confidant.⁷ Moreover, for this one story of Griselda, which alone from among all the hundred tales obtained early circulation over Europe, Boccaccio in some mysterious way seldom got the credit of authorship. The popular tale was everywhere known as Petrarch's; apparently Petrarch did not take the trouble to credit his friend with the story when he circulated it in Latin. Chaucer says that it is by the great Italian clerk Petrarch, and he evidently knew no better. In Spain and even in Holland Griselda's unbelievable fortitude was ascribed to the genius of Petrarch and not to Boccaccio's.⁸ In France the story had a wide diffusion, apparently as Petrarch's. Even the name Griselda was eclipsed by Petrarch's Latin form Griseli-dis.⁹ In all fairness to Petrarch we must say that he perhaps thought that Boccaccio did not much care what happened to this story from a frivolous book written in his unregenerate youth, though this would seem queer. Petrarch may have looked upon his translation of the Griselda story as salvage, a beautiful thing lifted out of a questionable setting and as such yielding him certain rights of ownership. Yet Petrarch in his letter says that he referred curious questioners to his friend Giovanni, the author. Scribal carelessness can hardly be the reason for the absence of Boccaccio's name from the

⁷ Chaucer Society *Originals and Analogues*, pp. 151-172.

⁸ Arturo Farinelli, *Sulla Fortuna del Petrarca in Ispagna nel Quattrocento*, *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, XLIV (1914), pp. 19-20, 315.

⁹ Henri Hauvette, *Les Plus Anciennes Traductions Françaises de Boccace*, 1909, p. 99.

manuscripts in so many cases. The thing is, to say the least, strange.

As for translations of the book itself, the *Decameron* did not appear in French until 1414, when Laurens de Premierfait employed the aid of a friar who could translate Italian into Latin and by this means, knowing no Italian himself, secured the text.¹⁰ Laurens had made French versions of the *De Casibus* twice before this, in 1400 and in 1409. His lack of acquaintance with Italian explains his delay in translating the *Decameron*, but at the conclusion of his 1409 version of the *De Casibus* are some laudatory verses to Boccaccio which show how little known the *Decameron* was at that time in the French world of letters. Laurens plainly had his information by hearsay and had never seen the book up to that time. He says it is in verse and leaves one to believe that Griselda's sufferings form a quite separate poem:¹¹

De Griselde marquis de Saluces l'istoire
En rime florentine mist digne de mémoire,
En quoi ont les espouses miroir de patience;

Et cent fables compta en rime de Florence
Pour esbaudir gens laye qui croit fable estre voire
De legier, mais qu'ele ait aucun peu d'apparence.

Spain gives conclusive testimony that in comparison with Boccaccio's other works the *Decameron* was translated very late and even then was not circulated nearly so widely. The *De Casibus* found its way into Spanish about 1407 and the *De Claris Mulieribus* soon followed. They became classics to be referred to side by side with *Genesis* and the works of Saint Augustine, and a number of manuscripts for both have been preserved.¹² Of the *Decameron* only one Castilian manuscript is known, the writing of which belongs to the

¹⁰ Hauvette, same work, pp. 72 ff. Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits Français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, 1836, I, 242.

¹¹ Paris, *op. cit.*, I, 251.

¹² C. B. Bourland, "Boccaccio and the Decameron in Castilian and Catalan Literature," *Revue Hispanique*, XII, 3 ff.

mid-fifteenth century, though several manuscript copies of the secondary works of Boccaccio are preserved. In Catalan also there is one *Decameron* manuscript, which dates itself 1429.¹² Here as in France and other countries there were surely cultivated readers who thought they knew Boccaccio's work well and yet did not even suspect the existence of his hundred tales.

After this long but necessary preamble of a tale we come to England and to Chaucer. A deal of effort has been expended to ascertain certainly whether Chaucer along with knowledge of Boccaccio's other Italian works had any knowledge at all of the *Decameron*. There is no need to review arguments for and against. The fact remains that Chaucer, who usually takes cheerfully what he wants and does not attempt disguise, who can yield line for line proof of his borrowings in most other cases, yet in this case gives us nothing unquestionably convincing. That needs some explaining away if we are to join those who still believe that Chaucer must somehow have known the *Decameron*.

In the light of the situation as we have reviewed it a reasonable explanation why Chaucer should not have known the book is far easier than an explanation why he should.

To begin with we have seen that the *Decameron* was not so well circulated as other works by Boccaccio, perhaps even in Italy and certainly in foreign lands. Chaucer might well have missed the book in ordinary places of purchase. When he went to Italy, he was a young man taking odd moments from business affairs to learn the language and explore the literature of the country in a few months. A student going to Italy to-day with the same enthusiasm for literary discovery but handicapped by haste could easily overlook a significant modern work, especially if it were published through irregular channels. Chaucer was apparently not trying to cover the field thoroughly, but was dipping here and there for what he liked as a reader. Also if the *Decameron* was not widely circulated, and if it took Petrarch twenty

¹² Bourland, *op. cit.* For further discussion of Boccaccio in Spain see M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, II.

years to discover his copy, there may have been very few persons who could or would have told Chaucer about it. The vernacular was despised by many scholars, it will be remembered. The *Decameron* was not only vernacular but vernacular prose recounting idle tales of the folk and for this reason open to triple suspicion from those critics who took themselves seriously.

Furthermore Petrarch as Chaucer's informant concerning the existence of the book would be a very slender reed to lean upon. That Chaucer met Petrarch at all is very doubtful. That Petrarch had translated the story of Griselda a year before he sent his Latin version to Boccaccio and had consequently seen the *Decameron* when Chaucer was in Italy is just as doubtful. If Chaucer did have the sentimental meeting with Petrarch that some like to imagine, Petrarch probably said little enough that was favorable about vernacular literature of any kind and nothing at all about the particular bit of vernacular literature which is most interesting to us.¹⁴

But the most obvious thing of all is that Boccaccio himself was the last person in all Italy to tell a young foreigner with literary aspirations about the *Decameron*. Even if Chaucer met him in Florence, which is unlikely,¹⁵ the older man of established reputation would hardly have confessed to the unknown young Englishman a "folly" of which he repented so much. He would have named almost any other of his works first. For in his later life a fear of being thought immoral because of the *Decameron* was very real. One religious writer has even tried to see in the aged Boccaccio something of a pillar to the church and to morals! At any rate Boccaccio was profoundly different from his earlier self, as this writer points out:

Sans une révolution intérieure jamais un conteur du quatorzième siècle n'eût éprouvé le profond repentir que lui causait le *Décameron*

¹⁴ For a summary of the material on this too-much-discussed question of Chaucer's possible meeting with Petrarch see Hammond, *Chaucer, a Bibliographical Manual*, pp. 305 ff.

¹⁵ For references see Hammond, p. 306.

Je ne parle plus ici de l'affolement d'où Pétrarque l'avait tiré. Mais on connaît ses sincères efforts pour empêcher la diffusion de l'ouvrage; on sait en quels termes touchants le jour où la fille de Pétrarque l'a cordialement accueilli, il laisse échapper sa surprise et sa joie qu'une honnête femme n'ait pas eu peur de lui.¹⁶

No, Boccaccio would not have been any party to spreading the *Decameron* in England by putting a copy into Chaucer's hands. He would have been stopped by fanatical concern for his moral and literary reputation.

If Chaucer did not know the *Decameron*, it would be surprising did any of his contemporaries know it. There is not the smallest indication, so far as I am aware, that any Englishman before Chaucer's death either possessed the book or possessed an acquaintance with it—always excepting, of course, the one story of Griselda which Petrarch had put into Latin. I have made careful search through manuscripts in the British Museum and in the Bibliothèque Nationale which might furnish some hint or proof that the *Decameron* had gained entrance into Chaucer's England. I have found nothing at all, although interesting things came out of somewhat later manuscripts. During Chaucer's time the *Decameron* appears to have been unknown in France and Spain, and it would be unreasonable to expect more from England than from those two Latin countries.

The first Englishman whom we know to have possessed a copy of the book was Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, patron of letters and founder of what is now the Bodleian library at Oxford. In the Bibliothèque Nationale there is a parchment manuscript of Laurens de Premierfait's French translation made in 1414.¹⁷ Following the *Explicit* is a faint entry in Humphrey's handwriting: "Cest livre est À moy Homfrey duc de Gloucestre, du don mon treschier cousin le conte de Warrewic." At last then the *Decameron* reached England. Warwick had evidently discovered

¹⁶ Charles Dejob, *La Foi Religieuse en Italie au Quatorzième Siècle*, 1906, p. 249.

¹⁷ MS. Fr. 12,421. For a description see Kenneth H. Vickers, *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, 1907, p. 437, or Paulin Paris, work cited, I, p. 237.

Premierfait's translation while he was in France on the numerous duties which took him there between 1414 and 1439, the year of his death.¹⁸ Being no bibliophile or student himself he thought to please Gloucester with the valuable gift.

Thus when the *Decameron* did come to England, it came in French, so far as we now know, not in Italian. Duke Humphrey owned many fine volumes of the Italian writers, including Boccaccio, Dante, and Petrarch.¹⁹ Among the works of Boccaccio he had the *Corbaccio*, which he had ordered translated by Antonio di Beccaria, one of his secretaries and a native of Verona.²⁰ But this was the only Italian work known to have been translated at Humphrey's express command. No trace of the *Decameron* in Italian is to be found in records of his library, which was the finest Italian and humanistic library in England. He obtained most of Boccaccio's Latin works, as is shown by the gifts he made to Oxford,²¹ and he even had the *Corbaccio*, but supposedly could acquire the *Decameron* only indirectly in French and probably much later than most of his Boccaccio collection. This is one more strong hint that the *Decameron* was not by any means to be had easily. Humphrey was an ardent book collector, with the necessary wealth and probably with all the collector's passion for making a series complete. No one can doubt that he would have had the *Decameron* in the original if that had been easy of possession.

But granted that these hundred tales were hard for the run of men to find and possess, one still does not see why Lydgate when he translated Boccaccio's *De Casibus* showed no sign at all of knowing any work by Boccaccio except the one over which he labored.²² Duke Humphrey himself had commissioned the garrulous old Monk of Bury to do the

¹⁸ *Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁹ Kenneth H. Vickers, *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, 1907, p. 412.

²⁰ Same work, pp. 377-8.

²¹ Itemized in the *Munimenta Academica*, ed. Henry Anstey, Rolls Series, 1868, pp. 764 and 770.

²² See his praise of Boccaccio in his prologue.

translation and Lydgate wrote a conclusion to the *Falls of Princes* offering his patron the book. Lydgate must have talked with Humphrey about Boccaccio and had access to his library. Either Humphrey kept his *Decameron* a secret, or Lydgate knew of it and preferred not to mention it, or the Duke had not yet obtained it when Lydgate wrote his *Falls of Princes*. The last possibility is the most probable. Warwick did not die until 1439 and could even, of course, have left the *Decameron* manuscript to Humphrey as a bequest after his death. Lydgate probably finished his *Falls of Princes* some years before this.

Laurens de Premierfait, whose French version Lydgate used for his own translation, might have told him that Boccaccio was not an author of one book had the commendatory verses written by Laurens and already referred to been in Lydgate's copy of the *Des Cas des Nobles Malheureux Hommes et Femmes*. But these verses are in very few of the surviving manuscripts²³ and probably were omitted from the one Lydgate used.

Lydgate drops a circumspect hint that there may have been some scandal in Boccaccio's private life, but even this is nothing more than a statement that Boccaccio's rectitude could not be vouched for. It does not infer knowledge of the *Decameron*:²⁴

Myne auctor Bochas reioysed in his lyue,—
I dare not say where it was comendable,—
Of these women the malice to discruiue
Generally and writ it is no fable
Of their nature howe they ben variable,
And howe their malice best by euidence
Is knowe to them that haue experience.

The fact that Lydgate, writing over thirty years after Chaucer's death, could give the distinct impression that Boccaccio's authorship was limited to one *magnum opus* is demonstration of how little known Boccaccio's writings were to the England of the early fifteenth century. It

²³ Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits Français de la Bibl. du Roi*, I. 249.

²⁴ Bk. I, Chap. XXI, fol. xxxvi of Pynson's edition, 1527.

makes no difference, it seems to me, whether ignorance or wilfulness was Lydgate's reason for giving his author short credit. The point is that with the general reading public in England such an introduction of Boccaccio would serve.

An unknown writer of about the middle of the fifteenth century refers twice to Boccaccio in a metrical treatise on the ten commandments based on Robert Manning of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*.²⁵ The following stanza he extracted from the *Falls of Princes*, making certain changes:

Bochas rehersys off wyffes many one
Which to ther husbans wer contraryus.
Amidst all others he wrytes off one,
Semeryanus hyr name off lyuyng vycyous,
Quene off Assyry he callyd hyr thus,
Which wold no man any wysse denye
With hyr crokyd instinct to encesse and multiply.²⁶

Lydgate's stanza is this:

Bochas reherseth of wyues many one
Which in their werkyng were full contrarius,
But amonge all he writeth there was one,
Quene of Assirye and wyfe to Kynge Minus,
And by discent doughter to Neptunus,
Semiramis called in her dayes,
Which of all men wolde make assayes.²⁷

Apparently the anonymous author depended entirely on Lydgate for his information.

Soon after Lydgate another English versifier, who does not give his name, attempted to translate the *De Claris Mulieribus*.²⁸ He wearied of his task after the story of Arthemisia, giving as his excuse the necessity for any traveller after he "laboured hath x or xx myle . . . to pause and stynt and rest hym there." The author never resumed

²⁵ British Museum MS. Arundel 20, fol. 50 b and 55. See *Catalogue of Romances*, III, p. 313.

²⁶ Fol. 50 b.

²⁷ Pynson's ed., *Falls of Princes*, 1527, Bk. I, Chap. XXI, fol. xxxvi b.

²⁸ Brit. Mus Add. MS. 10,304. Described by Zupitza in *Festschrift Zur Begrüssung des jüngsten allgem. Deutschen Neuphilologentages*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 93 ff.

his journey through the book. Luckily he had completed a lengthy and informative introduction before he stopped. From this we judge that he was acquainted with only two of Boccaccio's works, the *De Casibus* and the *De Claris Mulieribus*. More important still, he says plainly that the *De Claris Mulieribus* was rare and often unknown:²⁹

For non autor wryteth synglerly
Of famouse wymen but of men many
Saue oon I fynde emonge thies wryterss olde,
John Bokase so clepyde is his name,
That wrote the fall of pryncys stronge and bolde,
And in to englissh translate is the same,
An othyre he wrote vnto the laude and fame
Of ladyes noble in prayse of all wymen,
But for the rareness few folke do it ken.

If the *De Claris Mulieribus* was rare in England at this time, what could one expect for the *Decameron*, which always lagged behind Boccaccio's Latin disquisitions among translators? The author of the incomplete English *De Claris Mulieribus* gives no indication whatever of knowing the *Decameron*, although he lived near the middle of the fifteenth century. Zupitza dates the manuscript 1433-1440.³⁰ Obviously the English translation of the *De Casibus* referred to in the stanza quoted is Lydgate's.

About the middle of the fifteenth century and after, but long before 1566 when Painter introduced many of Boccaccio's tales to England in his *Palace of Pleasure*, the story of Ghismonda got into English from the *Decameron* (first story of the fourth day) and judging from the number of versions³¹ became a favorite. The course which the story followed in reaching English translation was devious. It does not by any means always show a contact with the *Decameron* on the part of the translator. Ghismonda's story, like Griselda's, had been Latinized, and there were at least two very well

²⁹ fol. 2 b.

³⁰ Work cited, p. 120.

³¹ Julius Zupitza, *Die mittenglischen Bearbeitungen der Erzählung Boccaccios von Ghismonda und Guiscardo, Vierteljahrsschrift für Kultur und Literatur der Renaissance*, I (1885), pp. 63 ff.

known versions:³² the one in prose by Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo, born 1369, and the other in verse by Filippo Beroaldo, the elder, born 1453.

The most interesting of these English tellings of the tale is Gilbert Banester's *Legend of Sismond*,³³ in spite of the fact that the versification is halt and maimed, the phrasing puerile, and the progress of the story itself bunglingly managed. All Banester had for literary equipment was good but awkward intention, as he says in his envoy. But in the two extant manuscript copies of his labor there is a reference to the *Decameron*. This has some valid claim, I think, to be the first mention of the *Decameron* in any English literature, or attempt at literary form (for Banester is no poet, as we have remarked), that now survives. As such its date would be worth knowing. Zupitza dates the British Museum manuscript as of the first half of the fifteenth century and the Bodleian as of the end of the century. However, a Gilbert Banastre is referred to as Master of the Children in the King's Chapel in 1482.³⁴ If he is the man, as is very possible, he probably did not write the *Legend of Sismond* before 1450 at the earliest.

Banester certainly knew the *Decameron* but how thoroughly he knew it and whether he actually used it to translate from directly are questions. Zupitza thinks the two manuscripts of Banester's *Legend* go back to a previous common redaction.³⁵ Banester himself says in his conclusion that he translated from prose, which might mean Boccaccio's prose. He has changed his proper names, however, to the forms popular in those English versions following Latin intermediate versions. The lovers are Sismond and Guystard instead of Boccaccio's Ghismonda and Guiscardo.

An odd copyist's blunder in the British Museum manuscript shows that if Banester knew the *Decameron*, one of his

³² Zupitza, same work, pp. 69 ff.

³³ In two manuscripts: Brit. Mus. Add. 12,524 and Bodleian Rawl. C 86, described by Zupitza, pp. 83 ff.

³⁴ *Rolls of Parliament*, VI, p. 200 b, 22 Edward IV.

³⁵ Work cited, p. 84.

scribes did not. The beginning of the story in this copy is as follows:

Quylom ther was ane hyght and myghty prince,
 In Salern Tawker thei clepyd his name,
 Which that honorably gydyd hys province
 That through the worlde sprang hys grete fame.
 Bocase in kent witnessith the same,
 That he seyth hys cowrte wes off such prowes
 All people drugh thider to seike honor with nobles. (fol. 17^b).

The scribe evidently saw no objection to making Boccaccio an Englishman and a Kentishman to boot! The source of his error is exposed in the unmutilated fifth line according to the Bodleian copy:

Bocas in cent nouellys witnessyth the same.

It would be unfair, though, to conclude that the average reading public was as ignorant as this one careless scribe.

But though Banester (c. 1450), was acquainted with the *Decameron* and may have used it, William Walter, whose story of Guystarde and Sygysmonde was printed as late as 1532, apparently reverted to the former ignorance of English writers. Walter was a versifier of the time of Henry VIII. His work is titled *Guystarde and Sygysmonde. Here foloweth the ameraus hystory of Guystarde and Sygysmonde, and of theyr dolorous deth by her father, newly translated out of laten in to engysshe* [sic] *by Wyllyam Walter seruant to syr Henry Marney knyght chaunceler of the duchy of Lancastre.*³⁶ Zupitza thinks the writer's use of "laten" is literal and does not mean Italian, as it might by a stretch of interpretation, for, as he says, Walter does not once betray knowledge that it is a tale of Boccaccio's which he is translating. He concludes that Walter used a Latin intermediate version, as others before him had done.³⁷ On the face of it this would mean that even in the sixteenth century thirty-four years before Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* there were some English writers profoundly ignorant of the *Decameron*.

³⁶ Described by Zupitza, work cited, pp. 66 ff.

³⁷ Work cited, p. 69

The conclusion to be drawn from this brief survey is that the *Decameron* made a more difficult entry into England than into any other country with literary pretensions. While France had its complete translation in 1414, England waited until 1566 and then got an incomplete group of the tales. It waited over fifty more years for an unmutilated book, first done into English in 1620. Along with this conclusion goes a strong feeling that the *Decameron* was hard to know because hard to possess. When we find literary men in England up to a hundred years after the death of Chaucer exhibiting unmistakable ignorance that there was such a book, we cannot express pained surprise that he did not use it or carefully acknowledge a debt to it. There are good reasons why he should not have known it. He went to Italy and discovered books there, it is true, but so did literary men from other countries, who seem to have had the same fortune in missing that particular book until well into the fifteenth century. Just how much Boccaccio's sense of sin and his reformed literary philosophy had to do with holding back his most regretted book we should like to know. We can guess that these things had some effect.

Certainly a careful look at what England did with Boccaccio in the fifteenth century ought to keep editors from making so large a gesture as this: "From the day the *Decameron* was finished its influence both in Italy and abroad was very great."²⁸

WILLARD FARNHAM

²⁸ *The Decameron*, Translated into English 1620 (Tudor Translations), London, 1909. Introduction by Edward Hutton, I, p. cxix. The belief that the *Decameron* was instantly appreciated in all quarters and widely circulated may in large part, I think, be traced to Franco Sacchetti's famous mention in the *Proemio del Trecento Novelle* ("che insino in Francia e in Inghilterra l'hanno ridotto alla loro lingua"). Along with some other interpreters of this passage I am now disposed to think that Sacchetti spoke of France and England merely by hearsay, though I once thought his statement deserving of more consideration (*Chaucer's Clerkes Tale*, *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIII, p. 202). The known facts simply cannot be made to agree with Sacchetti.

VI. CAIN'S JAW BONE*

Hamlet: That skull had a tongue in it, and could sing once; how the knave jowls it to the ground, as if it were Cain's jaw-bone, that did the first murder! It might be the pate of a politician, which this ass now o'er-reaches; one that would circumvent God, might it not? (V, i, 83-87).

"CAIN'S JAW-BONE, that did the first murder!"

Is there anything more in this phrase than meets the casual eye? Though the skull and jaw-bone of Hamlet's brooding comment are without doubt human, it has been suggested by no less an authority than the late Professor Skeat that here is an allusion to an old tradition according to which Cain killed Abel with the jaw-bone of an ass. The suggestion might seem almost fantastic were it not for several corroborative circumstances: namely, that the tradition was English; that it was wide-spread and familiar; that it found a place in the mystery plays; and that Shakspeare was not unaccustomed to making allusions to the primitive and cruder art of the religious drama.

It is not necessary, in accounting for his every allusion, to suppose that Shakspeare had in mind actual performances of mystery plays which he had seen. Such phrases as, "it out-herods Herod: pray you avoid it," from Hamlet's advice to the players, or "I'll devil-porter it no further: I had thought to have let in some of all professions, that go the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire," from Macbeth, do indeed, taken together with the passages in which they occur, seem to imply a real familiarity with English mysteries.

*The present paper was prepared to be read before the Modern Language Association at the meeting held at Baltimore, Dec. 1921. After Professor Bonnell's sudden death, Sept. 30, 1921, the MS. was found among his papers, substantially in form for publication. In accordance with Mrs. Bonnell's desire I have undertaken to see it through the press. My own notes, added to his foot-note references, are enclosed within brackets. Acknowledgements are due Professor Hans Froelicher of Goucher College, who has been to particular pains in answering questions relating to the history of art.

ERNEST P. KUHL

But in the case of "Cain's jaw-bone" the allusion is less obvious, and may have been merely a half-unconscious echo of the mystery-play tradition. For clearly Hamlet means Cain's *own* jaw-bone, whereas the jaw-bone of tradition was, in the quaint language of the early fourteenth century, *Cursor Mundi*, that of "a dead ass"! But that there is an actual allusion, and not a mere accidental resemblance of terms, is borne out by the fact that the skull Hamlet is talking about is one which has no jaw—"chapless,¹ and knocked about the mazzard with a sexton's spade," as Hamlet presently says. Why should he say anything about a jaw-bone in talking about a skull that is jawless? Why, unless he had some old phrase in mind that associated a jaw-bone with the name of Cain, should Shakspeare say of a skull that lacked a jaw, "as if it were Cain's jaw-bone, that did the first murther?" He might have said with greater apparent point, "Cain's skull." It may seem to be stretching a point to note the occurrence of the word "ass" in the sentence immediately following that mentioning Cain—"It might be the pate of a politician, which this ass now o'er-reaches; one that would circumvent God, might it not?" At least, if we assume that the word *jaw-bone* is an echo of old tradition, it is natural to suppose that the word *ass*, too, unconsciously reflects the same source.

So much for Shakspeare. But it is the source of this tradition that Cain slew Abel with the jaw-bone of an ass, that interests me just now; for I am prepared to supplement the note of Professor Skeat, and the comments of Professor Oliver F. Emerson,² by illustrations from the field of art.

As Professor Emerson has pointed out, the tradition seems to be purely English. That it is not of Rabbinical origin, he is assured by Ginsberg.³ Its earliest known source is the *Salomon and Saturnus*,⁴ wherein the statement is made that

¹ F², Chaplesse; Q² Choples.

² Skeat, *Notes and Queries*, 6th Ser., II, 143 (1880); *ibid.*, *A Student's Pastime*, Oxford, 1896, 137. See Emerson, "Legends of Cain," in *P. M. L. A.*, XXI., 831-929.

³ Emerson, *op. cit.* pp. 853 ff., 859.

⁴ Vernon MS. (Horstmann, *Sammlung Altengl. Leg.*, p. 224.)

stones do not bear fruit because the blood of Abel fell on a stone when his brother Cain slew him with an ass's chinbone [ðā hine Chain his brōðor ofslōh mid ānes esoles cinbāne]. In the Christian contamination of *Beowulf*, however, Cain is said to have been the knife-bane [ecg-banan] of his own brother (ll. 1261-62).

Cursor Mundi, the Middle English poem of *circa* 1310, describes the weapon as follows:

þe chafte ban of a ded has [Cotton MS.]
 þe cheke of an dede asse [Fairfax MS.]
 þ[e] cheke bon of ane asse [Göttingen MS.]
 a cheke boon of an asse [Trinity MS.]

þe Lyff of Adam and Eue, Middle English of *circa* 1375, tells of Cain's deed thus: "Wiþ þe cheke-bon of an asse he smot him on þe hed."⁴

Among the mystery plays treating the story of Cain and Abel, the English plays of the *Hegge* and *Towneley* collections; and the Celtic plays of Brittany and Cornwall mentioned below, are singular in their agreement with this tradition of the jaw-bone. We seem, then, in the plays as well as in the earlier sources to have a rather definite restriction of locality.

In the four great English mystery play cycles, *Chester*, *York*, *Towneley*, and *Hegge*, no other instrument of death is put into Cain's hand than the jaw-bone. The *Chester* play mentions no instrument whatever; the *York* MS. lacks two pages at the point at which Cain should kill Abel; the *Towneley* and *Hegge* plays specifically mention the jaw-bone. So also do the Cornish play of the *Creation*,⁵ and a Breton play of *circa* 1550.

In French and German plays, on the other hand, one looks in vain for any mention of the jaw-bone.

The passages from the English and Cornish plays are as follows:

Caym'. We! yei! that shal thou sore abite;
 With cheke bon, or that I blyn,

⁴ Wm. Jordan's *Creation of the World* (1611), founded on the *Origo Mundi* (cf. n. 9); cf. Emerson, p. 867.

Shal I the & thi life twyn;
 So lig down ther and take thi rest,
 Thus shall shrewes be chastysed best.⁸
 With this chavy!⁷ bon I xal sle þe.⁸
 Take that.
 Thou foul knave.
 On the jowl⁹ with bone of the jowl.¹⁰
 là il trouva une mâchoire d'âne, et la saisissant,
 il en porta un coup sur la tête de son frère.¹¹

Cain. Je trouve ici la mâchoire
 d'un âne.¹²

By way of contrast with the foregoing in the monumental *Mistère du Viel Testament*, circa 1450, we have an example of the way in which they order these things better in France—Cain kills Abel with a *baston*, at the same time in a manner quite worthy of Cyrano de Bergerac gracefully pronouncing a *triolet*!

Cayn. Le vella mort
 Il en est fait!
 Soit droit ou tort
 Le vella mort;
 Point de resort
 N'a en ce fait
 Le vela mort
 Il en est fait!¹³

Now when we take up the reflection of this jaw-bone tradition in *art*, two things are especially to be noted: first, it is most probable that the artists derived the idea from the

⁶ Towneley (II.323-27). The date of the MS. is 1450-1500; of the play probably 1360-1410.

⁷ Cf. Mid. Yorkshire *chavole* to chew imperfectly.

⁸ Hegge. The MS. is dated 1468. The dates of the first seven plays are probably much older.

⁹ Cf. also XIV or XV cent. Cornish *Origo Mundi* (cf. n. 5): "Take this on the jaw-bone" (*lan hemma war an challa*, ll. 539f.).

¹⁰ Cornish play of Creation (*Philol. Soc. Trans.*, ll.1112f.; cf. Emerson, 854).

¹¹ Breton Play, c. 1550 (translated by l' abbe E. Bernard): *La Création du Monde* in *Revue Celtique*, IX, X, but particularly XI, 259.

¹² *Ibid.*, XI, 301.

¹³ [No further reference given].

mystery plays; second, we find illustrations of it only in Germany and the Netherlands.

That the artists took the idea of the jaw-bone from mystery plays, and not from the older tradition, I feel certain for several reasons. Whenever Christian art shows a marked change in the manner of representing a familiar scene, the source of the change may be sought in one or other of two influences—(1) the authority of the Church in inculcating some doctrine, or (2) some spectacle, pageant, or play that has impressed the artist. M. Emile Mâle of the University of Paris is so convinced of the superior importance of the play influence that even when the painted or sculptured representation antedates every extant dramatic representation, if there is some new thing in common to both, he attributes the novelty in the *art* form to the influence of some *lost* play.¹⁴

For the artists were generally very conservative, and until late in the renaissance decidedly unlearned. They got their inspiration from what was taught them by more learned men, or from what they *saw*.

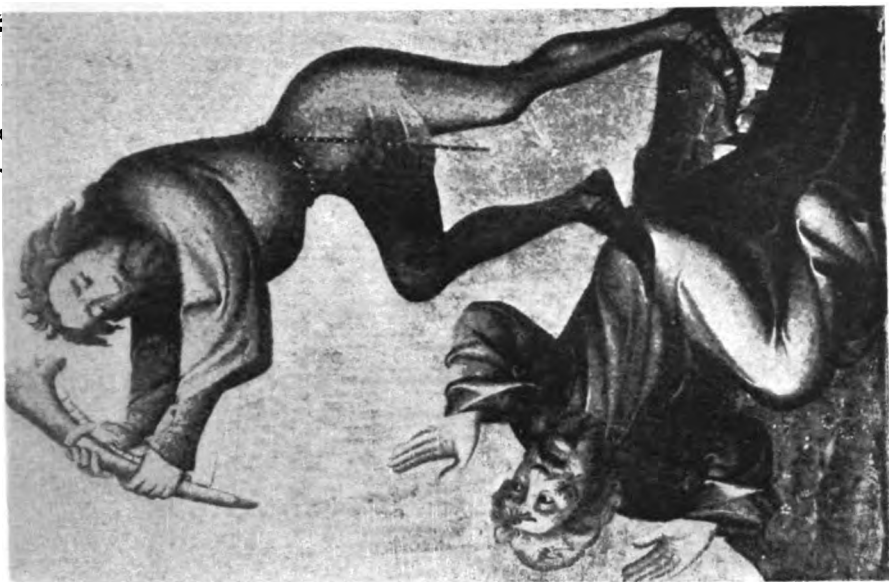
Now it is apparent that there is no doctrinal force in making the instrument of Abel's death the jaw-bone of an ass. The church fathers have little or nothing to say about the instrument, though later commentators sometimes refer to it as a stone or club.¹⁵ It cannot be assumed that the German and Flemish artists who made it a jaw-bone got their directions from the English books in which the tradition seems to have originated.

But the writers of plays could, and did constantly use just such books as the *Cursor Mundi* and the *Lyff of Adam and Eve* in constructing their plays. And artists were often inspired by what they saw in plays.¹⁶ In art the earliest

¹⁴ [On the priority of these two forms see, however, Marquand's review of C. R. Post's *A History of European and American Sculpture*, (1921), in *The Literary Review*, April 22, 1922, p. 598].

¹⁵ Emerson, *op. cit.*

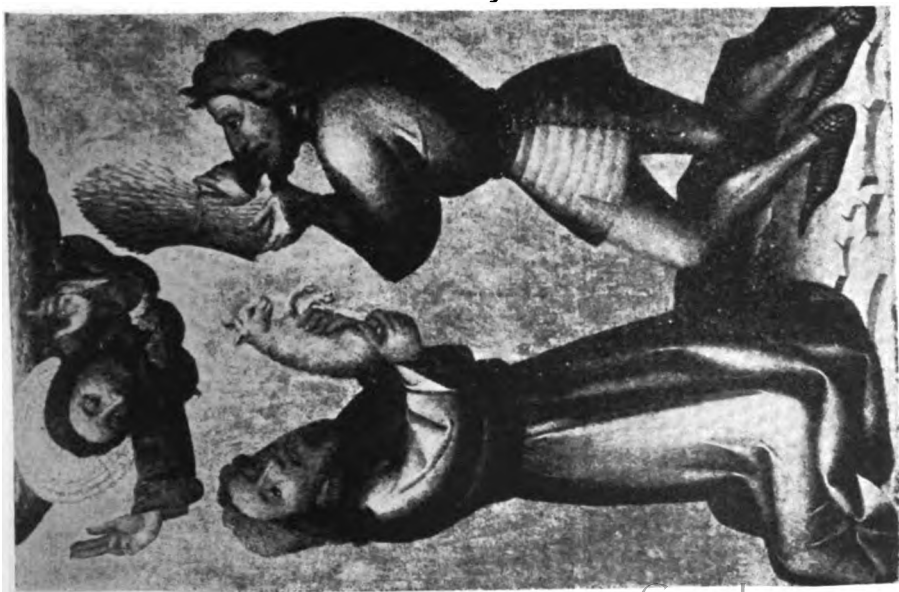
¹⁶ [At this point it was Dr. Bonnell's intention to illustrate his talk. He remarks: "An amusing example—if I have time to show it—is the case of



II



III



I





VI





representation of the murder of Abel that is known to me is that on the Hildesheim door, probably of the eleventh century. In this Cain uses a huge club. A club is also the weapon in the following:

Modena: Twelfth century, relief in Cathedral.

Verona: Twelfth century, relief—bronze door of San Zeno.

Orvieto: Fourteenth cent., relief—pilaster in cathedral.

Bologna; Fifteenth cent., c. 1428, relief by Jacopo Della Quercia in San Petronio.

The earliest, and the consistent Italian tradition, then, shows a club.

The instrument may be an axe or a hoe as sometimes shown in German pictures. Thus,

Nuremburg:

1493. Woodcut in Nuremburg Chronicle shows an axe.

1517. Relief by Veit Stoss (the little rosary) shows what looks something like a hoe.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that in the Luzern play of 1545 Cain has a hoe, though it is not said that he uses it to kill Abel.

But in Hamburg, in 1379—that is, just at the time when the *Towneley* plays (and the *York* plays with which the *Towneley* cycle is so closely associated) are believed by scholars to have originated—a German, Master Bertram painted these pictures of Cain and Abel. [See Plates I and II.]

Here we have the earliest and the clearest picture of "Cain's jaw-bone that did the first murder." Because of numerous correspondences between other pictures in the series of which the Cain and Abel pictures are only a part *and certain plays*, I have the strongest reasons to believe that Master Bertram painted directly under the influence of some mystery plays. The pictures are part of what is known as the Grabower altar.

About 1420, the famous Ghent altar-piece of Hubert and Jan van Eyck represented the story of Cain and Abel in the

the Archangel's wing from a painting of Meister Bertram of Hamburg." On Bertram see *infra*].

upper parts of the panels of Adam and Eve. [See Plate III] This picture is over the head of the panel of Eve, now at Brussels. In 1494 Stephen Andes in the Lübeck Bible. [See Plate IV] Next, we find in 1520, Lukas van Leyden¹⁷ the earliest of the Netherlandish etchers, representing the murder of Abel thus. [See Plate V] Van Leyden improved upon this in his etching of 1529. [See Plate VI] In 1533, Hans Sebald Beham, who though a native of Nuremburg and a follower of Albrecht Dürer did at one time work as far west as Frankfurt, represents the Murder of Abel thus [See Plate VII] in one of his little woodcuts illustrating the Old Testament.¹⁸

The English tradition of the jaw-bone, then, has crossed to the continent at the end of the fourteenth century and appeared in art at Hamburg, 1379; in Ghent about 1420; in Leyden in 1520, and has penetrated at least as far into Germany as Frankfurt by 1533. This curious tradition would appear to have gone through the following progress: from a popular legend into the mystery plays, and from the mystery plays into art. We have no English art to show it and only one continental play.

JOHN KESTER BONNELL

¹⁷ *Murder of Abel* (Paris), 1520.

¹⁸ In the drama it appears on the continent only in the Breton play of 1550. [Dr. Bonnell had noted on a card that the Basilica of S. Paolo contains the story of Cain and Abel, but added that "the guide (Lateran, 53, 72) does not describe composition"].

VII. THE EARL OF ESSEX ON THE STAGE

The romantic career of that unhappy favorite of Queen Elizabeth, Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, like the histories of Mary Stuart and of the Maréchal de Biron, has been often used as a subject for tragedy in Spanish, French, Italian, German, and English. Several of these plays have been studied more or less carefully at different times,¹ so that I shall not do more than summarize those versions briefly before passing on to my main subject, the relation between Niccolò Biancolelli's *Regina Statista d'Inghilterra* and its *commedia dell'Arte* variants, of which the one presented here is hitherto unpublished.

Since these Italian plays are evidently themselves derived from the Spanish tragedy *Dar la Vida por su Dama*, it is important to outline that somewhat in detail. First published in *Comedias de Diferentes*, Barcelona, 1638, and acted somewhat earlier, it was once ascribed to Philip IV, later to Antonio Coello,² with the admission of a possible retouching by Calderon; it is certainly the earliest of the known Essex plays. It is a tolerably effective melodrama which opens abruptly in a night scene with a pistol shot heard within, followed by a cry of "Die, tyrant" from Conde Roberto, the villain of the piece, and a rescue of Queen Isabel from attempted assassination, the rescuer being El Conde de Sex, the hero. While the *gracioso*, Cosme, debates aside in cowardly fashion whether or not to interfere,

¹ R. Schiedermaier, *Der Graf von Essex in der Literatur*, Kaiserslaubern, 1908; A. Schneider, *Ältere Essexdramen*. . . Beilage zum 46n Jahresberichte der K. K. Staatsoberrrealschule im IV Bezirke Wiens, Wien, 1901 (Unsatisfactory); A. Schaeffer, *Geschichte des spanischen National Dramas*, Leipzig, 1890, II; H. C. Lancaster, "La Calprenède Dramatist," *Modern Philol.*, July and November, 1920.

² The British Museum catalog erroneously notes *Dar la vida por su Dama*, 1638, [A. Coello] and *El Conde de Sex*, 1750 [L. Coello?] as two different plays by different authors; *Dar la vida por su Dama* in some editions has a subtitle, *o El Conde de Sex* but it is the same play as the second listed in the catalog.

Roberto and a servant, masked, escape across the stage, followed by Essex (Sex) and the Queen, "*à medio vestir y con mascarillas.*" The Queen begs Essex not to pursue the traitors for fear of being hurt and binds up his wounded hand with a "*vanda*" which the Conde, though not recognizing the lady, accepts as a "*grande favor.*" She leaves and Essex explains to Cosme that they are now at Blanca's house two leagues from London and that Queen Isabel is also there. The servant makes clear to the audience that the Earl has visited Blanca secretly here "*mil veces,*" then Essex describes having seen in the garden a divinely beautiful lady, masked, bathing her feet in a stream, and wonders who she can be; he adds, in the pride of his constancy, that for years Blanca has held too great a place in his heart to be forgotten for this stranger, who, Cosme suggests prosaically, is probably the gardener's wife.

From this point the plot is complicated by the entrance of the Duque de Alanzon, suitor for the Queen's hand but in love with Blanca. He overhears Essex promising to aid the lady in her treason against the Queen, a plot which is motivated by her loyalty to the memory of Mary Stuart and her wish to revenge her father and brother, executed by the Queen for their fidelity to Mary, "*noble victima inocente.*" The Earl in an aside declares his intention to entrap Blanca's cousin, Roberto, the instrument of her revenge, and writes him a letter inviting him to London; it is this incriminating letter which Alanzon overhears Essex reading aloud to Blanca; he does not, however, immediately use his suspicion of the Earl's treason but allows the Queen to greet the returned hero and to reward him for his victory over the Armada. Essex is torn between his faith to Blanca and his new passion for Isabel, a love which is mutual, for the Queen also is tortured by a struggle between love and the claims of "*Majestad.*"

Blanca's discovery of the scarf given her lover by Isabel rouses her jealousy so far that she does not wait for Roberto to avenge her wrongs but attempts herself to shoot the Queen; Essex is fortunately present, strikes up her pistol

and is arrested with it in his hand as she flees. He defends her by a lie, saying that neither she nor he is guilty, but of course he is not believed.

The third stirring act shows the tension between the Queen's love and jealousy, for she has seen Blanca wearing her scarf, and her conviction of Essex' guilt, of which Alanzon gives seeming proof by handing in the apparently damning letter to Roberto. Nevertheless the Queen visits the suspected traitor incognito in his prison and tries to persuade him to escape by offering him a key, which he rejects because his honor would remain tainted if he ran away. She departs in grief and orders him executed secretly in the palace for fear of the people. When Cosme finally gives her a farewell letter from Essex to Blanca which proves his innocence and her guilt, vindication comes too late for revocation of sentence. Essex is shown beheaded, and all that her Majesty can do is to rage futilely and vow vengeance on Blanca.

Schaeffer observes justly that this play is quite remarkable for its use of suspense, for intricacy of intrigue and for the wit of the *gracioso*; it is moreover not without passionate force in certain scenes, notwithstanding the conventional terms in which the hero and the two heroines debate their inner conflicts. Obviously, as Lessing said,³ this is "a true Spanish piece," in it the conventions of Spanish drama have twisted the original historic facts almost beyond recognition; its precise source I have not yet been able to find,⁴ but it evidently used as basis some version of Elizabethan history which stressed the Queen's violent nature, her flirtation with Alençon, her hatred of Mary Stuart and fear of the plots of her followers, and her unjust persecution of Essex, whom she loved. She becomes in this play much

³ *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, IX ff.

⁴ There is at least a possibility that the Spaniard, Antonio Perez, in London and intimately acquainted with Essex in 1595 and in France under the protection of Henri IV after that, may have been the retailer of some of the facts of this tragic story; cf. W. B. Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex, in the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. 1540-1646*. London, 1853.

what she remains throughout most dramatic versions of the story—a tragic virago, beautiful, jealous, imperious, unhappy—as Essex is given here the form he holds—that of the noble soldier and lover, whose pride, sense of personal honor and fidelity, are more important to him than happiness or life itself. Blanca, the second heroine, copied closely in the Italian versions, is the treacherous but charming villainess to whom love and revenge are all sufficing motives for action.

The other tragedy on Essex produced in 1638 I shall not need to discuss in detail, as Professor Lancaster has recently given a full account of it in his study of its author, La Calprenède. As Mr. Lancaster remarks, La Calprenède's plot is "utterly different" from that of the Spanish play printed just before it; it professes to take its material, especially the famous ring incident, from "de bonnes mémoires de personnes de condition," and may perhaps be indebted to equally reliable sources for its portrait of Essex and his enemies, if not for that of Mme. Cécile, wife of Elizabeth's prime minister, who, the Parfaict Frères comment, pursues her lover, Essex, shamelessly and is conceived in a manner "contre les mœurs."⁸

Le Comte d'Essex, by M. l'Abbé Claude Boyer, 1678, although, according to Parfaict, the masterpiece of its author, I shall not linger over, for the reason that it is frankly a reworking of La Calprenède's tragedy, from which admittedly some lines are borrowed together with the outline of the plot. Love, pride, jealousy, and honor are the moving forces in these two French plays just as much as they were in the differently imagined Spanish piece; more characters and those with more recognizably historical names, are used in the French dramas, the Queen is more eloquent and more dignified, and less maddened than saddened by love. Boyer makes her end his play by acknowledging her ill fortune:

. . . . ce souvenir fera mon seul supplice,
A tout ce que j'aimois, j'ai fait perdre le jour;
Ce que j'aimois n'est plus, et j'ai tout mon amour.

⁸ *Histoire du théâtre français*, etc., Paris, 1747, vol. XII, pp. 110-11. There is a longer discussion of La Calprenède's play in vol. V., 1745, pp. 477-480.

The Abbé's play was never popular because it was rivalled in the year of its production by Thomas Corneille's *Comte d'Essex*, a most heroically chivalrous version of the story. The author in his preface praises La Calprenède's tragedy but professes an intention to keep, in his own play, closer to the facts of history as recorded by Camden; he gives an outline of Elizabeth's favor to Essex, of that noble's unfortunate Irish expedition, of the suspicion of his plot with Tyrone, of his being deprived of command and finally of his entrance to London, where he "révolta le peuple, fu pris, condamné et ayant toujours refusé de demander grâce, il eut la tête coupée le 25 février, 1601." Events in the play, however, are not so strictly ruled by historical accuracy as Corneille would have us believe; the ring incident is indeed omitted as apocryphal, but the characters of the three principal personages are quite as much creatures of dramatic convention as are those of the Spanish piece. Essex' tragic fault of pride is even more stressed than in preceding portraits, and the second heroine, in this case named the Duchess of Ireton, is softer and more virtuously self-sacrificing than Blanca, but the Queen is conceived on almost the same pattern as Isabel. Her age, 68, is not realized as the obstacle to her love that Voltaire's violent criticism of the tragedy says it should have been. Lessing's defence of this absurdity on the ground of there being just such ridiculous things in nature, further calls attention to Corneille's artistry in bringing into conflict "the tender woman" with "the proud Queen." Corneille does at least do a little to psychologize his characters, though his boast of accurately interpreting history is not made good.

These three closely related French tragedies, the best known of the Essex plays, apparently did not directly influence the next group of dramas on the same story, Niccolò Biancolelli's *La Regina statista d'Inghilterra ed il Conte di Essex; vita, successi e morte*, (Bologna, 1668 and in later editions) and its *commedia dell'arte* variants, though probably the popularity of Corneille's play drew attention to its subject and so indirectly encouraged the Italian attempts

to popularize the tragedy in another form. Certainly there were close contacts between Spanish, Italian and French actors all through the seventeenth century; Biancolelli himself seems to have been the uncle of the famous Domini-que, Domenico Biancolelli, who played the rôle of Arlecchino at the *Comédie Italienne* in Paris for many years.⁶ He therefore must have been familiar with the Parisian stage, as he certainly was with the Neapolitan, for he tells in the preface to one of his tragedies, *Il carnefice di sè stesso*, that he had acted in Naples in the company of a certain Fabrizio. If he made one of a Neapolitan company, it is quite inevitable that he would have had innumerable opportunities to hear and to see Spanish plays and Spanish actors, for Naples at this time was overrun with both.⁷ Evidently he admired the Spanish style more than the French, for he chose as his model Coello's tragedy rather than La Calprenède's, when he came to write his own version of Essex' history; or, a more probable hypothesis, instead of working directly from the Spanish play, he wrote up a scenario based directly on it; in the lack of exact dates for the scenarios, there is no way of proving absolutely whether they or the written tragedy were the prior version.

Biancolelli's very carelessly printed play⁸ seems in pro-

⁶ For details about this interesting family of actors and writers, cf. L. Rasi, *I comici italiani. Biografia, bibliografia, iconografia*, Firenze, 1897, Vol. I, under Biancolelli.

⁷ B. Croce, *I teatri di Napoli*, nuova edizione, Bari, 1916, Chaps. V ff. I present other evidence of the close contact between Spanish and Italian playwrights and actors in an article on the *Maréchal de Biron on the Stage*, *Mod. Philol.* XX, Feb., 1923. Cf. also A. Belloni, *Il Seicento*, Milano, 1898-9, pp. 288 ff.

⁸ The printing is so careless that there is not even agreement between the lists of *Dramatis Personae* and the characters as they appear; no Duca is listed, yet one appears in several scenes as a Councillor of the Queen, the Cap. Scarabombardone of the list is called Frangimonte when he enters; Scatarello, the gardener of the list, is called Calcatruffo in 1, 2. Moreover the entrances are very inexact, e.g., in 1, 6, the Conte enters, according to the stage directions, yet he evidently does not really do so, until two scenes later. Other stage directions are often wrong, e.g., in II, 3; the punctuation is extraordinarily bad and the lettering often unclear.

duction to have been more elaborate than its Spanish model; for one thing, it begins with an allegorical prolog in verse by "Genio, Crudeltà e Morte," all in dark draperies, a prophecy of coming ill to the Queen and Essex, similar in tone to the witches' prolog in *Macbeth*, though much longer and less impressive. "Alla vendetta!" cries Crudeltà as the three ill-omened ones withdraw to make way for the entrance of the hero and his servant, Picariglio, who have come from victory over the Suevi to make a nocturnal visit to Florisbe, first cousin to the Queen and Essex' love. The Earl goes in while his servant remains to sing about macaroni, then to sleep on the ground and entertain the audience with his audible and absurd dreams. A gardener with a key in his hand, stumbles over the sleeper and various *lazzi* of fright ensue just as in the *commedia dell'arte* variants. A pistol shot within frightens off the gardner and the Earl rushes on the stage pursuing "i Satelliti" and himself pursued by the masked and unrecognized Queen, as in the Spanish play. Faithful to the source again is the following scene in which the Queen binds up the Earl's arm with a scarf of her own, though he says his wound is less in his arm than in his heart; she goes out, and he soliloquizes over his love for her and for Florisbe, princess of Bohemia and the Queen's cousin; he then kicks Picariglio awake and drags him out.

So far the written play is almost exactly in plot like the scenarios,⁹ though they have not the allegorical prolog, but

⁹ A. Bartoli printed one of these in his *Scenari inediti della commedia dell'arte* . . . Firenze, 1880, suggesting, evidently without investigation, that it derived from the Abbé Boyer's play. Another, unprinted, is listed as No. 13 in the second volume of the large collection of MS. scenarios described by B. Croce in *Una Nuova raccolta de scenari*, *Gior. Stor.*, XXIX, 1897, and attributed by G. Caprin to its Spanish original, *Dar la vida*, etc., without a recognition of Biancolelli's version; cf. Caprin, *La commedia dell'arte al principio del secolo XVIII*, *Rivista teatrale*, 1905, a study particularly of the Spanish-Italian interrelations. The scenario I print below is from the collection in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome, first described by F. De Simone Brouwer in *Rendiconto della reale accademia dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali*, etc., Ser. V, vol. X, 1901. One scenario in this collection, compared by Brouwer with Biancolelli's play because its title is similar—*La regina statista regnante*—has nothing in common with Biancolel-

at this point they insert, *commedia dell'arte* fashion, a servants' love scene. Biancolelli instead follows the Spanish plot in introducing at once, Aldimiro, "il Delfino," though he changes the characterization by making him in love with the Queen and a helper of Florisbe in her ambition to marry the Earl of Essex. Biancolelli's still bolder change is in the character of Essex himself, for when that hero enters it is with an aside, "Convien finger," which shows that he no longer loves Florisbe but has nearly forgot her in his instantly conceived passion for her cousin. She believes his protestations, however, and again, as in *Dar la Vida*, tells of her plots against the Queen and of her relative's attempt at assassination the previous night. Her motive is not mere vengeance in this version, but also a desire to seize the throne, chiefly because she thinks such an act would secure Essex' adherence by satisfying his ambition. He seems to consent to aid her, and is told that her cousins are hidden in London, unknown, awaiting her word to try another attack on the Queen. She goes to them and Essex soliloquizes on his wish to convert the Princess to a better mind and so save the Queen.

In the scene which follows one curious detail seems an indication that Bartoli's scenario, at least, was derived directly from the Spanish tragedy and that Biancolelli's play was written up from it; this is the allusion by the Queen to her enemies, who in Bartoli's scenario are called Spagnoli, as in *Dar la Vida*, and in Biancolelli's tragedy are called "Satelliti . . . del Re Suevo, mio capitalissimo nemico." It is quite possible that the author of a fully written play would wish to vary his version by changing well known details which the actors, translating a Spanish original, would not have bothered to alter. However, since the scenario printed below calls the enemies Bohemians, and since in other aspects the written tragedy is nearer the Spanish than are the scenarios, and since, as I have said,

li's play. Brouwer compares the scenario printed below—*Gl'honesti amori della Regina d' Inghilterra con la morte del Conte di Sex*—to Bartoli's scenario, which indeed it does closely resemble, but does not recognize the similarity between them and Biancolelli's tragedy.

exact dates for the latter are lacking, no absolute priority for one version may be claimed. What is certain is a strong *commedia dell'arte* influence on Biancolelli's play, shown particularly in its stock character types, the servants and the old men, of whom the councillor-duke in the sixth scene of the first act is the chief spokesman. In his long-winded moralizing remarks, stuffed with classical allusions and with exaggerated conceits, he is a distorted image of Polonius, and recalls the common origin of the two types in the Pantaloon or Dr. Graziano of the improvised plays. Moreover the Capitano, who is another of the Queen's Councillors, is precisely the kind of braggart found in hundreds of scenarios; when his royal mistress tells of the attack on her life the preceding night, he says he is so angry he could cut the world to bits and play ball with the pieces till he had annihilated all her enemies, that he will find the evil doers, be they in the highest clouds, in the moon, in the depths of the sea or in Hell itself. Whereupon the Queen professes herself diverted by such jests, "benche in tempo di tristezza."

The Earl is introduced into this full court scene by Picariglio, who describes him as "sano, bello e grasso come un porco;" the Queen rewards the messenger with a chain and medallion portrait of herself, an incident greatly enlarged in the scenarios by the Zanni's *lazzi* of gratitude, which include several attempts to kiss her majesty. The written play dwells in more courtly manner on the Earl's rhetorical account of his battles and his victories over the Suevi; both versions agree that the Queen rewards her soldier with the title of Governor General and that she follows the honor with questions about the state of his heart. Here Biancolelli's dialog is too characteristic of this type of play to be entirely omitted. Accused of being in love, Essex replies,

Eh, madama, i miei pochi talenti non sono bastevoli per mercarmi corrispondenza e poscia il mio cuore libero di tali incendij non lasciò mai correre cupido in alcun oggetto. O quanto mentisco! *Piano da sè.*

The entrance of Florisbe causes the Queen to dismiss her instantly, though not before noting that her arrival makes

Essex change color. Bartoli's scenario omits the next scene of the written play, where the Queen confesses her love to Essex, promising him not beauty but wealth; he takes her hand respectfully and says he loves, but when she goes out with the Capitano to see about confirming the Earl's honors, he soliloquizes on the conflict in his heart between love and faith, apparently being equally devoted to the Queen and to Florisbe, until he reveals in his concluding lines,

A novella fiamma io dono il cuore,
Non è colpa mia ma dell' amore.

From this point, the eleventh scene of the first act, the princess takes a more prominent part in Biancolelli's plot and there are introduced several elements not found in the Spanish play nor in the scenarios. The most picturesque of these is the episode of the Marchese di Rocca, Florisbe's traitorous cousin, who, disguised as an Armenian merchant bearing a chest of jewels, comes to attempt again the Queen's life. Before he reaches the royal presence, there is a soliloquy by Essex, telling of his anonymous warning to the Queen to beware of assassins and of his conflict between lover's loyalty to Florisbe, and subject's loyalty to the Queen. Another interruption to the main plot in the written play, as in the scenarios is a love scene between Picariglio and Alidora, Florisbe's woman, much of which is in too lively a style to be very quotable.

Finally, in the sixteenth scene of this same long act, "Si apre il Foro, si vede la Regina sentata apreso un tavolino," taking council with the Marchese di Vermes over the anonymous warning she has just received. The Marchese tediously advises her to pretend to go to sleep in audiences so that she may observe carefully, unsuspected, what goes on around her. An Armenian jewel merchant is announced, the councillor hides behind the door and she receives the merchant alone, though bidding him keep his distance because his perfumes "mi offendano il capo. Buon pretesto. *Lo dice piano.*" While the merchant explains in dialect the magic properties of his wares, the Queen pretends to sleep, all the

time watching him and commenting in asides. He draws a dagger on her, she calls the guards, he kills himself and is carried out by the soldiers.

The first act of the written play ends here but the scenarios add a little comic scene between three Zanni, in which Essex' servant is robbed of his new chain and fine robes, a scene continued in the opening of the second act. As in the written play, the scenarios stress here also the princess' jealousy when she sees the scarf given Essex by the Queen, and her snatching it and the Earl's pistol from his servant and vowing vengeance for her slighted love and her cousin's death. Both written and improvised plays show Florisbe interrupting a love scene between the Queen and Essex by entering the presence with the scarf on her arm and thus precipitating a fearful tirade from her majesty against the "traditore," the "mostro d'ingratitude" who has given away her favors. She banishes the astonished Earl, whose fate from this moment grows darker and darker, notwithstanding pleas in his favor from the Capitano and other councillors, who assure the queen of the general admiration in which Essex is held.

The catastrophe is brought on by Aldimiro who asks permission for Florisbe to marry Essex; the Queen refuses on the ground that such a match would displease her; she further threatens the princess with death if she continue to love the Earl. She then tears up Essex' letter asking grace, and, presumably exhausted by emotion, goes really to sleep in her chair. Essex enters and makes love to her as she sleeps, she answers in dream phrases. Florisbe steals in and tries to shoot her, and as in the Spanish play is prevented by Essex, who snatches her weapon as she flees and is consequently himself arrested for treason. The second act of the written play ends seriously with the Queen's refusal to hear the defence; the scenarios as usual close with a couple of short *lazzi* scenes, this time between the Capitano and the Zanni.

Act III follows closely the Spanish original, though with a good deal of comic intermixture not found there. It first shows the "conte cinto di catene prigione" in a love scene

with Florisbe, who has come to urge escape in her dress and mask, she remaining in his place, because sure to be freed on account of her royal blood. He rejects a plan so unworthy of a "well-born cavalier" and says he will allow no risk to her, "the dearest part of his heart," he asks only one tear from her eye. She leaves him, exclaiming in rime against the cruelty of his "marble heart," he soliloquizing as in the Spanish play, on his unwillingness to escape with his good name unvindicated. A comic lament by Picariglio expressing fear of the police, darkness, the devil, etc., is inserted before the entrance of a masked lady, announcing herself as one who feels deeply the Earl's disaster. A most courtly dialog follows; she offers him a prison key, he drops it into the well, saying honor forbids his escape. (Stage direction, "getta la chiave nel pozzo, si sente il colpo"). The Queen raises her mask, accusing him of cruelty, announces that Parliament has decreed his death and bids him "Addio per sempre." Essex, left alone, soliloquizes again on misfortune and courage, "un'animo nobile no sà inorridirsi all'aspetto delle Parche."

A certain amount of suspense is introduced into the following scene, where the courtiers argue for and against Essex' pardon, the Capitano and Marchese speaking in his favor, Aldimiro pointing out the probability of guilt evidenced by the pistol in Essex' hand at the time of his arrest. The Queen says justice is as important as mercy, but tells the Capitano not to execute the Earl unless she calls his name twice. After a soliloquy by the Capitano on woman's fickleness, Picariglio disguised in a false beard calls Essex to the window of his prison and takes a letter from him to the princess, bidding her be more cautious in future, since "I am going to death for her, my sole regret being that I cannot remain to console her." Picariglio is stopped and unbearded by the Capitano, who takes his letter, though the Zanni says it is only "a list of all the courtesans in the city," and that he does not wish it read because, "vi è anco mia madre!"

A court scene finishes the plot quite rapidly and completely. The Duke reads the intercepted letter and Picariglio tells

how Essex took the pistol from the princess to save the Queen. The Queen cries, "Dunque è innocente il Conte?" is assured he is and calls three times for the Captain, who enters saying he has followed the royal orders to execute the Earl when she calls his name. The Queen faints in Aldimiro's arms, recovers sufficiently to lament her fate and immediately dies of grief. The tragedy is concluded by the announcement that Florisbe "intesa la morte del Conte, disperata gettatasi da un Verone tutta s'infranse." Aldimiro, rejoicing in the destruction of "such a Harpy," is made king by the Princes of the Realm, though protesting that he has no merit at all. A cry of "Viva, Aldimiro, Rè d'Inghilterra!" closes the scene and there follows a brief epilog by Genio, Crudeltà e Morte, in which Death announces her victory.

So full an outline of the written play makes unnecessary a detailed comparison between it and the scenario printed below, but perhaps a few comments on its relation to the similar but not identical scenario printed by Bartoli may be pertinent. Oddly enough the motivation in the scenario is clearer than in the written play; Essex tells his servant in the first scene that because the Queen had not returned his love, he had changed his allegiance to the princess. Later, when the Queen, touched by Essex' saving her life, falls in love with him, his heart turns back to her though he does not break faith with the other lady.

A comparison of the written with the improvised plays throws much light on the way short directions in the scenarios were interpreted and filled out by the actors of the *commedia dell'arte*, or the way a written piece was summarized for improvised production. For example the "scena di gelosia" I, 12, in the scenario, I, 11, in the play, where the princess rages against the Earl, is fully given by Biancolelli, and begins:

"Non deve più sopportare affronti un cuore che è avezza a risentire. La Regina con autorità troppo sprezzante mi necessità a prepararli il castigo; dubito, e credo non ingannarmi, che ella vivi amante del Conte . . . "

The frequent direction, "fanno complimenti" is thus filled out in the play I, 5, in a speech of the princess to Aldimiro, the "Delfino:"

Florisbe: Signor Duca, il vedervi così immerso ne' pensieri, mi dà dubitanza di non noiarla; mà pure la sua gentilezza dall'altro canto assicurandomi, mi necessità a commettere questa inconvenienza.

Aldimiro: V. E. che hà assoluta padronanza sopra i miei voleri, non deve usare con meco questi pontigli, ma liberamente disporre di me stesso come cosa sua.

Florisbe: Non hò mai dubitato che V. A. fosse discompagnata dell'equipaggio dello solita cortesia, ma la modestia rintuzzo in me il desiderio che havevo di favellarli. . . etc., etc.,

Another often recurring direction, "fanno scena amorosa," is filled out in this way in the tragedy, I, 5; Essex speaks first, "Pur vi riveggo ò bella." Florisbe replies, "Sì sì pur vi veggio ò caro." (There is no more punctuation than I indicate.) Essex, "Eccomi stanco pellegrino al patrio suolo soggiorno." Florisbe, "Eccomi Clitia all'apparir del mio sole mi revivo." Essex, "Voi, voi mia stella propitia mi facilitasti il cammino." Florisbe, "Voi voi moi Zefiro amoroso" etc., etc. All this and much more, though Essex supposedly has just fallen in love with the Queen whom Florisbe has just tried to kill!

My theory about the relationship of these Italian versions of the Essex saga is perhaps obvious from what has already been said. In a word it is that the Italian actors in Naples in the second half of the seventeenth century discovered the theatrical value of the Spanish play, synopsisized it roughly in translation and embroidered it in their improvised dialog according to the familiar manner of their class. In this way the servants' roles were heightened and additional incidents invented for the main action. The Neapolitan scenario and the other two similar treatments are the surviving proof of the popularity of this form of the play, a form that I think probably inspired Biancolelli when an actor in Fabrizio's company in Naples to put down in print his still more elaborate and formal version of the story.

None of these tragedies, so far as I have yet discovered,

influenced the English Essex plays, those by John Banks and by three imitators of his work of whom the Irish bricklayer, Henry Jones was the most successful.¹⁰ Schiedermaier in the fourth chapter of his study says all that is necessary about these tedious products of pedantic minds and their source, the highly imaginative *Secret History of Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex*, as well as of the German reworkings of Banks' and Jones' tragedies. It is enough here to recall the existence of these now forgotten pieces as proof of the widespread interest of the Essex story on the stage and the variety of dramatists who reshaped it according to their particular views of what historical tragedy should be. That it still lives is proved by a German picturization of it from which one striking group is reproduced in a recent issue of *Die Woche*.

The scenario from the Biblioteca Casanatense I present without further comment, a few illegible passages in the manuscript being indicated by dots.

LA REGINA D'INGHILTERRA.

(Casanatense MS. 4186)

ATTO PRIMO

Alba

Conte e Buffetto	Discorre dell'amore della Principessa Lucinda, toccando anco le bellezze della Regina, li commanda che faci la guardia su la porta del Giardino, nel quale entra per parlare alla Principessa, essendo i suoi appartamenti sopra il Giardino, Buff ^o promette, Conte entra, Buffetto con lazi si addormenta à poco à poco, in questo
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¹⁰ *The Unhappy Favourite; or The Earl of Essex*, a tragedy, acted at the Theatre Royal, by their Majesty's Servants. Written by John Banks—1682. *The Earl of Essex*, a tragedy by Henry Jones. Adapted for Theatrical Representation. As performed at the Theatre Royal, in Convent-Garden. Regulated from the Prompt Books, by permission of the Managers, London J. Bell, British Library. . . . MDCCXCI. Played 1753 and first printed in that year.

Bertol° Giardiniero dice, ch'è invidiato da molti, e tratta sopra l'invidia della Corte, e che la Principessa li hà ordinato, che tenghi aperta la porta del Giardino, e non saperne la cagione, e temere di qualche incontro, Buffetto fa lazi dormendo, Bertol° fa lazi, lo crede morto, teme della Giustizia, e p. non esser accusato di uccisore, si parte, in q^{to}.

Archibugiata si spara di dentro

Gente, che fugge in mascherata dal Giardino

Conte la segue con spada in mano.

Regina con maschera alla Romana, trattiene il Conte che non corre al suo pericolo contro tanti, poi li domanda s'è ferito, Conte, in un braccio leggermente, Regina li dona una sarpa perche porti il braccio al collo, e che si legghi la ferita, dicendoli che tenghi memoria per haverla soccorsa in tanto bisogno, Conte la ringratia, Regina parte, Conte resta discorrendo delle bellezze di quella Dama, dice voler far riverenza alla Principessa, chiama Buffetto addormentato, quale risvegliato lo rimprovera e doppo li mostro la sarpa ricevuta della Dama, e partono.

Bertol° discorre circa l'archibugiata, fà lazi, e dice voler fingersi esser stato ubriaco per non essere costituito, e via.

Prencipe Discorre da se de suoi amori, Coviello lo
Coviello prega a scuoprir gli intrinseco dell' animo suo. Prencipe si scuopre innamorato della Regina, e qui esser venuto p. veder quelle bellezze, e per relatione li sono state fatto conoscere, et esser più che vera la relatione, e dice non poter più tener celato l'amore, che porta alla Regina, Coviello promette aiutarlo Prencipe se ne consenta, ma ci che vuole segretezza, e qual strada tenera Coviello, che li barba l'animo di far consapevole alla Regina del suo amore, con

addimandargli audienza segreta. Prencipe, che teme lo stato di Coviello pur essere pover' huomo, e che per questo dubita, che non ottenghi l'audienza segreta. Coviello propone, che sij fatto consapevole Lucinda. la quale è del continuo appresso alla Regina, e che ella sarà ottimo mezzo. Prencipe loda il pensiero, e che vorrebbe vedere di parlargli, in questo.

Fiammetta serve di corte. Coviello la vede, la saluta, e fanno lazi, il Pri. pe di francia vorrebbe parlare a Lucinda, fiammetta promette chi amarla e parte, in questo.

Lucinda dalla parte del Giardino, Prencipe la prega ad escusarlo della prosontione, e di quello, e per dirla, che stà a lei il poterlo aiutare, essendo del continuo appresso della Regina, scuoprendosi Amante di quella, Lucinda con gratiose parole dice, che spera farlo parlare. Prencipe li domanda il modo, Lucinda narra, che alla Regina proponerà S. A. p. servitore con encomij della sua virtù, e grandezza del suo stato. Prencipe la prega di sollecitudine, e parte con Coviello. Lucinda . . . che un terzo [?] difficil può scuoprire l'affetto; ma ch'è meglio l'interessato narrar l'amore del Conte, si duole della sua tardanza. e che non habbi havuto effetto li archibugiata fatta sparare da suoi alla Regina, venga per esser rimessa nel suo stato di Boemia, essendo in quella Corte per ostaggio e che con la . . . del Conte non habbia di non essere ajutata per suo mezzo rimessa nel Regno, e nel sue grandezze in questo.

Conte riverisce Lucinda, dalla quale intende che in bella . . . aveva fatto venire la Regina nel Giardino, et ivi aveva fatto nascondere gente per farla ammazzare . . . che maneando la Regina senza herede, la corona d'Inghil-

terra ritornasse in lei, come hereditaria, convenendoli anco quella di Boemia, e che sarebbe seguito l'effetto, quando all' improvviso non fusse stata soccorsa da Cavaliero straniero, che pose in fuga i suoi Cugini, persuadendo il Conte d'aiutarla ancor lui, dovendo questo riuscir à prò di lei così, come suo, se però è pronto di mantenerli quello li promesse avanti la sua partita, Conte esser pronto, fanno scena amorosa, e Lucinda parte, Conte resta maravigliandosi del . . . di Lucinda e perciò li dà più tosto occasione di odiarla, che di amarli, in q.^{to}

Prencipe
con
Coviello
Regina
Mag.^{no}
Gratiano
Capitano
Corte e
Guardia

Incontrando il Conte, si rallegra verso lui del ritorno, fanno complimenti, et entrano in Corte per riverir la Regina, in questo.

si diede, e dice che sta attendendo la venuta del Conte di Sessa, e che teme della sua tardanza, narra l'accidente del Giardino, ricercando il parere dello Scuoprire dei Rei, et Insidiatori della Corona. Mag.^{no} che sijno fatti bandi, e che sij promesse taglie à chi scuoprisse il fallo purchè non sij il principale, Dottore lauda il pensiero d'Mag.^{no} narra di quelli che furono ammazzati regnando, che savia bene il servirsi di spie, rimettendosi al suo parere. Capitano loda l'allegrezza ne' fatti, e la celerità in eseguire, e che lui mandarà spie nelle case per scuoprire se fossero arme proibite, da quali si potessero venire in chiaro del fatto, e che ciò sarà bene per confermar la sua corona, in q.^{to} mostra essere affannato, domanda della Regina, e narra ad essa esser gionto il Conte di Sessa vittorioso, Regina manda Bertol^o dal suo tesoriere, avio p. così buona nuova li dij una collana d'oro, et un habito sontuoso; Bertol^o allegro fà lazi, e parte, Regina, e Corte restano, in q.^{to}

Bertol.^o

Conte
Buffo

riverisce la Regina, qual si rallegra seco del ritorno, facendolo levare di terra, Conte narra di haver soggiogato i Popoli di Boemia, et altri vicini, rendendoli obediienti alla Corona Regia, intanto osserva la sarpa, tutta si allegra inalzando la virtù del Conte, comanda che tutti si ritirino, restando il Conte solo, e la Regina, quale domanda al Conte del tempo del suo arrivo in Inghilterra, Conte esser gionto la notte precedente, Regina da se stessa dice il Conte esser stato quello, che la liberò da gli assassini la notte precedente, poi verso lui dice, che stima lui esser Amante, e che li palesi, e scuopri chi è la Dama, da lui amata, in questo.

Lucinda

riverisce la Regina, la quale commanda à Lucinda, che si ritiri, Lucinda parte osservando il Conte, e la Regina, la quale pur ricerca al Conte, che li scuopri qual sia la Dama da lui amata, Conte niega non haver Dama nella Corte, Regina non esser possibile li dice che non temi à scuoprirsi; che non vi è Dama, che non possi meritare esser da lui amata, in questo.

Dottore

con la patente, e calamaio la presenta alla Regina, quale sottoscrive, e parte, facendo buona ciera al Conte, quale resta dolendosi, della fortuna, e dame, poi parte per strada

Lucinda

insospettita della Regina, e del Conte dice voler al tutto mandar à chiamare suoi Cugini p. effettuare di uccidere la Regina, che non li levi il Conte, e suoi stati, e che al tutto muori, in questo,

Buffetto

vede la Principessa Lucinda, la riverisce. Lucinda esser gionto à tempo li dà una lettera, che la porti à suoi Cugini da lui ben conosciuti, e che vi si tratta metterli dal Conte, e che facci in modo, che non sij veduto da altri, solo, che da essi, poi parte. Buffetto resta, in questo.

Bertol^o di Corte Bertol. vestito in habito alla nobile con Coviello di strada collana, fà lazi con Coviello, e Buffetto, loro lo veggono, Bertol^o strapazzandoli per la scena, qual parte seguitato dalli detti facendosi beffe di lui, e finisce l'atto.

ATTO SECONDO

Bertol. dice voler querelar coloro, che li hanno fatto ingiuria, e farli castigare, essendo che anche in questo restasse offesa la Maestà della Corona, in questo.

Buffetto con Pistole vede Bertol., caccia mano, mostra volergli ammazzare, Bertol^o impaurito fugge, in q.^{to}

Conte arriva, vede Buffetto, lo svillaneggia, che non si lasci vedere, Buffetto li mostra la pistola, dicendogli esser stato a pigliarla dal Moro a che l'haveva ordinata, e che haveva fatto intagliare il suo nome, Conte che la custodisca et insieme tutta quella sarpa, che li diede, quelli havuta la notte antecedente, che no vorrebbe, che quella li fusse di quell' [?] o fastidio.

Lucinda vede Buffetto li domanda della . . . vede la banda, e la pistola, quale gli leva Buffetto che sono del Conte, lui che stavano meglio à quelle [dileiche?] appresso di lui e che dichi al Conte, che lei hà quelle robbe, Buff^o si duole, e la prega à dargliele, Lucinda nega, e parte, il simile fà Buffetto disperandosi.

Regina Conte e Conte domanda alla Regina la causa de suoi disturbi, Reg^a fà retirar la Corte, poi parla ambiguo, Conte non intenderla, Regina, che se non intende . . . intenderà il vero, chiama la Corte, perche facci venir Musici solo, che un tale, qual fatto venire, la Regina li comanda che canti alcuna cosa amorosa, in questo.

Musico canta una canzona amorosa, con la quale

dimostra, che sij bene all' Amante palesare il suo amore, e finisce la canzona, la Regina comanda, che si retiri, domandando al Conte quello, che dichi la canzone, Conte domanda licenza di parlare, Regina gli la concede. Conte scioglie il tenore della canzone, e che lui e gran tempo, che vive Amante di sua Maestà, ma che mai havrebbe ardito di palesare il suo ardore, in questo.

Lucinda

con la banda della Regina al Collo, e che non dichi cosa alcuna, viene osservata della Regina, quale ingelosisce, e comanda à Lucinda, che vadi in Corte, per haver à trattar lei con il Conte negotij di molto importanza. Lucinda parte, Reg^a. rimprovera il Conte delli favori da lei ricevuti . . . ma saranno d'altra Dama. Conte proverà iscusarsi, dicendo lui esser Amante di Lucinda già cinque anni, e più, Regina le minaccia di morte, scacciandolo dalla sua presenza, qual parte, Regina resta dolendosi per haver lo scacciato, e fà motto quasi lo voglia far ritornare, lodando le sue virtù, in questo,

Dottore

Regina domanda del Conte . . . che lei lo conosce e che hà . . . con error il circonscriverlo. Regina lo manda p. li memoriali, Dottore parte, Regina resta dolendosi di se stessa, e d'haver scacciato il Conte, paragonando la sua vita, e suoi dolori, alli tormentati nell' Inferno, in q.^{to}

Prencipe

qual riverisce la Regina, la prega fargli gratia, che Lucinda possi maritarsi con il Conte, Regina prega il Pri.pe, che non l'astringhi à farli quella gratia e che p. suo amore si parti, lusingando Lucinda, alla quale che sono molti anni, che vive amante del Conte, Regina le proibisce che non favorischi il Conte sotto pena della sua disgratia, Lucinda, che crede

l'amare il Conte non esser peccato, che la facci Rea appresso sua Maestà, Regina, che stimi, et il Conte sij morto, e che lei se gli levi dinanzi, e parte infuriata, Lucinda resta dolendosi della tirannidi, e commandi della Regina, e voler vendicar l'offese fatte à lei, et alla sua casa con la morte della Regina, e che spera restar poi contenta, e parte.

Conte rimprovera Buffetto d'haver dato la banda, e Buffetto la pistola à Lucinda, non la lasciando parlare, Buffetto domanda gratia di poter parlare, raccontando il modo, con che Lucinda gli levò la banda, e la pistola per forza, contradice esser stato sbandito dalla Corte, ma che vuol vedere d'ottener gratia di iscusà appresso la Regina, havendo à quella fatto copiar un memoriale, in questo quali portano un tavolino con memoriali, e carta sopra, in questo

Bertolino tutta conturbata domanda da sedere, Dottore Gratiano raccorda alla Regina li servitij prestati dal Conte alla Corona. Regina si duole di se stessa e pigliando li memoriali ritrova quello del Conte. Legge la sottoscrizione, qual dice, servo divot^{mo}, dice che mai gli capiti avanti gli occhi altra cosa che del Conte, e lascerà il memoriale, e doppio appoggiata s'addormenta, in questo,

Conte arriva, vede la Regina addormentata, s'accosta, la loda di bellezza, e virtù, Regina pare che in sogno dichi, chi sij quello, fanno scena amorosa, in questo.

Lucinda armata . . . vede la Regina dice voler lei il suo desiderio, uccidendo la Regina, cala il cane e mentre vuol sparare, il Conte se gli fa appresso, dandoli di mano alla pistola, qual spara, e Lucinda fugge, la Regina si desta, in q.^{to}

Dottore è ritrovato il Conte con la pistola nelle mani

Mag. Regina l'accusa, che l'habbi voluto ammazzare,
 Corte chiamandolo p. traditore, commanda che sij
 fatto prigion, e tutti partono.

Buffetto che stima che il negotio del suo Padrone sarà
 Capit.º aggiustato, in q.^{to}

Cola fa affermare Buffetto facendoli guardare addos-
 Guardia so, al quale gli trova la lettera di Lucinda, che
 Coviello andava à suoi cugini, Capit.º. dice quello esser
 servo del Conte, e che quella lettera bisogna,
 che sij p. la Congiura con li Cugini di Lucinda,
 parte p. intendere quello, che habbino à fare
 di Buffetto, lasciandolo alla custodia di Covi-
 ello, e Guardia, à quali facendo forza con lazi,
 gli fugge dalle mani, e finisce l' atto.

ATTO TERZO

. . . . Si duole con Coviello, perchè habbi lasciato
 fuggire Buffº, Covº. si scusa, dicendo che voleva
 vedere con la sua industria, e naturalezza di
 farli il fatto, come era passato, in q.^{to}

Dottore dice al
 Mag.ºº che hora sarà il tempo di poter parlare alla
 Regina, per gl'interessi del Conte. Capitano
 dice al Dottore, et al Magºº. che haveva fatto
 fermare il servo del Conte, al quale haveva
 ritrovato quella lettera che gli dà, e che l'haveva
 messo alla custodia del Conte, al quale se n' è
 fuggito. Dottore legge la lettera di Lucinda
 à suoi Cugini . . . facendoli, che l'as-
 petta p. condurre ad effetto quello che non
 havevano potuto fare la notte passata, leggen-
 dovi la sottoscrizione di Lucinda, e del
 Conte, Dottore, letta la lettera dice sì vede
 apertamente, che il Conte ha parte ancor lui
 nella Congiura, Mºº. che la morte del Conte
 cagionerà accidenti grandissimi per esser egli
 tutto della Plebe soldati, di che teme
 sommamº, Dottore dice vuole far vedere la

lettera alla Regina, perche habbi occasione di sapere come governarsi in caso così importante, e tutti partono.

Conte alla prigione, discorre, che li sarà cara la morte, p. la salvezza di Lucinda.

Regina in habito di maschera con un soliloquio racconta le virtù, e grandezza del Conte, e che gli trattiene prigione l'anima sua, lo vede, lo saluta, domandandoli la causa della sua prigionia, Conte esser fatto prigione per fatto di che egli è innocente. Regina, che se così fusse, gli sarebbe commodità p. la sua liberazione, domandando gli se lui la conosce, Conte, che stima sij quella della notte passata, fanno scena amorosa, laudando il Conte la bellezza della Regina esser sotto la maschera, Regina si come si scuopre quella, e che havendo trasferito la sentenza della sua prigionia, che non si può ritornarla, che perciò essendo ricordevole de' favori ricevuti li dà la chiave della prigione, con la quale aprendo di dentro può liberarsi. Conte nega di riceverla, fugge, anzi ricevuta la getta in una parte della prigione. Regina si leva la maschera, persuadendo al Conte la fuga, non essendovi altro scampo per la salvezza della sua vita, Conte nega, Regina lo prega, e poi parte dolendosi, Conte resta dicendo alcuna cosa, in q.^{to}

Buffetto vestito in habito lungo, racconta la fuga delli sbirri, ridendosi, et esser accomodato in quell' habito p. intender nuova del suo p.rone. Conte si duole della sua cattiva fortuna. Buffetto mostra di non conoscerlo, et in lingua fiorentina gli domanda del Conte del Sessa. Conte dice di sì, et esser condannato alla morte. Buff°. si scuopre, Conte gli dà una lettera per portarla à Lucinda, avvertendola, che non la lassi vedere ad alcuno. Buffetto

riceve la lettera, facendo lazi del suo salario. Conte haver proveduto del tutto nella lettera, e di più di quello stima, Conte si ritrova, Buff^o. doppo alcuni lazi parte, p. far capitar la l.^{ra} à Lucinda.

Regina appoggiata ad un braccio di Mag^o. vestita alla Romana senza la maschera, discorre da se dell' affetto d'amore, poi chiama Dottore. al quale commanda, che si ritiri in Corte, e che quando sentirà chiamar due volte Viola, ch'egli facci decapitar il Conte, Dottore parte. Regina, e Mag^o restano, Mag^o raccorda alla Regina la servitù del Conte, et il suo marito, Regina, che taci, e via tutti.

Buffetto con lume dice di non haver dato la lettera à Lucinda, e non voler poi leggerla, mostra leggerla, et intendere, il Conte dice tutto questo esser buono p. il suo Padrone volerla far capitare alla Regina, in questo.

Capitano con Guardia e Lume Addidmanda il nome. Buff^o sentendo, nasconde la lettera e risponde esser Mercante senese, Capitano qui per . . . Capitano se gli accosta, le leva la barba, lo scuopre per Buffetto, qual si getta in ginocchioni, vien fatto prigioniero, e ricercatolo . . . ritrovato la lettera, e li viene dimandato di quello, Buffetto fa suoi lazi, al fine scuopre in quella essersi il mantenimento del Regno, e la salvezza della vita del Conte, in q.^{to}

Dottore Capitano vede il Dottore, e Mag^o. dice, che andava p. dar quella lettera alla Regina, che aveva ritrovata addosso al servo del Conte, Dottore la legge et intende il tutto, dice che il Conte bisogni habbi parte della Congiura con Lucinda, e di voler far consapevole la Regina, doppo, danno la lettera al Capitano, et il Dottore parte, in q.^{to}

Regina Il Capitano gli dà la lettera, Regina la legge, la

- Corte** quale dà avviso a Lucinda, che non continue ne'suoi pensieri tirannici, e che se bene lui haveva sottoscritto il biglietto, era perche capitassero nel giardino i suoi Cugini per ucciderli, come traditori della Corona, e che non sempre havrà lui appresso, che la liberi dall' attentato: libero dall' archibugiata contro la Regina, e patisco prigionia, e morte per la sua salvezza, letta la lettera, la Regina chiama doi volte Violone, Dottore esce, Regina comanda, che sia liberato il Conte p. esser egli innocente. Dottore haver eseguito il commando parte per haver il suo salario. Regina si duole della morte e doppo viene condotto il Cadavero del Conte con la testa spiccata dal busto. Regina chiama esser tiranna, e crudele p. la morte del Conte, comanda che Lucinda sij fatta prigionie, e data alle fiere, e furiosa parte p. uccidersi, o precipitarsi. Mag^o. la . . . p. non eseguirsi il suo pensiero. Capitano resta facendo lazi della sua bravura, in questo.
- Prencipe** dice al Capitano, il Regno esser p. andarsene sottosopra p. la morte del Conte, e della Regina, la quale si uccise con un stilo d'argento, che de continuo portava seco, e che fatto caduto il Regno, era stato dato (?) alle fiere, persuade al Capitano il far . . . la Città p. resistere alle oppugationi, che potesser essere fatte da Potentati stranieri, Capitano persuade il Pr.pe procurare di conservare la Città, si parte, Prencipe si duole dell' accidente, e parte.

MORTE, ET AMORE

- Morte** con falce nelle mani, et Amore con il suo arco, addimanda che sij stato più potente, amore esser stata sua potenza, in questo.
- Conte** Ne Campi èlisi in seconda, dimostra in verso
- Lucinda** sciolto l'affetto portato in vita à Lucinda, la

Regina

loda e promette in morte osservarlo, loro
s'abbracciano insieme con affetto, Regina, che
doppo haver conosciuto l'innocenza del Conte si
diede morte p. poterlo godere in quel luogo,
non havendolo potuto ottenerlo in vita, gli
dà segno di pace et entrano ne' Campi Elisi.

WINIFRED SMITH

VIII. THE INFLUENCE OF MILTON'S DIVORCE
TRACTS ON FARQUHAR'S
BEAUX' STRATAGEM

That the discussion of the problem of divorce in *The Beaux' Stratagem*, is unique in Restoration Drama, both in its tone and in the arguments employed, has long been recognized by students of Farquhar. Strauss¹ finds in the play a growing thoughtfulness regarding manners and institutions, and a perceptible alteration of moral tone. He is inclined to question, however, whether we are to conclude from the single instance presented, that Farquhar actually meant to countenance divorce by mutual consent. William Archer, in a considerable discussion of the divorce phenomenon, is inclined to treat the matter more seriously.² He finds in the comedy Farquhar's firm belief that a breach of the marriage vow is by no means the only immorality possible in the marital relationship. "The scenes are," he says, "in fact, a plea for what Farquhar regarded, rightly or wrongly, as a more rational law of divorce . . . He admitted a moral standard, and subjected social conventions, not to mere cynical persiflage, but to the criticism of reason."³

To Professor Ward the divorce motive is equally puzzling. "Some of the incidents are dubious, including one at the close—a separation by mutual consent, which throws a glaring light on the view taken by the author and his age on the sanctity of the marriage tie."⁴

A curious but important light is thrown upon this somewhat bewildered discussion by a fact of interest and importance which seems to have been overlooked by students of restoration drama, namely, that all of the material in question was borrowed directly from Milton's *Doctrine and Discipline*

¹ *Beaux' Stratagem*, *Belles Lettres Series*, *Intro.*, xlvii; liii.

² *Intro.* to Farquhar, *Mermaid Series*, p. 28-29.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Quoted in Archer's *Intro.* to Farquhar, p. 28.

of *Divorce*. Farquhar's play is shot through with ideas, phrases, and sentences borrowed from Milton's tract. In the following, Farquhar has copied Milton's phraseology, almost verbatim.

Mrs. Sul. "When she [nature] has set tempers opposite, not all the golden links of wedlock, nor iron manacles of law can keep 'em fast."⁶

Milton's phraseology is:

To couple hatred, therefore, though wedlock try all her golden links, and borrow to her aid all the iron manacles and fetters of the law, it does but seek to twist a rope of sand.⁶

It is, however, in the ensuing dialogue that we have the most decisive evidence. Here two speeches are lifted whole, and almost precisely as written by Milton, from the *Doctrine and Discipline*, and given place in the *Beaux' Stratagem*:

Squire Sul. "You're impertinent."

Mrs. Sul. "I was ever so, since I became one flesh with you."

Squire Sul. "One flesh! rather two carcasses joined unnaturally together."

Mrs. Sul. "Or rather a living soul coupled to a dead body."⁷

In Chapter XVI, Book II of the *Doctrine and Discipline*, we read:

Nay, instead of being one flesh, they will be rather two carcasses chained unnaturally together; or, as it may happen, a living soul bound to a dead corpse.⁸

In addition to the above, a number of passages in the *Beaux' Stratagem* present the precise ideas, and sometimes the unique phraseology of Milton. The closing lines of the play are as follows:

"Twould be hard to guess which of these parties is the better pleased, the couple joined, or the couple parted. . . .

Both happy in their several states we find,

Those parted by consent, and those conjoined.

⁶ *Beaux' Stratagem*, Act III, Sc. iii, 522-524.

⁶ *Prose Works*, Bohn Edition, III, 265.

⁷ *Beaux' Stratagem*, Act III, Sc. iii 342-348.

⁸ *Prose Works*, III, 271.

Consent, if mutual, saves the lawyer's fee.
Consent is law enough to set you free.⁹

This was the great idea of Milton's divorce tracts; the consent of both parties mutually given is a cause fully sufficient for divorce. "There is no power above their own consent to hinder them from unjoining."¹⁰ "There can be nothing in the equity of law, why divorce by consent may not be lawful."¹¹ "Not he who puts away by mutual consent [commits adultery]."¹²

Here is another extremely interesting passage from the *Beaux' Stratagem*:

Bon. "Pray, sir, as the saying is, let me ask you one question: are not man and wife one flesh?"

Sir Chas. "You and your wife. . . may be one flesh, because ye are nothing else; but rational creatures have minds that must be united."

Squire Sul. "Minds!"

Sir Chas. "Ay minds, sir: don't you think that the mind takes place of the body?"¹³

Sir Charles here represents exactly the philosophy of Milton, and Squire Sullen the man whom Milton condemns. It is necessary to quote only a few passages:

There is no true marriage between them who agree not in true consent of mind.¹⁴ . . . The solace and satisfaction of the mind is regarded and provided for before the sensitive pleasing of the body.¹⁵ . . . This is the rational burning that marriage is to remedy.¹⁶ . . . What can be fouler incongruity, a greater violence to the reverend secret of nature, than to force a mixture of minds that cannot unite?¹⁷ . . . Marriage is a human society. . . if the mind, therefore, cannot have that due company by marriage that it may reasonably and humanly desire, that marriage can be no human society.¹⁸ . . . The greatest breach [of marriage is] unfitness

⁹ Act V, Sc. iii.

¹⁰ *Prose Works*, III, 271.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 373.

¹² *Ibid.*, 393.

¹³ Act. V, Sc. i.

¹⁴ *Prose Works*, III, 290

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 188.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 192.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 206.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 210.

of mind.¹⁹ . . . The unity of mind is nearer and greater than the union of bodies.²⁰

Another and equally important passage follows:

Mrs. Sullen. ". . . Should I lie groaning under a yoke that I can shake off, I were accessory to my own ruin, and my patience were no better than self-murder."

Dor. "But how can you shake off the yoke? Your divisions don't come within the reach of the law for a divorce."

Mrs. Sul. "Law! what law can search into the remote abyss of nature? What evidence can prove the *unaccountable disaffections*²¹ of wedlock? Can a jury sum up the endless aversions that are rooted in our souls, or can a bench give judgment upon antipathies?"²²

Here are echoes of Milton in every word. Milton launches into a long argument concerning the ruin and suicide which an ill-mated marriage is to those suffering under its yoke. But the law permits no divorce for the cause which Milton considers the greatest cause of all. Milton's proposition in the *Doctrine and Discipline* was this:

That indisposition, unfitness or contrariety of mind, arising from a cause in nature unchangeable, hindering and ever likely to hinder the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace, is a greater reason of divorce than natural frigidity especially if there be. . . mutual consent.²³

Milton also maintained, as does Mrs. Sullen, that the law could not have any determining hand in a thing so secret and private as troubles between husband and wife.

The radical and innocent affections of nature. . . is not within the diocese of the law to tamper with.²⁴ . . . But because this is such a secret kind of fraud or theft, as cannot be discovered by law. . . therefore to divorce was never counted a political or civil offence. . . The law can only appoint the just and equal conditions of divorce.²⁵ . . . God. . . [did not] authorize a judicial court to toss about and divulge the *unaccountable*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.* 339.

²¹ Italics mine.

²² Act. III, Sc. iii.

²³ *Prose Works*, III, 185.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 265.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 267-8.

and secret reason of *disaffection* between man and wife, as a thing most improperly answerable to any such kind of trial.²⁶

The following is even more striking:

Dor. "They [the courts] never pretended, sister; they never meddle but in case of uncleanness."²⁷

Mrs. Sul. "Uncleanness! O sister! *casual violation* is a *transient injury* and may possibly be repaired, but can radical hatreds be reconciled? No, no, sister, nature is the first lawgiver."²⁸

Milton preaches precisely the same doctrine:

Natural hatred, whenever it arises, is a greater evil in marriage than the accident of adultery, a greater defrauding, a greater injustice.²⁹ . . . They [men] would be juster in their balancing between natural hatred and *casual adultery*. this being but a *transient injury*, and soon amended. . . but that other being an unspeakable and unremitting sorrow and offence.³⁰ . . . To forbid dislike against the guiltless instinct of nature is not within the province of any law to reach.³¹

The conclusion from these parallels is incontestable: Farquhar had been reading Milton, and was deeply under his influence; so great, in fact, was that influence, that without it, Farquhar's last and greatest play could not have been written as we know it. The divorce ideas of our dramatist assume a seriousness greater than they otherwise might have done, when we know that their source lies in documents so profound as those of Milton. And may we not suggest, finally, that this employment of Milton in restoration drama, is a unique signal of the great seriousness which even then was beginning to fill the volumes of English letters?

MARTIN A. LARSON

²⁶ *Ibid.* 263.

²⁷ *Beaux' Stratagem*, Act III, Sc. iii.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Prose Works*, III, 254.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

IX. HAZLITT AS A CRITIC OF ART

William Hazlitt is read to-day as an essayist and a critic of literature. His art-criticism, except for a few papers preserved in his best known books, is familiar to few readers, and to them it will probably remain a matter of curious interest rather than of serious concern. Before Hazlitt's day even, the foundations had been laid, in the works of Wincklemann and Lessing, of a more precise study of aesthetic principles, which was destined to make obsolete most of the eighteenth-century treatises on art; with their works Hazlitt was, like most other English writers of his day, unacquainted. He was thus so far removed from the best thought of his time that his opinions on art have, for the student of aesthetic theory, little historical importance. The archaeological discoveries of the nineteenth century, the rise of impressionism in painting, the spread in all quarters of art and criticism of what may be somewhat roughly termed the naturalistic movement, and especially the development of a more strict and comprehensive study of aesthetic principles, have combined to make large sections of Hazlitt's theoretic discussions unacceptable to-day.

Anyone interested in the romantic movement in England, however, will find a great deal to reward him in a study of this section of Hazlitt's writing. Much of it is of that tentative, groping character, natural to a time that was itself intellectually out of joint. The old theories—of art, of literature, of life—were, like stately pictures seen too often, unaccountably losing their appeal, but as yet none had been found to take their place. In the confusion of the romanticists' onslaught upon classical tradition, no voice, perhaps, rings out with such passionate vehemence as that of William Blake (though it is only in a pencilled note on a copy of Reynolds's *Discourses*)—"A lie! a lie! a lie!"¹ Suggestive in

¹ Cf. Alexander Gilchrist's *Life of William Blake*, London, 1880, I., Chap. XXIX., and the notes of Edmund Gosse's Edition of the *Discourses*, London, 1884.

somewhat the same way, to the student of romantic tendencies, is Hazlitt's bold pronouncement that the ideal, "instead of being middle ground, is always an extreme: it is 'carrying an idea as far as it will go.' "

I

The inevitable starting-point of any discussion of Hazlitt's opinions on art is his criticism of Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Discourses*. These admirable lectures form a compendium of what was undoubtedly the generally accepted doctrine of the arts in England up to the time of Turner, and they are, next to the *Lives of the Poets* and the *Preface to Shakespeare*, probably the weightiest critical document produced in England in the age of Johnson. They will serve, therefore, to relate Hazlitt's criticism to the classical tradition of the eighteenth century—a tradition extending back to the Renaissance and derived ultimately, of course, from Aristotle.

In reading Reynolds's *Discourses* several facts should be borne in mind. They were not originally designed to form a unified and consecutive book; they were delivered as lectures to the students of the Royal Academy; and the period of their composition extended from 1769 to 1790. The rôle of Sir Joshua, therefore, is rather that of a teacher of students engaged in the practice of their profession than of a philosophical critic establishing a theory of fine art. His precepts have immediate reference to everyday work in the studio, and he modifies his counsel in different lectures in accordance with practical ends. In approaching the most abstruse problem which he has to consider—the general principles of beauty common to all kinds of artistic representation—Sir Joshua admits that "perhaps the most perfect criticism requires habits of speculation and abstraction, not very consistent with the employment which ought to occupy, and the habits of mind which ought to prevail, in a practical Artist." And he adds, with his engaging modesty, "I only point out to you these things, that when you do criticise (as all who work on a plan will criticise more or less), your criticism may be built on the foundation of

true principles; and that though you may not always travel a great way, the way you do travel may be the right road."² One is reminded of Walter Pater's remark, that the humanist does not "weep" over the failure of "a theory of the quantification of the predicate," nor "shriek" over the fall of a philosophical formula. Such passages of Reynolds's book show not only the charm which won the affection of his students, but also that "certain shade of unconcern, the perfect manner of the eighteenth century, which may be thought to mark complete culture in the handling of abstract questions."³

Notwithstanding the occasional circumstances of their composition, however, the *Discourses* do embody a theory of art possessing essential unity. To go at once to the heart of the matter, Sir Joshua, unlike most theorizers of the eighteenth century, denies that in the imitation of nature consists the perfection of art.

The principle now laid down, that the perfection of this art does not consist in mere imitation, is far from being new or singular. It is, indeed, supported by the general opinion of the enlightened part of mankind. The poets, orators, and rhetoricians of antiquity are continually enforcing this position,—that all the arts receive their perfection from an ideal beauty, superior to what is to be found in individual nature.⁴

But his objections to the view of art implied in the phrase "imitation of nature" turn equally upon the meaning popularly given to the word "nature."

My notion of nature comprehends not only the forms which nature produces, but also the nature and internal fabric and organization, as I may call it, of the human mind and imagination. . . . Deformity is not nature, but an accidental deviation from her accustomed practice. This general idea, therefore, ought to be called Nature; and nothing else, correctly speaking, has a right to the name.⁵

Exact reproduction of particular objects ("individual nature") may, it is true, give a kind of pleasure, both in

¹ *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, etc.*, 3 Vols., London, 1798, Vol. II., page 113 (Thirteenth Discourse).

² Pater, Essay on Coleridge, in *Appreciations*.

³ *Works*, I., 53 (Third Discourse).

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 204-5 (Seventh Discourse).

painting and in poetry, from the cleverness with which the deception is accomplished,⁶ but such a pleasure does not belong to the higher provinces of art. Painting, like the other arts,

is not only to be considered as an imitation, operating by deception, but. . . it is, and ought to be, in many points of view, and strictly speaking, no imitation at all of external nature. Perhaps, it ought to be as far removed from the vulgar idea of imitation as the refined civilized state in which we live is removed from a gross state of nature.⁷

So far, then, from scrupulously imitating any known objects, the painter "corrects Nature by herself, her imperfect state by her more perfect."⁸

The fundamental principle common to all the arts is that they address themselves, not to the intellect alone, but to the whole man—to his imagination and his feelings as well as his sound reason. "The mind is to be transported, as Shakespeare expresses it, beyond the ignorant present,

⁶ Yet even in the representation of foul or lowly objects it seems to be Sir Joshua's opinion that artistic success is attained not by imitating them in all their ugliness, but by investing them with an air of beauty, by elevating them above the commonplace. "Whether it is the human figure, an animal, or even inanimate objects, there is nothing, however unpromising in appearance, but may be raised into dignity, convey sentiment and produce emotion in the hands of a Painter of genius. What was said of Virgil, that he threw even the dung about the ground with an air of dignity, may be applied to Titian: whatever he touched, however naturally mean and habitually familiar, by a kind of magic he invested with grandeur and importance." *Works*, II., 53 (Eleventh Discourse).

⁷ *Works*, II., 119 (Thirteenth Discourse).

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 58 (Third Discourse). In this admirable sentence Sir Joshua sums up that part of Aristotle's theory which was most grossly misinterpreted by neo-classical literary critics. Cf. Irving Babbitt's *The New Laokoon*, pp. 11-12. On the art-criticism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, cf. W. G. Howard's article "Ut Pictura Poesis," *P.M.L.A.*, XXIV., pp. 40-123. A comparison of the *Discourses* with the citations in this article shows clearly that Reynolds was following, in a liberal and thoughtful way, a long established tradition of art-criticism. De Piles and Du Fresnoy are mentioned frequently in the *Discourses*. It is beyond the scope of the present essay to consider further the sources of Sir Joshua Reynolds, but it is plain that his theory of the arts presents little that is new or original, except in application and illustration.

to ages past." It is to become conversant with "another and a higher order of beings." And the final sanction of the arts is found not in any narrowly conceived, argumentative "reason," but rather in that

sagacity which is far from being contradictory to right reason, and is superior to any occasional exercise of that faculty; which supersedes it; and does not wait for the slow progress of deduction, but goes at once, by what appears a kind of intuition, to the conclusion.

Such sagacity ("the result of the accumulated experience of our whole life") has greater validity than that of the reason alone and justifies our delight in that art which transcends the objective reality.⁹

So far, Sir Joshua is incomparably nearer to the spirit of Aristotle's teaching than multitudes of neo-classicists who rang the changes on that dubious word "imitation."¹⁰ The artist is not to follow nature slavishly, but, by processes akin to nature's own, is to transcend her, thereby producing something true to what he conceives to be her unfulfilled intention. Herein, according to Aristotle, lies the universal character of art; for while the shortcomings of nature in particular objects are due to chance and the objects themselves perishable, the *tendency* of nature toward the creation of beauty is constant and universal. And it is the duty of the artist to ally himself with this invariable purpose.

Now it was the special failing of the neo-classical school to which Sir Joshua Reynolds belonged, however far above its level he may have been in many respects, to throw emphasis upon this universalizing power of great art—its liberation from the trammels of the actual—to the neglect of that contact with actuality which is no less important in Aristotle's conception. A false antithesis was created between

⁹ The quotations are all from the Thirteenth Discourse.

¹⁰ A complete reconciliation between the passages quoted from Reynolds and the doctrine of the *Poetics* may be found in the fact that to Aristotle a work of art was no photographic reproduction of existing nature, but "an idealized representation of human life—of character, emotion, action—under forms manifest to sense." S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, 4th edition, 1907, p. 153; cf. also p. 122.

the "general" and the "particular," the "universal" and the "individual"; it was felt that the two must stand in inverse ratio to each other. When, for instance, the idea came to be applied to human characters, it was confounded with the neo-classical conception of "decorum," and the notion arose that a person in a drama must be representative of a general class or profession.¹¹ Unfortunately, in formulating his definition of "general" as distinguished from "particular" nature, Sir Joshua falls at times into a somewhat similar misconception. Not only can he conceive the ideal merchant or the ideal marchioness: he thinks it necessary to imagine in "every species of the animal as well as of the vegetable creation" a "fixed or determinate form, towards which Nature is continually inclining, like various lines terminating in the centre."¹² Beauty in creatures of the same species "is the medium or centre of all its various forms." Uncompromisingly, he postulates an ideal beauty of the human form, partaking "equally of the activity of the Gladiator, of the delicacy of the Apollo, and of the muscular strength of the Hermes."¹³

This great ideal perfection and beauty are not to be sought in the heavens, but upon the earth. They are about us, and upon every side of us. But the power of discovering what is deformed in Nature, or, in other words, what is particular and uncommon, can be acquired only by experience; and the whole beauty and grandeur of the art consists . . . in being able to get above all singular forms, local customs, particularities, and details of every kind.¹⁴

Such doctrine as this runs through the first few Discourses. In representing costume the painter

must divest himself of all prejudices in favor of his age or country; he must disregard all local and temporary ornaments, and look only on those general habits which are everywhere and always the same.¹⁵

¹¹ Cf. J. E. Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, second edition, New York, 1908, p. 85.

¹² *Idler*, No. 82, Nov. 10, 1759. The three letters to the *Idler* (Nos. 76, 79, and 82) should be read in connection with the *Discourses*.

¹³ *Works*, I., 63-4 (Third Discourse).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I., 57-8 (Third Discourse).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I., 67 (Third Discourse). In portrait painting, however, the artist should mediate between "the general air of the antique for the sake

Of the Dutch school we read,

The circumstances that enter into a picture of this kind are so far from giving a general view of human life, that they exhibit all the minute particularities of a nation differing in several respects from the rest of mankind. Yet let them have their share of more humble praise. The painters of this school are excellent in their own way; they are only ridiculous when they attempt general history on their own narrow principles, and debase great events by the meanness of their characters.¹⁶

The antithesis felt to exist between the "general" and the "particular" may be clearly shown by the following passage from the *Idler* papers:

The Italian [school] attends only to the invariable, the great and general ideas which are fixed and inherent in universal Nature; the Dutch, on the contrary, to literal truth and a minute exactness in the detail, as I may say, of Nature, modified by accident. The attention to these petty peculiarities is the very cause of this naturalness so much admired in the Dutch pictures, which, if we suppose it to be a beauty, is certainly of a lower order, that ought to give place to a beauty of a superior kind, since one cannot be obtained but by departing from the other.¹⁷

The earlier Discourses are vastly inferior to the later, and the *Idler* papers represent Sir Joshua at the most immature and academic stage of his thinking. In fairness to the great artist and teacher, one should recall how often his practical sagacity relieves a somewhat barren excursion into theory. Thus, as a "practical artist" he warns his hearers, in the Fifth Discourse, that "there is a peculiar difficulty in the choice of the excellences which ought to be united." He recalls, to censure, the observation of Pliny that in a certain statue of Paris, we discover three different characters—the dignity of a judge, the lover of Helen, and the conqueror

of dignity" and "something of the modern for the sake of likeness." (Seventh Discourse.)

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Fourth Discourse.

¹⁷ *Idler*, No. 79, Oct. 20, 1759.—It is to be observed that in many places, especially in the Eleventh Discourse, Sir Joshua means by "the general" no more than the total effect or impression of the picture. This total effect, however, is nearly related to his theory of the universal, for this it is which "speaks the general sense of the whole species." Hazlitt's criticism of Sir Joshua's use of the term will be noted.

of Achilles; and he remarks, "A statue, in which you endeavour to unite stately dignity, youthful elegance, and stern valour, must surely possess none of these to any eminent degree." In another place,¹⁸ he rather dryly admits that attention to "the invariable" is not always to be recommended in portrait painting, for

it is very difficult to ennoble the character of a countenance but at the expense of the likeness, which is what is most generally required by such as sit to the painter.

The sound sense of these observations is sufficient to demolish the more extravagant of his own speculations—the notion, among others, of there being "an ideal human form." For what worse can be said of an aesthetic ideal than that the attempt to realize it in practice will surely fail to yield aesthetic pleasure?

Such, with all the qualifications and the waverings that have been suggested, is Sir Joshua Reynolds's theory of "the grand style," the consummation of all great art. It is this theory which furnishes Hazlitt with his point of attack.

II

The contrast between the two disputants, in professional training and equipment, could scarcely have been greater. Reynolds was the leading British portrait painter of the preceding generation, the President of the Royal Academy; Hazlitt, when he wrote his earliest articles, a journalist of three or four years' experience, with a taste for pictures.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Works*, I., 110 (Fourth Discourse).

¹⁹ References to Hazlitt's writings will be made to the *Collected Works*, edited by A. R. Waller and Arnold Glover, 12 vols., London, 1903; citations will be by volume- and page-number merely.—The two most important papers by Hazlitt on aesthetic principles are the article entitled "Fine Arts" contributed to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, seventh edition, 1824 (IX., 377), and that entitled "On the Elgin Marbles," which appeared in the *London Magazine* for February and May, 1822 (IX., 326). The first-named paper was based upon articles of Hazlitt in the *Champion*, August to November, 1814. Cf. *Collected Works*, XI., 208. The articles on the Elgin Marbles were originally written for the *Examiner*, June 16 and 30, 1816. Cf. IX.,

Such technical knowledge as he possessed he had picked up for himself, being impelled by a love of art which, though in him it developed late, seems to have been inherent in his family. For with the austere Hazlitt blood another and softer strain must somewhere have been joined. "If we could trace back the line of his ancestry," says Sir Leslie Stephen,²⁰ "we should expect to find that, by some break of fortune, one of the rigid old Puritans had married a descendant of some great Flemish or Italian painter. Love of graceful forms and bright colouring and voluptuous sensation had been transmitted to their descendants, though hitherto repressed by the stern discipline of British non-conformity." Hazlitt's artistic studies seem to have begun soon after his famous meeting with Coleridge in 1798,²¹ when he was in his twenty-first year. Between 1798 and 1802 he frequently visited his brother John, the miniaturist, in London; and in 1802-03, having decided to become a painter, he passed four months in Paris copying pictures in the Louvre. For two years, about which we know little, he was an itinerant portrait-painter in England, but in 1805 (nine years before the first of his *Champion* articles were written) he definitely gave up art as a profession. But Hazlitt vigorously and frequently assailed the idea that proficiency in any art is a prerequisite to criticism; he denied "peremptorily the exclusiveness of the initiated."²²

466, and J. Douady's *Liste Chronologique des Oeuvres de William Hazlitt*, Paris, 1906. The two essays in *Table Talk*, 1821, (VI., 122-145), "On Certain Inconsistencies in Sir Joshua Reynolds's Discourses," were written apparently after a more careful re-reading of the *Discourses* than Hazlitt had made for the *Champion* articles; they are perhaps superior in style and cleverness; but they show no essential changes in the point of view. In the 1814 articles there are scarcely any references to *Discourses* beyond the sixth; in *Table Talk* references to the later *Discourses* are frequent. Perhaps he had not read the book through in 1814.

²⁰ *Hours in a Library*, new ed., n.d., II., 240.

²¹ J. Douady, *Vie de William Hazlitt L'Essayiste*, Paris, 1907, pp. 353-4.

²² *Collected Works*, IX., 357-8. Cf. also the essay "On the Ignorance of the Learned," VI., 70.

He could tell, without the help of the cook, whether a dish was palatable or not.

By the phrase "ideal nature" Hazlitt plainly understands something wholly abstract, existing only in the mind of the artist.

What has given rise to the common notion of the *ideal*, as something quite distinct from *actual* nature, is probably the perfection of the Greek statues. Not seeing among ourselves anything to correspond in beauty and grandeur, either with the features or form of the limbs in these exquisite remains of antiquity, it was an obvious, but a superficial conclusion, that they must have been created from the idea existing in the artist's mind, and could not have been copied from anything existing in nature.²³

On the contrary, he argues, these statues owe their perfection to the facts, first, that the Greeks were a naturally beautiful race, and, second, that owing to the advantages of climate, dress, exercise, and public encouragement of art, the sculptor had extraordinary opportunities for studying his models. He copied with scrupulous exactness what was before him, merely taking pains to select the finest forms among the many fine ones about him. "The *ideal*," says Hazlitt, in a sentence which gives the keynote of all his criticism,

is not the preference of that which exists only in the mind, to that which exists in nature; but the preference of that which is fine in nature to that which is less so. There is nothing fine in art but what is taken almost immediately, and, as it were, in the mass, from what is finer in nature. Where there have been the finest models in nature, there have been the finest works of art.²⁴

This same high excellence, scrupulous fidelity to the fine in nature, Hazlitt discerns in all the greatest masters of the Italian, Dutch, and Flemish schools.

Naturally the tenet of Reynolds's which incurred Hazlitt's heaviest wrath was the proposition that "the grand style in art, and the most perfect imitation of Nature, consists in avoiding the details and peculiarities of particular objects." "It appears to us," says Hazlitt, "that the highest perfection of the art depends, not on separating but on uniting general

²³ IX., 377-8.

²⁴ IX., 379.

truth and effect with individual distinctness and accuracy." Developing the point, Hazlitt shows that this general truth and effect—which he apparently identifies with "the larger masses and proportions" or what is called "the breadth of the picture"—is helped rather than hindered by attention to the minute—for example, by the anatomical details of Michael Angelo or the ever-varying outline of Raphael. Or again, in portrait-painting it is a general look of the face to be caught.

The *ideal* is not a negative but a positive thing. The leaving out the details or peculiarities of an individual face does not make it one jot more ideal . . . abstract truth or ideal perfection does not consist in rejecting the peculiarities of form, but *in rejecting all those which are not consistent with the character intended to be given; . . .*" [*Italics mine.*]²⁶

In that last sentence you may think that he has given away his case; not if you know this wily antagonist! Once more remove, good friends!

But these modifications of form or expression can only be learnt from nature, and therefore the perfection of art must always be sought in nature.²⁶

Having thus laid, to his own satisfaction, this specter from the haunts of the "ideal," Hazlitt proceeded to follow his chosen guides to the perilous end. The "idea of a given character," he had admitted, is preconceived in the artist's mind; but it must be found in nature before it can be expressed as it ought. Literally nothing which cannot be found in external nature is to be allowed to the imagination.

Suppose a good heavy Dutch face . . . —this, you will say, is gross; but it is not gross enough. You have an idea of something grosser, that is, you have seen something grosser and must seek for it again. When you meet with it, and have stamped it on the canvas, or carved it out of the block, this is the true ideal . . .

Thus the ideal, instead of being middle ground, is always an extreme; it is "carrying an *idea* as far as it will go."²⁷

²⁶ IX., 405.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁷ IX., 339. For the same idea, cf. XI., 229. Cf. this sentence from his literary criticism: "To [Dr. Johnson] an excess of beauty was a fault;

III

Before pronouncing upon the positive side of Hazlitt's aesthetic theory, we may raise the question whether his strictures upon Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Discourses* were altogether fair.

A source of confusion in that book, for the modern reader, is the assumption of a "central" form for each species. In the light of the importance attached to-day by biologists to fluctuational variations, that conception of a "medium" form is meaningless. Indeed, our idea of "species" itself has been fundamentally changed; for, whatever a species is, and whatever may be the relations between species and variations, certainly the term no longer suggests the static conception of eighteenth-century thinkers.²⁸ According to the Aristotelian idea, the artist must improve upon nature by processes similar to nature's own. It might be argued that this is precisely what the modern selective breeder aims to do; and we all know that in selective breeding concentration in one direction is necessary to produce any improvement in stock. Why should not the principle of concentration, and not any loose notion of averages, apply equally to the artist's manipulation of nature? But such reasoning is uncomfortably near the "biological fallacy." Let us be content with observing that when we think to-day of general groups or classes, it is merely of a set of limits within which there may be numerous and equally excellent variations. The trend of modern thought, in aesthetics as well as in biology, is plainly averse to the assumption that there is in nature any tendency toward the production of central or medium forms.²⁹ Upon this head, Hazlitt's criticism, though not based upon scientific grounds, is none too strong.

Closely connected with the flaw just mentioned is Sir Joshua's disdain of details and peculiarities. From passages

for it appeared to him like an excrescence; and his imagination was dazzled by the blaze of light." (I. 175.)

²⁸ Cf., e.g., W. Bateson, in Chapter V. of *Darwin and Modern Science*.

²⁹ Cf. B. Bosanquet, *A History of Aesthetic*, London, 1892, p. 210; Butcher, *op. cit.*, especially 194-7.

in the earlier Discourses, as Hazlitt well says, "it would surely seem that there was nothing in nature but minute neatness and superficial effect: nothing great in *her* style."³⁰ The fact is, Sir Joshua fails to separate his conception of deformity from that of uniqueness in the individual.³¹ And there is a large confusion, also noted by Hazlitt,³² in the use of the word "general." On the central question of the proper relation between the whole and the parts, nothing could be better than Hazlitt's summary:

The highest perfection of the art depends not on separating but on uniting general truth and effect with individual distinctness and accuracy.

And yet, especially in Hazlitt's earlier criticisms, only a single side of Reynolds's theory is presented. Many times Sir Joshua warns students against inexactness and slovenliness. Details, he says, are mischievous only when they dissipate the attention and draw it away from the contemplation of the whole.³³ Of such qualifications Hazlitt takes slight account, and the impression which he gives us of the book is onesided. He overemphasizes the frigidly neo-classical elements. I have suggested (see note 19, above) that by 1814 Hazlitt had read with care only the first six Discourses. Now these include the sections least palatable to later generations. The best things come in the last six or seven Discourses; indeed, throughout the book there is a gradual increase in the mellowness and eloquence of the criticism. Such a change Hazlitt perceived when he read the book through, for he admits³⁴ that in detached passages

³⁰ VI. 131.

³¹ One sentence from the Third Discourse will show the tendency to equate "deformity" with "the particular." "But the power of discovering what is deformed in Nature, or, in other words, what is particular and uncommon, can be recognized only by experience;" etc.

³² XI., 222. Other inconsistencies are concerned with the distinction between beauty and grandeur (VI. 135, 145), and the question whether precedence should be given to an imperfect artist of the highest order or to a genius in a lower rank of art (VI. 128).

³³ Eleventh Discourse.

³⁴ VI. 130.

Sir Joshua speaks "with a strain of eloquent truth"—though he finds these passages inconsistent with the main trend of the argument.

IV

What shall be said of the positive side of Hazlitt's theory of art? Is his cardinal principle sound—that the finest art is always the exact imitation of the finest nature?

In the first place, it is to be observed that Hazlitt almost completely disregards the very important element of *composition*. Making the supposition that the Elgin marbles were originally done as casts from nature, he then puts the query, would they not in this case have possessed all the same qualities that they now display?³⁵ Granted, for the sake of argument, one might reply; but is there not in the posing of the figures an element of idealization—precisely "that which has never existed except in the artist's mind"? Hazlitt, indeed, describes the making of these statues as if the sculptor had found his models in the postures represented in the Parthenon pediment and had only to chisel them in marble. He takes no account of the skill shown in the composition of the group—that sphere in which the element of choice enters most decidedly into the creation of beauty.³⁶

Selection in art is no merely external process; it involves not only choosing to include this and to exclude that; it involves also apprehending the particular aspect under which an object is to be represented. As Professor A. C. Bradley says, "A beautiful landscape is not a 'real' landscape. Much that belongs to the 'real' landscape is ignored when it is apprehended aesthetically; and the painter only carries this unconscious idealization further when he deliberately alters the 'real' landscape in further ways."³⁷

³⁵ IX. 328.

³⁶ Thus it seems to me that he almost entirely begs the question of idealization when he says that in the cartoons of Raphael there is hardly a face or figure that is not "fine and individual nature *finely disposed*." [Italics mine.] XI. 226.

³⁷ *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, London, 1911, p. 29.

In defining the ideal as "the preference of that which is fine in nature to that which is less so," has not Hazlitt begged the whole question of idealization? Even if we suppose the artist to refrain from the least conscious altering of what he observes, there remains the question, how does he recognize the "fine" or the "less fine" when he sees it? Or how, except by reference to a standard of ideal beauty (which implies the power to discriminate between the ideal and the actual), is he able to form any preconceived ideas of the beautiful, as Hazlitt's theory requires him to do? Indeed, in his early *Essay on the Principles of Human Action*,³⁸ he assumes the existence of abstractions, such as "the future," and holds these abstract ideas to be the product of the imagination and independent of sense-impressions. To be consistent, he should derive the ideal values in art from the same realm of the creative imagination, not from the physical world.

But, leaving aside philosophical implications, may we not appeal to common sense alone? Will anyone maintain in all seriousness that the passage about searching for the Dutch face³⁹ represents the process through which an artist goes in giving objective existence to his "preconceived ideas"? You have formed an ideal of grace or of grossness, Hazlitt argues, but you are impotent to put it on canvas till you are lucky enough to meet with some individual who precisely answers to your mental image!

By a not uncommon nemesis, Hazlitt, who was so keen in pointing out the inconsistencies of Reynolds, is most easily refuted out of his own writings.

Those details or peculiarities only are inadmissible in history [i.e., historical painting], which do not arise out of any principle, or tend to any conclusion, —which are merely casual, insignificant, and unconnected,—which do not tell⁴⁰

³⁸ VII. 385, ff. Cf. also paragraph from "Madame de Staël's Account of German Philosophy and Literature" (XI. 179, last paragraph).

³⁹ Quoted, p. 189 above.

⁴⁰ XI. 228. For a similar admission, cf. the quotation from Barry, IX. 380.

But in saying this Hazlitt has given away his case. The artist is to select the characteristics which are distinctive, permanent, *telling*, and to heighten these by disregarding minor and unessential truths. All question of a literal reproduction is at an end, and we are conducted back to the methods of representative, or typical, art.

V

Notwithstanding the empirical nature of his theory of art, Hazlitt is not, at bottom, a realist. This will be clear from his treatment of what he calls "gusto," to him the crowning quality of great art. It will be seen, too, in his criticisms of individual pictures.

"Gusto" Hazlitt defines as "power or passion in defining any object."⁴¹ Titian's flesh-color has it:

the blood circulates here and there, the blue veins just appear, the rest is distinguished throughout only by that sort of tingling sensation to the eye, which the body feels within itself.

The same artist's landscapes have prodigious gusto; so have Michael Angelo's forms, and, with a difference, Correggio's; Rubens's Fauns and Satyrs have it; and Rembrandt has it in everything. Raphael's gusto was only in expression; the Greek statues attain it through perfection of form alone. Claude's landscapes are lacking in this quality. The fulness of Shakespeare's dramatic invention takes from his gusto. His power is "not intense, but discursive." Milton, on the other hand,

repeats his blows twice; grapples with and exhausts his subject . . . There is a gusto in Pope's compliments, in Dryden's satires, and Prior's tales; and among prose writers Boccaccio and Rabelais had the most of it.

These examples sufficiently define the quality. To use a less fantastic word, we might say, I think, that Hazlitt means simply "intensity," with the corollary that in painting this intensity results in the excitation of more senses than that to which the primary appeal is made. Sensations of smell, of taste, or of hearing are mingled with those of sight,

⁴¹ I. 77; cf. IX. 313.

and the complexity of these sensations intensifies our emotional reaction, since more of our functions enter into it. Thus of one of Titian's landscapes Hazlitt writes:⁴²

[the winds] seem to sing through the rustling branches of the trees, and already you might hear the twanging of bows resound through the tangled mazes of the wood.

Professor Babbitt⁴³ cites this passage from Hazlitt and somewhat similar passages from Diderot, Rousseau, and Coleridge as early statements of the "theory of suggestiveness" in art—"the way the arts may melt together and interpenetrate in emotion."⁴⁴

Without doubt the passage from Hazlitt in question illustrates the tendency of romantic critics to judge of paintings not objectively by their design and rational import, but subjectively by their emotional appeal. It is worth noting, however—Professor Babbitt is clear on the point—that Rousseau's *Essai sur l'origine des langues* gives to music alone the power thus to play upon other senses than the one directly appealed to.⁴⁵ Thus although Hazlitt's language is, as Professor Babbitt notes, close to that of Rousseau, the two are really talking of different things: Rousseau of visual images excited by sounds; Hazlitt of sensations of touch, smell, or hearing aroused by those of sight.

Rousseau had repudiated the usurpation by one art of the means employed in another. Every sense, he observed, has its own peculiar field. Hazlitt, too, recognized, theoretically at least, such a separateness of aim and method in the different arts.

That picture is of little comparative value [he says] which can be *translated* into another language,—of which the description in a common catalogue

⁴² I. 78.

⁴³ *The New Lookoon*, p. 128.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁴⁵ Cf. the passage from Rousseau (Chap. XVI.) cited by Babbitt, p. 123. Cf. also this sentence from the first chapter of Rousseau's *Essai*: "On voit même que les discours les plus éloquentes sont ceux où l'on enchâsse le plus d'images; et les sons n'ont jamais plus d'énergie que quand ils font l'effet des couleurs."

conveys all that is expressed by the picture itself; for it is the excellence of every art to give what can be given by no other in the same degree.⁴⁶

In a similar strain, he accounts for the failure of West's "Death on the Pale Horse" by the painter's attempt to convey through painting the effects proper only to poetry.⁴⁷ Yet in his interpretations of pictures Hazlitt shows a tendency to write of them in terms of sound, touch, or smell. Of "St. Peter Martyr" he writes, "You hear floating near, in dim harmonies, the pealing anthem, and the heavenly choir."⁴⁸ Poussin's "Education of Bacchus" "makes one thirsty to look at it—the colouring even is dry and adust."⁴⁹ Two of Titian's masterpieces are "like a divine piece of music . . . like an exhalation of rich distilled perfume."⁵⁰ It is hard to say how far such language is merely metaphorical, or how far it signifies an actual excitation of senses.

Whatever their significance for Hazlitt's personal psychology, such passages, with numberless others that might be cited, exemplify very definitely the type of criticism to which his books on art belong. It is, in a word, impressionism—the interpretation of works of art by reference to the emotions which they excite in the individual breast.⁵¹ Vitality, vividness, tang, *gusto*—under such terms may be swept the quality which Hazlitt chiefly valued, and they are primarily terms of emotional experience. Suggestiveness of language becomes, therefore, of vast importance in such

⁴⁶ IX. 406.—This is, of course, merely a succinct statement of the most important generalization of Lessing in *Laokoon*. See especially Chapters XVI. and XVII. Hazlitt, who did not read German, had no opportunity to become acquainted with Lessing's work, for the *Laokoon* was not translated into English until 1836 (by Ross). De Quincey freely translated the first four chapters in *Blackwood's* for November, 1826. On the early influence of the *Laokoon* in England, see the preface of Sir Robert Phillimore's translation (London, 1874), pp. xxxii, ff.

⁴⁷ IX. 320-1. (*Edinburgh Magazine*, December, 1817).

⁴⁸ IX., 352.

⁴⁹ IX., 24.

⁵⁰ IX., 32.

⁵¹ The word *impressionism* is used, of course, not in its technical meaning, descriptive of a particular technique in painting, but in its usual meaning in literary criticism.

criticism; a mood rather than an idea is to be communicated, a rapture is to be shared. Hence language becomes inevitably figurative.⁵² The critic relies upon the images suggested to his imagination to throw the reader into a mood answering to his own.

You see nothing but patriarchs [writes Hazlitt of four ecclesiastical paintings by Rubens], primeval men and women, walking among temples, or treading the sky—or the earth, with an 'air and gesture proudly eminent,' as if they trod the sky—when man first rose from nothing to his native sublimity.⁵³

Evidently, far as is Hazlitt's conception of "gusto"—the condition of grandeur in art—from strict realism, it is no less far from the "grand style" of the classicists. To them the crowning virtue of art is restraint; to Hazlitt it is, to vary his own phrase, carrying an emotion as far as it will go. Sir Joshua's attitude toward the expression of the passions in art is a distrustful one. "If you mean to preserve the most perfect beauty *in its most perfect state*, you cannot express the passions," he says;⁵⁴ and elsewhere⁵⁵ he observes that a too great tumult in a certain picture of Poussin's offends the eye at first sight, and makes impossible the pleasure which is, first and last, the true aim of art. Hazlitt, on the contrary, finds the backgrounds of Poussin's historical pictures "hardly surpassed."

His giants, seated on the top of their fabled mountains, and playing on their Pan's pipes, are as familiar and natural as if they were the ordinary inhabitants of the scene.⁵⁶

⁵² Ruskin, I believe, refers to Hazlitt only once in *Modern Painters* (Part II., Sect. III., Chap. 1, sect. 11). Then it is to throw contempt on his abuse of figurative language. Hazlitt had written of a Cuyp, "The tender green of the vallies beyond the gleaming lake, the purple light of the hills, have an effect like the down on an unripe nectarine." (IX., 19.) Ruskin observes: "I ought to have apologized before now, for not having studied sufficiently in Covent Garden to be provided with terms of correct and classical criticism . . . Now I dare say that the sky of this first-rate Cuyp is very like an unripe nectarine; all I have to say about it is, that it is exceedingly unlike a sky."

⁵³ IX. 52.

⁵⁴ Fifth Discourse.

⁵⁵ Seventh Discourse.

⁵⁶ IX. 384.—Sir Joshua, of course, allows great merit to Poussin's landscapes.

Poetry, Hazlitt had said, in his *Lectures on the English Poets*, holds the mirror up to nature "seen through the medium of passion and imagination, not divested of that medium by means of literal truth or abstract reason."⁸⁷ Such a view of poetry would seem out of harmony with a theory of the fine arts which exalted exact copying of existing objects. But it is clear, I trust, that, in spite of this appearance of thorough-going realism, Hazlitt's criticism of art is fundamentally not realistic at all. He is a romanticist in revolt against the classical regard for what Sir Joshua Reynolds called "the presiding feelings of mankind."

VI

In the following paragraphs I can indicate only in very sketchy fashion Hazlitt's relations to some important movements of the nineteenth century.

A considerable part of Hazlitt's more purely theoretic criticism of art is, as has been shown, a vigorous, if not wholly coherent, protest against the "grand manner," an assertion of the claims of the minute, the local, and the lowly.⁸⁸ He seeks to establish the right of the painter to pay heed to particular, individual characteristics. Such an effort was distinctly in line with the tendencies of a scientific century which gained its chief illuminations from the patient study of carefully observed facts. And the history of art in the nineteenth century showed these tendencies in a great

⁸⁷ V. 8.

⁸⁸ But Hazlitt did not deny all gradation in fitness or dignity among various subjects. In one of the papers of the *Round Table*, after admitting the interest, from the standpoint of the painter, attaching to any object in nature, he insists, "The superiority of high art over the common or mechanical consists in combining truth of imitation with beauty and grandeur of subject." In other papers one finds adequate recognition of the principle of the universal,—e.g., this passage: "Dress a figure in what costume you please (however fantastic, however barbarous), but add the expression which is common to all faces, the properties which are common to all drapery in its elementary principles, and the picture will belong to all times and places" (IX. 20).

Here I am concerned with showing merely on what aspects of the problem Hazlitt threw his emphasis.

variety of ways—in the *genre* paintings of the French school, in the peasant studies of Millet, in the prevailing realism of so much late British and American painting.

But not all the striking departures from classicism were in the direction just indicated. Classicism is essentially centralized; the “sagacity” which its works exhibit is drawn not only from the accumulated experience of a single life, but from what are felt to be the “presiding” qualities of all men. It is possible to move away from classicism by more than one path. The poet or the painter may profess exclusive allegiance to the facts discerned by his individual observation, and so become a realist; or, quite indifferent to these facts, he may withdraw into a world different from and more stirring than the actual—into the other-world of the poetic imagination; in which case he becomes a romanticist. Now the products of realism and of romanticism are alike in this: that, in contrast to classicism, they set a higher value on the uniqueness of the individual experience than on the universal sense of mankind.

Such a bipartite development may be traced in nineteenth-century art. The unearthly ladies of Rossetti and Burne-Jones have little enough in common with the peasants of Millet; yet both represent a departure from classical tradition. In the pre-Raphaelite movement, which had its origin about twenty years after Hazlitt’s death, may be discerned both kinds of reaction against classicism. Pre-Raphaelitism, writes Mr. Lawrence Binyon,

in the public mind is associated with two main attributes, a minute particularity of method in painting, and a poetic or romantic temper. But the two main characteristics were soon . . . to become separated, one group of artists being dominated by one side of the tradition set up, and another group by the other; so that such diverse works as John Brett’s ‘Aosta’ and Burne-Jones’ ‘Mirror of Venus’ have both been regarded as Pre-Raphaelite.¹⁰

Ruskin, writing on the Academy pictures of 1858, takes fidelity to fact as the distinguishing mark of the new school.

¹⁰ *Pre-Raphaelitism and Other Essays and Lectures on Art*, by Ruskin, ed. L. Binyon, Introd., p. vii.

Here we have literally only experiments and early lessons: trials of strength on fragments of landscape in serene weather; quiet little mill-streams and corners of meadows, slopes of sand hills, farmyard gates, black-berry hedges, and clumps of furze.⁶⁰

And then, in his usual turgid style, he prophesies the enlargement of vision which will come

when the power of painting, which makes even these so interesting, begins to exert itself, with the aid of imagination and memory, on the splendid transience of nature, and her noblest continuance.

Ruskin's doctrine of the arts is, in certain respects, merely a protest, similar to Hazlitt's, though vastly more influential, against the regularity, conventionalism, and coldness of the established schools. And the manner in which Ruskin would have the student begin the training of his aesthetic perceptions is precisely the manner advocated by Hazlitt—by the observation of details and differences.

You know how fond modern architects . . . are of their equalities and similarities; how necessary they think it that each part of a building should be like every other part. Now Nature abhors equality and similitude, just as much as foolish men love them.⁶¹

The lion on a public building must be a real lion, not "the Grecian sublimity of an *ideal* beast."⁶² Our grand historical and classical painters should give place to less pretentious workmen who shall set themselves patiently to painting the veritable life around them.⁶³ Such a reaction against classicism⁶⁴ in the direction of realism is anticipated by the art-theories of Hazlitt.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 165. Cf. Chap. I. of Vol. III. of *Modern Painters*,—"Touching the Grand Style."

⁶⁴ It is hard to use the term "classicism" without offending someone. My use of the terms "classicism," "realism," "romanticism," is that presented in W. A. Neilson's *Essentials of Poetry*. I have not, however, attempted to distinguish here between "classicism" and "neo-classicism"; but I do not mean to exclude imagination and closeness to fact from the excellences of great classical works. The greater the work of art, the more evenly it exhibits all three qualities in fusion. Perhaps it would be right to reserve the

But the main significance of the pre-Raphaelite movement is rather its imaginative bent than its literal exactness; and Ruskin was even more energetic in preaching the uses of the imagination than in defending the scientific precision of the realist. One has only to recall in this connection the description of clouds and mountains in *Modern Painters* or the interpretations of Turner's marines. It is in the quality of romantic impressionism that these suggest Hazlitt. In the most characteristic portion of his art-criticism, therefore, Hazlitt anticipated the coming revolution in taste and the doctrines of the most influential critic in the generation following his own.

Hazlitt's reaction against neo-classicism points really in two directions: through his polemical theorizing toward realism, through his appreciative criticism of pictures toward romanticism. He never succeeded in synthesizing his views, in evolving a consistent and well-rounded theory of the fine arts. The substance of his discussions is often wearisome, and the tone harsh, disputatious, strident. Yet his criticism, with all the defects of impressionism upon it, has still the power at times to stir and to delight us. Some of the artist's rapture and fire, which remained a possession of Hazlitt long after he had given up his apprenticeship in the studio, is felt in these pages. Now and again he comments in phrases which we shall hardly forget when we look at the works that called them forth. For instance, this, descriptive of one of Raphael's cartoons:

adjective "classical" for such masterpieces, and to apply "pseudo-classical" to works characterized by rationality and regard for form, but deficient in sense of fact and in imagination.

* The tendencies of the art-criticism of so voluminous and, if I may say it, so uncritical a writer as Ruskin do not lend themselves to succinct statement. For his own strictures upon his early work in *Modern Painters*, see *Frondees Agrestes*, the little book of selections chosen by a female admirer and published by the author's consent. Caution against too great particularity is frequent in Ruskin's Academy notes and other papers. Mr. Binyon, indeed, is more impressed by his warnings against excess of detail than by his insistence on the beauty of it.

The Beggars are as fine as ever: they do not lose by the squalid condition of their garb or features, but remain patriarchs of poverty, and mighty in disease and infirmity as if they crawled and grovelled on the pavement of Heaven!

One virtue, not invariably found in works on aesthetics or in aesthetic criticism, may be freely accorded to Hazlitt—the virtue, namely, of being really inside his subject. However much he erred in logic, Hazlitt had experienced the aesthetic emotion.

STANLEY P. CHASE

X. HOW HENRY JAMES REVISED *RODERICK HUDSON*: A STUDY IN STYLE

Henry James tells us in his preface to the revised edition of his novels, with what interest and emotion he renewed acquaintance with his book, *Roderick Hudson*, after a quarter of a century had elapsed since its first appearance, in 1875. He takes up its failings and its defects, of which he is fully conscious and which he sees with very keen perspicacity. He writes:

I have felt myself then, on looking over past productions, the painter making use again and again of the tentative wet sponge. The sunk surface has here and there, beyond doubt, refused to respond: the buried secrets, the intentions, are buried too deep to rise again, and were indeed, it would appear, not much worth the burying. Not so, however, when the moistened canvas does obscurely flush and when resort to the varnish-bottle is thereby immediately indicated. The simplest figure for my revision of this present array of earlier, later, larger, smaller, canvases, is to say that I have achieved it by the very aid of the varnish-bottle. It is true of them throughout that, in words I have had occasion to use in another connexion (where too I had revised with a view to "possible amendment of form and enhancement of meaning") I have nowhere scrupled to re-write a sentence or a passage on judging it susceptible of a better turn.

The purpose of this article is to study in some detail the nature of the revisions James made, to classify them as much as possible, with the idea of throwing more light on Jamesean style.¹

It may be stated at the outset that James revised most thoroughly. There is barely a sentence in *Roderick Hudson* which has remained unchanged. Very often the revision is trifling, of practically no importance, but it is there, witness to the fact that its author read, reread, weighed and corrected. However, he never altered the order of a paragraph.

Henry James realized that "the center of interest through-

¹ This study is the result of investigations in connection with a course given by the author as "Lectrice" at the Sorbonne (1920-21). All quotations from the revised version of *Roderick Hudson* refer to the Macmillan edition of 1921, those from the first edition, to that of 1883 (2 vols).

out *Roderick* is in Rowland Mallet's consciousness, and the drama is the very drama of that consciousness . . . " He adds: "but as what happened to him was above all to feel certain things happening to others, to Roderick, to Christina, to Mary Garland, to Mrs. Hudson, to the Cavaliere, to the Prince, so the beauty of the constructional game was to preserve in everything its special value for *him*." James felt very keenly that his treatment of Mary Garland was insufficient to justify Roderick's having pledged his faith to her and Rowland's being in love with her from the start; he was aware of the fact that Mary was unconvincing, "in spite of the later patching-up of the girl's figure." As Mary plays such an important rôle in the novel we shall first study how James set about to patch her up, to prove or rather try to prove that she was "irresistible."

There is very little change from the original description of Mary. From calling her "slender" to saying that she was "straight" no progress is made, nor does James add much to our idea of the girl when he says instead of: "her *gray* eye was clear but not brilliant, and her features were bravely irregular" (p. 41),—"her *dark pupils* a trifle heavy, *failed*, as might be said, *of publicity of expression*. Her features were bravely irregular . . . " (p. 47). But the author has inserted a phrase, the type of phrase we shall find again and again and to which we shall refer later. A little further he again goes back to Mary and here the revision is more radical:

p. 58 *First edition*

The girl beside him pleased him immensely, and suspecting that her charm was essentially her own and not reflected from social circumstance, he wished to give himself the satisfaction of contrasting her with the meager influences of her education.

Revised edition p. 66.

The girl beside him appealed, strangely, to his sense of character, and even, in her way, to his sense of beauty, and, satisfied that her quality would be very much her own, and neither borrowed nor reflected nor imposed, he wished, positively as a help for liking her better, to make her show him how little her situation had had to give her.

We see from the above passage that James is preoccupied with the realization that Mary is not sufficiently convincing. And when Rowland tells her that he shall often wonder about her, her reaction to his remark is handled as follows:

p. 61 *First edition*

She received it not only, as Rowland foresaw, without a shadow of coquetry, of any apparent thought of listening to it gracefully, . . .

Revised edition p. 69

She received it only, as he had foreseen, without the sign of a flutter or a thought of conscious grace.

However, it is later in the book, when Mary has to contend with disappointment, with disillusionment and with humiliation, that James makes the greatest changes, changes in style, in his treatment of her:

V. II, p. 52.

She always had a smile, she was always eager, alert, responsive. She might be

p. 300

She was always eager, alert, responsive; she had always her large settled smile, which reminded him of some clear ample "spare-room," some expectant guest-chamber, as they said in New England, with its windows up for ventilation. She might be

Here James expands on the quality of Mary's smile (by using a metaphor), a feature which predominates throughout the novel. And in the same paragraph he continues:

This point he usually tried to ascertain; but he was obliged to proceed cautiously, for in her mistrustful shyness it seemed to her that cross-examination necessarily be ironical.

This point he usually tried to ascertain, for the effect of her so suddenly-quicken vision of a more mixed order than she ever dreamt of was to make her see everything as mixed, and cross-examination by that law, as necessarily ironic.

The last passage cited adds nothing to our conception of Mary but is an illustration of the later James style. The pages with which we are here concerned are a fine network of revisions, but lack of space permits of none but the most

characteristic changes. A few more examples, however, are necessary:

First edition

This was partly on account of the purity and rigidity of a mind that had not lived with its door ajar upon the high-road of thought, for passing ideas to drop in and out at their pleasure, but had made much of a few long visits from guests cherished and honoured—guests whose presence was a solemnity.

There was something exquisite in her pious desire to improve herself, and Rowland encouraged it none the less that its fruits were not for him. In spite of her lurking rigidity and angularity it was very evident that she had a native sense of beauty which only asked to become pliable, and in which already at moments she lost herself delightedly. For all that she was not demonstrative, that her manner was simple and her small-talk of no very ample flow; for all that, as she has said, she was a young woman from the country, and the country was West Nazareth, and West Nazareth was, in its way, a stubborn little fact, she was feeling the direct influence of the great amenities of the world, and they were shaping her with a divinely intelligent touch. "Oh, exquisite

.....

Revised edition

This was partly on account of the purity and rigidity of a mind that had not lived with its door ajar upon the high-road of cosmopolite chatter, for passing ideas to drop in and out at their pleasure, but that had none the less looked out, ever, from the threshold, for any straggler on the "march of ideas," any limping rumour or broken-winged echo of life, that would stop and be cherished as a guest.

Her desire to improve herself struck him at moments as almost grim, and not the less so that the fruits of the process for which his aid was indispensable were so little to be served at any table of his. She might have been originally as angular as he had, on the other scene, positively liked her for being; but who was to say now what mightn't result for her from the cultivation of a motive for curves? "Oh, exquisite

We have here a decided condensation of the first version, and we must admit that the passage about West Nazareth was somewhat diffuse. However, do we not have evidence again of the peculiar turn of James' later style rather than a bring-

ing into higher relief of Mary's character? And is it not also true of the following lines which he adds to the above revised version and which we do not find in the first edition?

First edition

When he said to Mary Garland that he wished he might see her ten years hence, he was paying mentally an equal compliment to circumstance and to the girl herself. Capacity was there, it could be freely trusted; observation would have but to sow its generous seed. "A superior woman"—the idea had harsh associations, but he watched it imaging itself in the vagueness of the future with a kind of hopeless confidence.

Revised edition

She would develop, evidently, right and left, and to the top of her capacity; and he would have been at the bottom of it all. But that was where he would remain, essentially and obscurely; all taken for granted, as a good cellar, with its dusky supporting vaults, is taken for granted in a sound house.

If the passage does anything but make the conception obscure, it is rather to emphasize the part played by Rowland, to stress his reactions. And again, showing the effect of Mary upon Rowland:

p. 147

At that season the wild flowers had mostly departed, but a few of them lingered, and Mary never failed to espy them in their outlying corners. They interested her greatly; she was charmed when they were old friends, and charmed even more when they were new. She displayed a very light foot in going in quest of them, and had soon covered the front seat of the carriage Rowland, of course, was alert in her service, and he gathered for her several botanical specimens, she called to him eagerly to stop; the thing was impossible! Poor Rowland, whose passion had been terribly underfed, enjoyed immensely the thought of having her care for three minutes what should become of him.

p. 411

At that season many of the wild flowers had gone, but others lingered and Mary never failed to "spot" them in their outlying corners. She gave herself up to them, interested when they were old friends, and charmed even more when they were new. Her foot was light in quest of them and she had soon covered the front seat of the carriage. Rowland had always supposed himself to dislike the race of weed-gathering, vase-dressing women, disposers, over the domestic scene, of bristling, tickling greenery; but he was none the less alert Poor Rowland, whose interest in her had so much more nourished itself on plain fare than snatched at any golden apple of reward, enjoyed immensely him.

Finally, to show what transformation had taken place in Mary's face^q during Roderick's absence, Henry James made the following revisions:

II, p. 39 *First edition*

She was older, easier, more free, she had more of the manner of society. She had more beauty as well, inasmuch as her beauty before had been the quality of her expression, and the sources from which this beauty was fed had in these two years evidently not wasted themselves.

Rowland felt almost instantly . . .
[not in this version]

Revised edition p. 285

She was older, easier, lighter; she had, as would have been said in Rome, more form. She had thus, he made out, more expression, facial and other, and it was beautifully as if this expression had been accumulating all the while, lacking on the scene of her life any channel to waste itself. It was like something she had been working at in the long days of home, an exquisite embroidery or a careful compilation, and she now presented the whole wealth of it as a king of pious offering. Rowland felt almost instantly She might have been an exceptionally fine specimen-islander of an unclassed group, brought home by a great navigator and treatable as yet mainly by beads and comfits.

Cristina Light says of Mary's beauty:

II, p. 80.

If a woman is not to be a brilliant beauty in the regular way, she will choose, if she's wise, to look like that.

p. 332

If a woman is not to scream out from every pore that she has an appearance—which is a most awful fate—quite the best thing for her is to carry that sort of dark lantern. On occasion she can flash it as far as she likes.

In another passage, a few lines above the one just cited, James speaks of the "rare nature, the strange life and play," of her beauty, and he has Christina Light add in the second version: "She looks magnificent when she glares—like a Medusa crowned not with snakes but with a tremor of doves' wings." Whereas in the first edition, in the early part, we are made to feel that Mary was decidedly "plain,"

yet interesting looking, in his revised version James tries to efface as much as possible the impression of plainness, though he is conscious of the fact that he needed to conserve an antithesis to Christina: "One is ridden by the law that antitheses, to be efficient, shall be both direct and complete. Directness seemed to fail unless Mary should be, so to speak, "plain," Christina being essentially so "coloured"; and completeness seemed to fail unless she too should have her potency. She could moreover, by which I mean the antithetic young woman could, perfectly have had it; only success would have been then in the narrator's art to attest it." James enhanced Mary's beauty in the second version, in the passages referring to it after the two years of separation from Roderick. We shall now pass to other characters in the book before trying to make any classifications or general remarks.

Christina Light is one of the characters which underwent the least changes in the revised version. James felt, as he tells us in his Preface, that her "own presence and action are, on the other hand, . . . all firm ground . . ." And he adds: "I remember at all events feeling, toward the end of *Roderick*, that the Princess Casamassima had been launched, that wound-up with the right silver key, she would go on a certain time by the motion communicated; thanks to which I knew the pity, the real pang of losing sight of her." He did, however, make one slight though important change. In the first edition Christina is a Protestant who turns Catholic in order to marry the Prince, while in the second James has the Cavaliere tell us: "and it's lucky for our friends that they too are children of the great Mother"—in the first edition he says: "though he does propose to marry a Protestant. He will handle that point after the marriage." And in another connection, where in the original version we read: "He was stupified at this indication that she had suddenly embraced the Catholic faith," in the later one we find: "He took account of this indication that she had suddenly begun again to *pratiquer* religiously"; and again: "Is it true that she has become a

Catholic? So she tells me. One day she got up in the depths of despair; at her wits' end, I suppose, in other words, for a new sensation. Suddenly it occurred to her that the Catholic Church might after all, hold the key—might give her what she wanted, so she sent for a priest." Naturally this passage has no counterpart in the revision.

Henry James described the physical beauty of Christina with such vividness and skill that there was no occasion, when revising, to make any changes—a word is added or omitted here and there, but that is all.

When Rowland hears that Christina has broken off her engagement to the Prince, his reception of the news, in the revised version, only overloads the picture we have already made for ourselves of the young girl's character:

First edition

II. p. 86.

Rowland heard his news with a kind of fierce disgust; it seemed the sinister counterpart of Christina's preternatural mildness at Madame Grandoni's assembly. She had been too plausible to be honest. Without being able to trace the connection, he yet instinctively associated her present rebellion with her meeting with Mary Garland. If she had not seen Mary, she would have let things stand. It was monstrous to suppose that she could have sacrificed so brilliant a fortune to a mere movement of jealousy, to a refined impulse of feminine devilry, to a desire to frighten poor Mary from her security by again appearing in the field. Yet Rowland remembered his first impression of her; she was "dangerous," and she had measured in each direction the perturbing effect of her rupture. She was smiling her sweetest smile at it! For half an hour Rowland simply detested her—he longed to denounce

Revised edition

p. 340

Rowland greeted the news with a gasp, and there sounded in his ears the sinister click as of a fitting together of bad pieces. She had been too plausible to be honest. Without being able to trace the connection, he yet instinctively associated her present rebellion with her meeting with Mary. Sinister it thus suddenly showed, her exhibition of eager mildness at Madame Grandoni's, and all the uneasiness she had then stirred in him came back with a chill. Yes, it was clearer than it was obscure, and he recognised in the stroke now startling him the hand armed to deal some blow at Miss Garland's small remnant of security. So it hung before him, portentous and ugly. If she had not seen Mary she would have let things stand, but she had seen her and she acted. It was monstrous indeed to suppose that she could have sacrificed so brilliant a fortune to a mere movement of jealousy, to a calculation of

II. p. 86. *First edition*

her to her face. Of course, all he could say to Giacosa was that he was extremely sorry. "But I am not surprised," he added.

Revised edition p. 340

quite futile effects, to a desire to create for the poor girl some poisonous alarm. Yet he remembered his first impression of her; she was "dangerous," and she had measured in each quarter the penetration of her announced rupture. She hovered there for him as tasting *that* strength in it. If the question had been of her penetrating, *he*, verily, was penetrated, and it made him long, for a minute that was as sharp as a knife-edge, to denounce her to her face. But of course all he could say to his visitor was that he was extremely sorry, though indeed he was not surprised.

The above is a typical example of how James applied his varnishbrush. He took a straightforward, natural paragraph and introduced into it his characteristic psychological analysis, rendering it extremely obscure. The result, as the reader can see for himself, is that all life and spontaneity vanished.

Has Henry James altered or improved the character of Roderick as depicted in the original version? He says himself: "Roderick's disintegration, a gradual process, and of which the exhibitional interest is exactly that it *is* gradual and occasional, and thereby traceable and watchable, swallows two years in a mouthful, proceeds quite *not* by years, but by weeks and months, and thus renders the whole view the disservice of appearing to present him as a morbidly special case. . . . My mistake on Roderick's behalf—and not in the least of conception, but of composition and expression—is that, at the rate at which he falls to pieces, he seems to place himself beyond our understanding and our sympathy." James felt that he should have given many more "adventures and complications" but he understood that there is a law of time and that action needs "a certain factitious compactness." The following example will show

how he tried to accentuate the change which took place in Roderick's character:

p. 66 *First edition*

"That's not what she would call it; she would say I am corrupted."

...

"Stay a bit!" cried Roderick; you are a better Catholic than the Pope. I shall be content if she judges fairly of me—of my merits, that is. The rest she must not judge at all. She's a grimly devoted little creature; may she always remain so! Changed as I am, I adore her none the less.

Revised edition p. 75

"That's not what she would call it; she would say I'm spoiled; I'm not sure she wouldn't say that I'm already hideously corrupted." ...

"Right about everything!" Roderick cried in derision; "what a horrible description of one's future bride! I don't ask you to be a better Catholic than the Pope. I shall be content if she's right about my interests—for 'everything,' sometimes, may happen to be hostile to *them*. But I agree with you about her grim devotion. It's exactly what I built on, and, changed as I am, I'm not changed about *her*."

There is a selfish note about the speech which is exaggerated in the second version. In one of the last chapters of the novel we again have a glimpse of Roderick through Rowland's eyes:

II, p. 150

Rowland sometimes walked with him; though Roderick never invited him he seemed properly grateful for his society. Rowland now made it a rule to treat him as a perfectly sane man, to assume that all things were well with him, and never to allude to the prosperity he had parted with or to the work he was not doing. He would have still said, had you questioned him, that Roderick's condition was only a lugubrious interlude. It might last yet for many a weary hour; but it was a long lane that had no turning.

p. 414

Rowland was sometimes the associate of these walks, for if his friend never directly proposed it he yet as little visibly resented it; and the only way at present to treat him was as a graceful, an almost genial, a certainly harmless eccentric, with whom one assumed that all things were well and held one's tongue about the prosperity he had forfeited, or maintained to any questioner—much rejoicing, for the time, there were none—that such were the interlunar swoons of the true as distinguished from the false artist, and that the style of genius was as much in them as in the famous Homeric nod.

Here again as in other passages we find no change except the introduction of a peculiar turn which is so typical of James' later style. The character of Rowland undergoes no more alteration than did the preceeding ones. A few sentences will illustrate, as in the other cases, the very minute brushing up which they underwent in revision:

II, p. 33. *First edition*

Rowland's face bore the traces of extreme trouble. The *frate* kept his finger in his little book, and folded his arms picturesquely across his breast. It can hardly be determined whether his attitude, as he bent his sympathetic Italian eye upon Rowland, was a happy incident or the result of an exquisite spiritual discernment. To Rowland, at any rate, under the emotion of that moment, it seemed blessedly opportune.

Revised edition p. 277

Rowland's face might have borne for him the traces of extreme trouble; something he appeared mildly to consider as he kept his finger in his little book and folded his arms picturesquely across his breast. Was his attitude, as he bent his sympathetic Italian eyes, the mere accident of his civility or the fruit of an exquisite spiritual tact? To Rowland, however this might have been, it appeared a sort of offer of ready intelligence.

After the interview described above Rowland had a talk with Roderick concerning his attitude toward his betrothed and proposed sending for both her and his mother. We cite here extracts from their conversation:

II, p. 34.

You are still engaged to your cousin? Roderick frowned darkly but assented. "Wouldn't it give you pleasure, then, to see her?" Roderick turned away and for some moments answered nothing. "Pleasure!" he said at last, huskily. "Pain will do as well!" "I regard you as a sick man," Rowland continued. "In such a case Miss Garland would say that her place is at your side."

p. 279.

Your engagement still holds? "Holds?" Roderick glared. "Holds what?" "Well some residuum of what it originally did. If you were to see your intended you would perhaps be able to judge." Roderick thought. "Do you mean by that that if *you* see her you may be better able to squash me?" Rowland winced at this—he flushed; but he bore up. "I should in the light of that speech, even if I hadn't already, as it seems to me, other lights, regard you as a very sick man. I can't imagine that if Miss Garland knew *how* sick she shouldn't at once feel that her place is at your side."

In the above few lines the author has given an entirely different turn to Roderick's answer; he made him rather impertinent to his benefactor Rowland, aiming a direct shaft at him, and in this way increasing or accentuating Roderick's "disintegration." The whole chapter in which the above conversation is reported underwent very thorough revision. Unfortunately lack of space prevents me from giving many illustrations. A few disconnected phrases, however, might give a fair idea of those revisions:

<i>First edition</i>	<i>Revised edition</i>
touching gentleness . . .	noble mildness . . .
.
in no very serene frame of mind . .	in no great riot of relief . . .
.
of his agitated conscience . . .	places of his charity . . .
.
to journey tremulously to shores darkened by the shadow of deeper alarms. . . .	only to be handed over at the end to an element still more capable of betraying him . . .
.
He could only promise himself to be their devoted friend and servant. . .	He could only promise himself to be their stubborn even if disdained support. . . .
.
If redemption—Roderick seemed to reason—was to arrive with his mother and his affianced bride, these last moments of error should be doubly erratic. He did nothing; but inaction, with him, took on an unwonted air of gaiety. . . . though Rowland failed to guess in what fashion present circumstances had modified his relations with Christina.	If redemption—the brilliant youth appeared to reason—was to arrive with his mother and his affianced bride, these last moments of error should be worth redeeming. He only idled, but he idled with inten- sity. . . . though Rowland could but wonder to what issue events had brought his relations with Christina.

The reader will agree that in the last case we have a decided improvement on the first version.

Before passing to the treatment of other characters in the book we shall give one more paragraph involving Rowland and his attitude toward Mary Garland, a paragraph which illustrates admirably the method employed by James:

II, p. 83. *First edition*

Rowland felt himself at liberty to say no more. No allusion to Christina had passed between them since the day they met her at Saint Peter's, but he knew that she knew, by that infallible sixth sense of a woman who loves, that this strange and beautiful girl had the power to injure her. To what extent she had the will Mary was uncertain; but last night's interview apparently had not reassured her. It was under these circumstances equally unbecoming for Rowland either to deprecate or to defend Christina, and he had to content himself with simply having verified the girl's own assurance that she had made a bad impression. He tried to talk of indifferent matters—about the statues and the frescoes; but to-day plainly aesthetic curiosity, on his companion's part, had folded its wings. Curiosity of another sort had taken its place. Mary was longing, he was sure, to question him about Christina; but she found a dozen reasons for hesitating.

Revised edition p. 338

He was still silent again, held a moment by a strange intensity of thought. Yes, this young woman would never be anything but unjust to the other one, and that though neither had a vulgar soul. And he saw the attitude in Mary as immutable as ever, and Christina was interesting, and Mary would be wrong. He himself could take it thus and yet not "mind." How little with her there, verily, he minded! This came and went in fifty seconds—leaving all the rest, however, not less distinct. He knew that his companion knew, by that infallible sixth sense of a woman who loves, how the beautiful strange girl she had seen for the first time at Saint Peter's (since when she had asked no question about her) had possibly the power to do her a definite wrong. To what extent she had the will remained of course ambiguous, and last night's interview had somehow, by a perverse process, only proved an omen of ill. It was in these conditions equally unbecoming for Rowland to deprecate or to defend Christina, and he had to content himself with simply having verified the latter's own assurance that she had made a bad impression. He tried to talk of indifferent matters . . . about the statues and the frescoes; but to-day plainly the quest of elegant knowledge on Mary's part had folded its wings. . . . She was longing, he was sure, to break ground again on the subject of Christina; but . . .

Psychological analysis is again the process employed by James to bring out into higher relief the sentiments of his "hero."

Mr. Leavenworth, the wealthy American who gave Roderick an "order" for a statue of Intellectual Refinement, fared rather well in the slight changes of the revised edition. James made him more conceited, more boastful, more what he considered American, than in the first portrayal:

II, p. 22 *First edition*

"And now for our Culture!" he said in the same sonorous tones, demanding with a gesture the unveiling of the figure, which stood somewhat apart, muffled in a great sheet. . . .

The forehead, however, strikes me as not sufficiently intellectual. In the statue of Culture, you know, that should be the great point. The eye should instinctively seek the forehead. Couldn't you elevate it a little?"

Revised edition p. 266

"And now, please, for *my* Creation!" he said with the same grandiloquence, demanding by a gesture the discovery of the muffled mass that, standing somewhat apart, had represented for some time past the young sculptor's partial response to his encouraging order. . . .

The cerebral development, however, strikes me as not sufficiently emphasised. Our subject being, as we called it—didn't we?—Intellectual Refinement, there should be no mistaking the intellect, symbolised (wouldn't it be?) by an unmistakably thoughtful brow. The eye should instinctively seek the frontal indications. Couldn't you strengthen them a little?"

Of Miss Blanchard, who was really in love with Rowland but who was to marry Leavenworth, we read:

II, p. 75.

. . . The facile side of a union with Miss Blanchard had never been present to his mind; it had struck him as a thing, in all ways, to be compassed with a great effort. He had a half an hour's talk with her; a farewell talk, as it seemed to him—a farewell not to a real illusion, but to the idea that for him in that matter there could ever be an acceptable *pis-aller*. He congratulated Miss Blanchard upon her engagement, and she received his good wishes with a touch of primness. But she was always a

p. 326

The facile side of a union with Miss. Blanchard had never been present to his mind; it had struck him as a thing, in all ways, to be compassed with a great effort, and he had not even renounced the effort; he had never come, he felt, so near it. He had half an hour's talk with her; a farewell talk, as it seemed to him—a farewell not to a real illusion, but to the idea that for him, in the matter of committing himself for life, grim thought, there could ever be a motive that wouldn't ache like a wound. Such a pressure

II, p. 75. *First edition*

trifle prim, even when she was quoting Mrs. Browning and George Sand, and this harmless defect did not prevent her responding on this occasion that Mr. Leavenworth had a "glorious heart." Rowland wished to manifest an extreme regard, and he fell a-thinking that a certain natural ease in a woman was the most delightful thing in the world.

Revised edition p. 326

would resemble that of the button of an electric bell kept down by the thumb—prescribing definite action to stop the merciless ring. He congratulated Miss Blanchard upon her engagement, and she received his good wishes as if he had been a servant, at dinner, presenting the potatoes at her elbow. She helped herself in moderation, but also all in profile. He had wished to be decent, but he felt the chill and his zeal relaxed, while he fell a-thinking that a certain natural ease in a woman was the most delightful thing in the world.

The omission of Mrs. Browning and George Sand is a happy one. Instead of elaborating on the character of Miss Blanchard, however, James again centers the interest around Rowland and his reactions, while Miss Blanchard, except for her being shorn of her outward primness—we infer it still exists—remains virtually unchanged. We shall return to this passage, however, in another connection.

The remaining characters, Mrs. Light and Mrs. Hudson, the Cavaliere and others, underwent very little revision from the pen of the author. James made Mrs. Light perhaps a trifle more vulgar and ridiculous when he retouched the following passage:

I, p. 186

Rowland promptly remarked that this was obvious. He saw that the lady's irritated nerves demanded comfort from flattering reminiscence, and he assumed designedly the attitude of a zealous auditor.

.

One must believe in something!

. . .

She was a very ugly baby; . . .

. . .

p. 217

Rowland promptly remarked that this was obvious, for he saw that the poor woman's irritated nerves required the comfort of some accepted overflow and he assumed designedly the attitude of a person impressed by her sacrifices. . . .

One must believe in something, hang it! . . .

She was a very ugly baby—I give you that for a remarkable fact; . . .

I, p. 186 *First edition*

A certain person—I needn't name him—had trifled with my generous confidence— . . .

. . .

Of course my face was sad. . . .

. . .

I have taken her to the Jews and bidden her put up her veil, and asked if the mother of that young lady was not safe!

Revised edition p. 217

A certain person—I needn't name him—had trifled with a confidence—a confidence that I had in short placed: oh my dear, but *placed!* . . .

Oh, of course, after what I had seen, the poor face of me, off my guard, must have told things! . . .

I've taken her to the Jews and bidden her put off her veil and let down her hair, show her teeth, her shoulders, her arms, all sorts of things, and asked if the mother of that young lady wasn't safe!

In the very last passage cited James emphasizes the vulgarity, the cheapness of Mrs. Light, by having her enumerate all of Christina's charms, leaving almost nothing to the imagination. Where, in the first edition the author had Mrs. Light tell Rowland that she would have given her a bath of "molten pearls", if necessary, in the revised version he changed it to "*millefleurs*, at fifty francs a pint"; in the first we read: "pulled off her rags, and as I may say, wrapped her up in cotton"—"in velvet and ermine" is what we find in the revision.

We shall now pass to a brief consideration of the type of changes we find in the revised text, attempting to classify them if possible.

One of the first questions we might ask ourselves is: did James change his manner of *description*? Has he retouched the passages in which he described the American or the Italian scene? He tells us himself in his Preface that the Italian scene was still very fresh in his mind when he wrote the book: "One fact about it indeed outlives all others; the fact that, as the loved Italy was the scene of my fiction—so much more loved than one has ever been able, even after fifty efforts, to say!—and as having had to leave it persisted as an inward ache, so there was soreness in still contriving, after a fashion, to hang about it and in prolonging, from month to month, the illusions of the golden air." As for

Northampton, where the first part of the book is laid, he says: "Pathetic, as we say, on the other hand, no doubt, to reperusal, the manner in which the evocation, so far as attempted, of the small New England town of my first two chapters, fails of intensity—if intensity, in such a connexion, had been indeed to be looked for. . . . What I wanted, in essence, was the image of some perfectly humane community which was yet all incapable of providing for it, and I had to take what my scant experience furnished me." He apologizes for naming the town on the ground that, under the influence of Balzac, who "'did' Saumur, did Limoges, did Guérande," "why shouldn't one, with fond fatuity, talk of almost the only small American *ville de province* of which one had happened to lay up, long before, a pleased vision?" We cannot cite further from James' arguments but shall show immediately how he handled some passages of a descriptive character:

p. 55

First edition

. . . Roderick had chosen the feasting place; he knew it well and had passed many a summer afternoon there, lying at his length on the grass and gazing at the blue undulations of the horizon. It was a meadow on the edge of a wood, with mossy rocks protruding through the grass and a little lake on the other side.

Revised edition

p. 63

Roderick had chosen his happy valley, the feasting place; he knew it well and had passed many a summer afternoon there, lying at his length on the grass in the shade and looking away to the blue distances, the "purple rim" of the poet, which had the wealth of the world, all the unattainable of life, beyond them. A high-hung meadow stretched on one side to a peculiarly dark wood, in which he used to say there were strange beasts and "monsters," who couldn't come out, but who put it out of the question that one should go in; and the meadow had high mossy rocks protruding through the grass and formed in the opposite direction the shore of a small lake.

The insertion of the "purple rim" of the poet, of the "monsters," simply gives a pedantic tone to the passage, without adding much to the actual description of the spot.

p. 192 *First edition*

Rowland went very often to the Coliseum; he was never tired of inspecting this monument.

Revised edition p. 225

Rowland went very often to the Coliseum; he had established with this monument and with its exuberance of ruin, in those days all untrimmed, a relation of the tenderest intimacy.

Here James lends personal attributes to inanimate objects, as he also does in the following passage, which is not strictly speaking descriptive:

p. 65

Rowland, in the geniality of a mood attuned to the mellow charm of a Roman villa . . .

p. 76

Rowland, in the geniality of a mood attuned to all the stored patiences that lurk in Roman survivals.

II. 161

a huge white monastery rises abruptly from the green floor of the valley and complicates its picturesqueness with an element rare in Swiss scenery.

p. 427

a huge white monastery rises abruptly and contributes to the somewhat spare concert of blue-green and blue-grey the diversion of a sharp discord.

In the last cited passage James adds a touch of color which is not found in the first version—in other words he explains what was “rare in Swiss scenery.” On the whole, however, James left all his passages of description virtually untouched. Occasionally he inserted a word or two to give local color, as for instance, when in speaking of Mrs. Hudson, James wrote in the first edition (p. 40): “it was singular to see a woman to whom the experience of life had conveyed such scanty reassurance,” he inserted in rewriting: “the experience of the *elm-shaded* life,” thus referring to one of the characteristics of New England towns. And again, at the very end of the novel, in the first version we read: “Mary Garland lives with Mrs. Hudson at Northampton . . .,” while in the second we find: “She lives with Mrs. Hudson under the *New England elms*. . .”; in the first James speaks of Mount Holyoke as one of the hills near Northampton, in the second he adds Mount Tom. But these changes are extremely slight, almost negligible when we compare them with the revisions cited in other connections.

Another type of change is the introduction of phrases which give evidence of learning, and which add a pedantic tone, as in the previously cited passage about "interlunar swoons" and the "Homeric nod," references which rather detract and mystify, instead of elucidating and contributing something to our understanding. Or, where in the first edition, in speaking of "living with open doors as long as we can," Roderick exclaims: "Yes, let us close no doors that open upon Rome. For this, for the mind, is eternal warm weather"; in the revised version James has Roderick say: "For this, for the mind, must be the most breathable air in the world—it gives a new sense to the old *Pax Romana*." Now Roderick's mentality and culture were not of the type to justify his speaking in such terms.

James showed a greater fondness for similes and metaphors in the revisions he made. Where in the first version we read (II, p. 62): "with his head high and his brilliant glance unclouded," the revised version gives (p. 312): "with his head high and *his face as clear as a beach at the ebb*." In the original version (II, p. 74) James has Rowland reflect about Mary: "he would have called her beautiful"; in the revision (p. 326): "he would recklessly have pronounced it 'rich'. It was *as if she had somehow put lights in her dim windows and you could hear somewhere behind them the tuning of mystic fiddles*." The passage previously cited referring to Miss Blanchard, where James introduced the "button of an electric bell" is another illustration of the same tendency. In describing Mary's smile, James wrote in the early version: "Rowland, indeed, had not yet seen this smile in operation; but something assured him that her rigid gravity had a radiant counterpart."; the author revised it as follows: "Rowland indeed had not yet seen this accident produced; but something assured him that when, on due cause, she should cease to be serious, it would be like the final rising of the plain *green curtain of the old theatre on some—not very modern—comedy*." Referring to the Cavaliere's smile, the first version reads: "This time unmistakably the Cavaliere smiled, but still in that very out-of-the-way place"; in the

revision: "The Cavaliere's smile was *like the red tip of a cigar seen for a few seconds in the dark.*" In a letter to Cecilia, Rowland writes of Roderick: "Nature has given him his faculty out of hand, and bidden him be hanged with it!" The revised version reads, in addition to this phrase, "*It's as if she shied her great gold brick at him and cried 'Look out for your head'.*" And again, speaking of Roderick, James reflects: "with a look in his face that Rowland had not seen all winter. It was strikingly beautiful." He changed it to: "the reign of all reason was in his face. *It was like the sudden light of a golden age to come.*" These few examples give a fair idea of the type of figures of speech introduced by James in revising the novel.

Very often James inserts expressions which are extremely forced and unnatural, such as: "she was a small *softly-desperate* woman," in place of the original "small eager woman"; "the girl went on with her sewing" is replaced by "the girl prosecuted her work"; "he was killed" is supplanted by "he was *awfully* killed"; "a singularly unhappy woman" reads in the revised version "a woman *heavily depressed*"; "duties of this life" becomes "*duties of our earthly pilgrimage*"; "an old friend" is changed to "*an extreme intimate*"; "*publicity of expression*" is a phrase added to the description of Mary's charms; "he walked up and down a while reflecting" is superseded by "he walked up and down and *publicly considered*"; "there is nothing narrow about her but her experience" is changed to "nothing scant"; "a vivid portrait of the girl" becomes "*a straight recall* of the young girl"; "a piece of needlework" gives place to "*a strenuous-looking* piece of needlework"; "But we are very easy now; are we not, Mary?", put in the mouth of Mrs. Hudson is vastly more appropriate than the later: "Now, however, we're quite ourselves, and Mary, I think, is really enjoying the *reculsiion*."; "I thought Northampton really unpardonably tame" is changed to: "I thought Northampton quite too *abysmally flat*."

James often substitutes a concrete statement or expression or a more common one, for a less definite one, as for instance:

p. 65 *First edition*

Well, the passion is blazing; we have been piling on fuel handsomely.

Revised edition

p. 74

Well then, haven't I got up steam enough? It won't have been for want of your being a first-class stoker.

p. 68

the boy was living too fast, he would have said, and giving alarming pledges to ennui in his later years.

p. 78

he was eating his cake all at once and might have none left for the morrow.

II, p. 149

Mrs. Hudson was obliged to intermit her suspicions of the deleterious atmosphere of the Old World, and to acknowledge the superior purity of the breezes of Engelthal.

p. 413

Mrs. Hudson was reduced to forgetting, above all, that the poison of Europe—as she knew Europe—might lurk in the breeze, and even to admitting that the eggs of Engelthal were almost as fresh and the cream almost as thick as those of the Connecticut valley.

II, p. 23

A sculptor isn't a tailor.

p. 267

A sculptor isn't a tailor, and I didn't measure you for a pair of trousers.

II, p. 3

he used to reflect that during those days he had for a while literally been beside himself.

p. 275

he used to reflect that during those days he had been literally *beside* himself—even as the ass, in the farmer's row of stalls, may be beside the ox.

II, p. 38

Roderick's sending for them was, to her imagination, a confession of illness.

p. 284

Roderick's sending for them at all was, to her imagination, a confession of some pernicious ill, some visitation, probably, of malignant disease.

II, p. 63

She adores me!

p. 313

She thinks all the world of me. She likes me as if I were good to eat. She's saving me up, cannibal-fashion, as if I were a big feast.

Sometimes James introduces expressions which are almost too familiar, as for example, where in the first version we

read: "that another man admired her," in the revised edition we find: "the point that another man was *in a state* about her"; or instead of "miserably tipsy" James corrects, "miserably *the worst for liquor*"; "he had had a domestic struggle" becomes "he had had a *row* at home"; or when Madame Grandoni tries to find a term to describe Mary Garland, James, in revising has her call Mary "Miss Garland of the *Back Woods*." Other examples could be cited.

Several passages have already been given to illustrate the rather obscure, analytical style which James affected in his later years. A few more examples will emphasize my point:

p. 70 *First edition*

Rowland took immense satisfaction in his companion's lively desire to transmute all his impressions into production.

p. 10

He was not a sentimental father, and the roughness I just now spoke of in Rowland's life dated from his early boyhood.

p. 170

it seemed, indeed, to Rowland surprisingly frank—a pregnant example of his companion's strangely irresponsible way of looking at harmful facts.

II, p. 60

Roderick was peculiarly inscrutable.

II, p. 69

Rowland had purchased, as he supposed, temporary tranquillity for Mary Garland; but his own humour in these days was not

Revised edition p. 80

Rowland took high satisfaction in this positive law, as he saw it, of his companion's spirit, the instinct of investing every grain of sense or soul in the enterprise of planned production.

p. 10

He was not a sentimental father, and the introduction into Rowland's life of that grim ghost of the wholesome by which I spoke of it just now as being haunted dated from early boyhood.

p. 199

it seemed indeed to Rowland surprisingly free—a lively instance of his friend's disassociated manner of looking, as might have been said, at the time of day.

p. 310

Roderick's reflecting surface exhibited, for the time, something of a blur.

p. 320

Rowland had purchased, as he supposed, temporary peace for Mary Garland; but his own spirit, in these days, was given over to the

II, p. 69 *First edition*
 especially peaceful. He was attempting, in a certain sense, to lead the ideal life, and he found it at the least not easy.

Revised edition p. 320
 elements. The ideal life had been his general purpose, but the ideal life could only go on very real legs and feet, and the body and the extremities somehow failed always to move in concert.

II, p. 52
 He said many things which he thought very profound—that is, if they really had the fine intention he suspected.

p. 301
 She said many things that he thought very happy—that is if they meant certain other things that they perhaps didn't, and meant *all* of those.

II, p. 7
 He had, of course, asked himself how far it was questionable taste to inform an unprotected girl, for the needs of a cause, that another man admired her; the thing superficially had an uncomfortable analogy with treating the young lady as a cat's-paw.

p. 247
 He had of course rather sounded his scruples before deciding to make to an unprotected girl, for the needs of a cause—and not *her* cause, but his very own—the point that another man was in a state about her: the thing too much resembled, superficially, risking the disturbance of her peace.

The small and unimportant changes which Henry James made are legion and it is impossible to record even a hundredth part of them. In collating the two texts one wonders why he should have preferred one word to another, as for instance "slim" to "slender"; "romantic" to "picturesque"; "ability" to "talent"; "immediate interest" to "quickened interest"; "foolish" to "silly"; "nasty word" to "sharp word"; "estimate" to "valuation"; "mildness" to "gentleness"; "companionship" to "society"; "friend" to "companion"; "plaguey" to "devilish"; "base" to "rude"; "candid" to "frank"; "flushing" to "blushing," and many others. It is merely a question of personal taste and something which an outsider cannot judge. James seems to have developed a preference for certain expressions which one finds often in the revised novel, such as "a vague afterglow," the verb "flare,"—light plays an important rôle in his imagery.

In a few cases the second version is an improvement on the first, as in the following passages:

p. 24 *First edition*

Rowland's intelligent praise had sobered him; he was ruminating the full-flavoured verdict of culture.

Revised edition p. 27

Rowland's intelligent praise had steadied him; he had heard absolutely for the first time in his life the voice of taste and of authority

II, p. 17

It is in the matter of quantity that he has broken down.

p. 259

The talent's there, it's the application that has broken down.

II, p. 72

They're a precious pair! This is what I think. You by no means exhaust the subject when you say that Christina is dramatic.

p. 324

I think they're a precious pair—and yet that one hasn't said all when one says, as I have so often done, that she likes drama, likes theatricals—what do you call them?—histrionics, for their own sweet sake.

The last citation, from the mouth of the Cavaliere, is more in keeping with the Italian gentleman than the original version. But weighing all the examples gleaned from the collation of the two editions, cases of the last kind are in a decided minority. The closing paragraph of the novel is a good illustration of the points I have been trying to bring out in this study; I cite it here in full before giving the natural conclusions reached in my investigations:

II, p. 192

That cry still lives in Rowland's ears. It interposes persistently against the reflection that when he sometimes—very rarely—sees her, she is unreservedly kind to him; against the memory that during the dreary journey back to America, made of course with his assistance, there was a great frankness in her gratitude, a great gratitude in her frankness. Mary Garland lives with Mrs. Hudson at Northampton, where Rowland visits his cousin Cecilia more frequently than of old. When he calls upon Mary he never sees Mrs.

p. 463

That cry still lives in Rowland's ears. It interposes persistently against the consciousness that when he sometimes—very rarely—sees her, she is inscrutably civil to him; against the reflexion that during the awful journey back to America, made of course with his assistance, she had used him, with the last rigour of consistency, as a character definitely appointed to her use. She lives with Mrs. Hudson under the New England elms, where he also visits his cousin Cecilia more frequently than of old. When he calls on Mary he never sees the

II, p. 192 *First edition*

Hudson. Cecilia, who, having her shrewd impression that he comes to see the young lady at the other house as much as to see herself, does not feel obliged to seem unduly flattered, calls him whenever he reappears the most restless of mortals. But he always says to her in answer, "No, I assure you I am the most patient!"

Revised edition p. 463

older lady. Cecilia, who having her shrewd impression that he comes for the young person, the still young person, of interest at the other house as much as for any one else, fails to show as unduly flattered, and in fact pronounces him, at each reappearance, the most restless of mortals. But he always says to her in answer: "No, I assure you I'm the most patient!" And then he talks to her of Roderick, of whose history she never wearies and whom he never elsewhere names.

Sufficient illustrations have been given to allow the reader to judge for himself and to agree that in revising *Roderick Hudson*, Henry James made very few radical changes, that he in no way altered the story, but that he made a most minute revision of his style. The result of that revision is, barring very few exceptions, the introduction of an element, germs of which were to be found in the first version—that is, a great tendency to analyze; that in the final version this tendency became a habit, an affectation, if you will. The effect of that introspective, analytical trait is an obscuring of spontaneous, natural passages, making them labored, heavy, ambiguous, and sometimes almost impenetrable. There is a feeling of effort, of deliberate striving for effect which spoils the youthful production and robs it of what was fresh and easy and sincerely unaffected.

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XI. ON THE DISCRIMINATION OF
ROMANTICISMS¹

I

We approach a centenary not, perhaps, wholly undeserving of notice on the part of this learned company. It was apparently in 1824 that those respected citizens of La-Ferté-sous-Jouarre, MM. Dupuis and Cotonet, began an enterprise which was to cause them, as is recorded, "twelve years of suffering," and to end in disillusionment—the enterprise of discovering what Romanticism is, by collecting definitions and characterizations of it given by eminent authorities. I conjecture, therefore, that one of the purposes of the Committee in inviting me to speak on this subject was perhaps to promote a Dupuis and Cotonet Centennial Exhibition, in which the later varieties of definitions of Romanticism, the fruit of a hundred years' industry on the part of literary critics and professors of modern literature, might be at least in part displayed. Certainly there is no lack of material; the contemporary collector of such articles, while paying tribute to the assiduity and the sufferings of those worthy pioneers of a century ago, will chiefly feel an envious sense of the relative simplicity of their task. He will find, also, that the apparent incongruity of the senses in which the term is employed has fairly kept pace with their increase in number; and that the singular potency which the subject has from the first possessed to excite controversy and breed divisions has in no degree diminished with the lapse of years.

¹ An address delivered by invitation at the fortieth Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, December 27, 1923.

For if some Dupuis of to-day were to gather, first, merely a few of the more recent accounts of the origin and age of Romanticism, he would learn from M. Lasserre² and many others that Rousseau was the father of it; from Mr. Russell³ and Mr. Santayana⁴ that the honor of paternity might plausibly be claimed by Immanuel Kant; from M. Seillière that its grandparents were Fénelon and Madame Guyon;⁵ from Professor Babbitt that its earliest well-identified forebear was Francis Bacon;⁶ from Mr. Gosse that it originated in the bosom of the Reverend Joseph Warton;⁷ from the late Professor Ker that it had "its beginnings in the seventeenth-century" or a little earlier, in such books as "the *Arcadia* or the *Grand Cyrus*"⁸; from Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency that it "was born in the eleventh century, and sprang from that sense of aspiration which runs through the Anglo-French, or rather, the Anglo-Norman Renaissance"⁹; from Professor Grierson that St. Paul's "irruption into Greek religious thought and Greek prose" was an essential example of "a romantic movement," though the "first great romantic" was Plato;¹⁰ and from Mr. Charles Whibley that the *Odyssey* is romantic in its "very texture and essence," but that, with its rival, Romanticism was "born in the Garden of Eden" and that "the Serpent was the first romantic."¹¹ The inquirer would, at the same time, find that many of these originators of Romanticism—including both the first and last mentioned, whom, indeed, some contemporaries are unable to distinguish—figure on other lists as initiators or representatives of tendencies of precisely the contrary sort.

These differing versions of the age and lineage of Romanticism are matched by a corresponding diversity in the descriptions offered by those of our time who have given special care to the

² *Le Romantisme français*, 1919, p. 141 and *passim*.

³ *Jour. of Philosophy*, XIX (1922), 645.

⁴ *Egotism in German Philosophy*, pp. 11-20, 54-64.

⁵ *Mme Guyon et Fénelon, précurseurs de Rousseau*, 1918.

⁶ "Schiller and Romanticism"; *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXVII, 267, n. 28.

⁷ *Proc. Br. I. Acad.*, 1915-16, pp. 146-7.

⁸ *The Art of Poetry*, 1923, pp. 79-80.

⁹ *Contemporary Review*, April, 1919, p. 473.

¹⁰ *Classical and Romantic*, 1923, pp. 32, 31.

¹¹ Editor's Introduction to *Essays in Romantic Literature* by George Wyndham, 1919, p. xxxiii.

observation of it. For Professor Ker Romanticism was "the fairy way of writing,"¹² and for Mr. Gosse it is inconsistent with "keeping to the facts";¹³ but for Mr. F. Y. Eccles¹⁴ (following M. Pellissier) "the romantic system of ideas" is the direct source of "the realistic error," of the tendency to conceive of psychology as "the dry notation of purely physiological phenomena" and consequently to reduce the novel and the drama to the description of "the automaton-like gestures of *la bête humaine*." To Professor Ker, again, "romantic" implied "reminiscence": "the romantic schools have always depended more or less on the past."¹⁵ Similarly Mr. Geoffrey Scott finds "its most typical form" to be "the cult of the extinct."¹⁶ But Professor Schelling tells us that "the classic temper studies the past, the romantic temper neglects it; . . . it leads us forward and creates new precedents."¹⁷ Mr. Paul More defines Romanticism as "the illusion of beholding the infinite within the stream of nature itself, instead of apart from that stream"—in short, as an apotheosis of the cosmic flux;¹⁸ but a special student of German Romanticism cites as typical Romantic utterances Friedrich Schlegel's "alles Sichtbare hat nur die Wahrheit einer Allegorie," and Goethe's "alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis."¹⁹ From M. Seillière's most celebrated work it appears that the Romantic mind tends to be affected with an inferiority-complex, "une impression d'incomplétude, de solitude morale, et presque d'angoisse";²⁰ from other passages of the same writer we learn that Romanticism is the "imperialistic" mood, whether in individuals or nations—a too confident assertion of the will-to-power, arising from "the mystic feeling that one's activities have the advantages of a celestial alliance."²¹ The function of the human mind which is to be

¹² *The Art of Poetry*, p. 79.

¹³ *Aspects and Impressions*, 1922, p. 5.

¹⁴ *La Liquidation du Romantisme*, 1199, pp. 14 f.

¹⁵ *The Art of Poetry*, p. 50.

¹⁶ *The Architecture of Humanism*, 1914, p. 39.

¹⁷ *P. M. L. A.*, XIII, 222.

¹⁸ *The Drift of Romanticism*, 1913, pp. xiii, 247.

¹⁹ Marie Joachimi, *Die Weltanschauung der Romantik*, 1905, p. 52.

²⁰ *Le mal romantique*, 1908, p. vii.

²¹ Cf. R. Gillouin, *Une nouvelle philosophie de l'histoire moderne et française*, 1921, pp. 6 ff; Seillière, *Le péril mystique*, etc. pp. 2-6.

regarded as peculiarly "romantic" is for some "the heart as opposed to the head,"²² for others, "the Imagination, as contrasted with Reason and the Sense of Fact"²³—which I take to be ways of expressing a by no means synonymous pair of psychological antitheses. Typical manifestations of the spiritual essence of Romanticism have been variously conceived to be a passion for moonlight, for red waistcoats, for Gothic churches, for futurist paintings;²⁴ for talking exclusively about oneself, for hero-worship, for losing oneself in an ecstatic contemplation of nature.

The offspring with which Romanticism is credited are as strangely assorted as its attributes and its ancestors. It is by different historians—sometimes by the same historians—supposed to have begotten the French Revolution and the Oxford Movement; the Return to Rome and the Return to the State of Nature; the philosophy of Hegel, the philosophy of Schopenhauer, and the philosophy of Nietzsche—than which few other three philosophies more nearly exhaust the rich possibilities of philosophic disagreement; the revival of neo-Platonic mysticism in a Coleridge or an Alcott, the Emersonian transcendentalism, and scientific materialism; Wordsworth and Wilde; Newman and Huxley; the Waverley novels, the *Comédie Humaine*, and Les Rougon-Macquart. M. Seillière and Professor Babbitt have been especially active in tracing the progeny of Romanticism in the past century; the extraordinary number and still more extraordinary diversity of the descendants of it discovered by their researches are known to all here, and it therefore suffices to refer to their works for further examples.

All this is a mere hint, a suggestion by means of random samples, of the richness of the collection which might be brought together for our Centennial Exposition. The result is a confusion of terms, and of ideas, beside which that of a hundred years ago—mind-shaking though it was to the honest inquirers of La-Ferté-sous-Jouarre—seems pure lucidity. The word "romantic" has come to mean so many things that, by itself, it means nothing. It has ceased to perform the function of a verbal sign. When a man is asked, as I have had the honor

²² Wernaer, *Romanticism and the Romantic School in Germany*, p. 3.

²³ Neilson, *Essentials of Poetry*, 1912, ch. III.

²⁴ For the last mentioned, cf. Gosse in *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, 1915-16, p. 151.

of being asked, to discuss Romanticism, it is impossible to know what ideas or tendencies he is to talk about, when they are supposed to have flourished, or in whom they are supposed to be chiefly exemplified. Perhaps there are some who think the rich ambiguity of the word not regrettable. In 1824, as Victor Hugo then testified, there were those who preferred to leave *à ce mot de romantique un certain vague fantastique et indéfinissable qui en redouble l'horreur*; and it may be that the taste is not extinct. But for one of the philosopher's trade, at least, the situation is embarrassing and exasperating; for philosophers, in spite of a popular belief to the contrary, are persons who suffer from a morbid solicitude to know precisely what they are talking about.

Least of all does it seem possible, while the present uncertainty concerning the nature and *locus* of Romanticism prevails, to take sides in the controversy which still goes on so briskly with respect to its merits, the character of its general influence upon art and life. To do so would be too much like consenting to sit on a jury to try a criminal not yet identified, for a series of apparently incompatible crimes, before a bench of learned judges engaged in accusing one another of being accessories to whatever mischief has been done. It is to be observed, for example, that Messrs. Lasserre, Seillière, Babbitt and More (to mention no others) are agreed in holding that something called Romanticism is the chief cause of the spiritual evils from which the nineteenth century and our own have suffered; but that they represent at least three different opinions as to what these evils are and how they are to be remedied. M. Lasserre, identifying Romanticism with the essential spirit of the French Revolution, finds the chief cause of our woes in that movement's breach with the past, in its discarding of the ancient traditions of European civilization; and he consequently seeks the cure in a return to an older faith and an older political and social order, and in an abandonment of the optimistic fatalism generated by the idea of progress. M. Seillière, however, holds that "the spirit of the Revolution in that in which it is rational, Stoic, Cartesian, classical . . . is justified, enduring, assured of making its way in the world more and more";²⁵ and that,

²⁵ *Le mal romantique*, p. xli.

consequently, the ill name of Romanticism should be applied to the revolutionary movement only where it has deviated from its true course, in "the social mysticism, the communistic socialism of the present time." He therefore intimates that the school of opinion which M. Lasserre ably represents is itself a variety of Romanticism.²⁶ But it is equally certain that M. Seillière's own philosophy is one of the varieties of Romanticism defined by Mr. Babbitt and Mr. More; while Mr. Babbitt, in turn, has been declared by more than one of the critics of his last brilliant book, and would necessarily be held by M. Seillière, to set forth therein an essentially Romantic philosophy. Thus Professor Herford days of it (justly or otherwise) that its "temper is not that of a 'positivist' of any school, but of a mystic," and that "it is as foreign to Homer and Sophocles, the exemplars of true classicism if any are, as it is to Aristotle."²⁷

What, then, can be done to clear up, or to diminish, this confusion of terminology and of thought which has for a century been the scandal of literary history and criticism, and is still, as it would not be difficult to show, copiously productive of historical errors and of dangerously indiscriminating diagnoses of the moral and aesthetic maladies of our age? The one really radical remedy—namely, that we should all cease talking about Romanticism—is, I fear, certain not to be adopted. It would probably be equally futile to attempt to prevail upon scholars and critics to restrict their use of the term to a single and reasonably well-defined sense. Such a proposal would only be the starting-point of a new controversy. Men, and especially philologists, will doubtless go on using words as they like, however much annoyance they may cause philosophers by this unchartered freedom. There are, however, two possible historical inquiries which, if carried out more thoroughly and carefully than has yet been done, would, I think, do much to rectify the present muddle, and would at the same time promote a clearer understanding of the general movement of ideas, the

²⁶ "Il y a même beaucoup de romantique dans la façon dont le combattent certains traditionalistes imprudents, dont M. Lasserre paraît avoir quelquefois écouté les suggestions dangereuses" (*loc. cit.*).

²⁷ *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, VIII (1923), 113.

logical and psychological relations between the chief episodes and transitions, in modern thought and taste.

One of these measures would be somewhat analogous to the procedure of contemporary psychopathologists in the treatment of certain types of disorder. It has been found that some mental disturbances can be cured or alleviated by making the patient explicitly aware of the genesis of his troublesome "complex," i.e., by enabling him to reconstruct those processes of association of ideas through which it was formed. The result of such analysis is sometimes a disassociation of a very benign sort. Similarly in the present case, I think, it would be useful to trace the associative processes through which the word "romantic" has attained its present amazing diversity, and consequent uncertainty, of connotation and denotation; in other words, to carry out an adequate semasiological study of the term. For one of the few things certain about Romanticism is that the name of it offers one of the most complicated, fascinating, and instructive of all problems in semantics. It is, in short, a part of the task of the historian of ideas, when he applies himself to the study of the thing or things called Romanticism, to render it, if possible, psychologically intelligible how such manifold and discrepant phenomena have all come to receive one name. Such an analysis would, I am convinced, show us a large mass of purely verbal confusions operative as actual factors in the movement of thought in the past century and a quarter; and it would, by making these confusions explicit, make it easier to avoid them.

But this inquiry would in practice, for the most part, be inseparable from a second, which is the remedy that I wish, on this occasion, especially to recommend. The first step in this second mode of treatment of the disorder is that we should learn to use the word "Romanticism" in the plural. This, of course, is already the practise of the more cautious and observant literary historians, in so far as they recognize that the "Romanticism" of one country may have little in common with that of another, and at all events ought to be defined in distinctive terms. But the discrimination of the Romanticisms which I have in mind is not solely or chiefly a division upon lines of nationality or language. What is needed is that any study of the subject should begin with a recognition of a

prima facie plurality of Romanticisms, of possibly quite distinct thought-complexes, a number of which may appear in one country. There is no hope of clear thinking on the part of the student of modern literature, if—as, alas! has been repeatedly done by eminent writers—he vaguely hypostatizes the term, and starts with the presumption that “Romanticism” is the heaven-appointed designation of some single real entity, or type of entities, to be found in nature. He must set out from the simple and obvious fact that there are various historic episodes or movements to which different historians of our own or other periods have, for one reason or another, given the name. There is a movement which began in Germany in the seventeen-nineties—the only one which has an indisputable title to be called Romanticism, since it invented the term for its own use. There is another movement which began pretty definitely in England in the seventeen-forties. There is a movement which began in France in 1801. There is another movement which began in France in the second decade of the century, is linked with the German movement, and took over the German name. There is the rich and incongruous collection of ideas to be found in Rousseau. There are numerous other things called Romanticism by various writers whom I cited at the outset. The fact that the same name has been given by different scholars to all of these episodes is no evidence, and scarcely even establishes a presumption, that they are identical in essentials. There may be some least common denominator of them all; but if so, it has never yet been clearly exhibited, and its presence is not to be assumed *a priori*. In any case, each of these so-called Romanticisms was a highly complex and usually an exceedingly unstable intellectual compound; each, in other words, was made up of various unit-ideas linked together, for the most part, not by any indissoluble bonds of logical necessity, but by alogical associative processes, greatly facilitated and partly caused, in the case of the Romanticisms which grew up after the appellation ‘Romantic’ was invented, by the congenital and acquired ambiguities of the word. And when certain of these Romanticisms have in truth significant elements in common, they are not necessarily the same elements in any two cases. Romanticism A may have one characteristic presupposition or impulse, X, which it shares with Romanticism

B, another characteristic, Y, which it shares with Romanticism C, to which X is wholly foreign. In the case, moreover, of those movements or schools to which the label was applied in their own time, the contents under the label sometimes changed radically and rapidly. At the end of a decade or two you had the same men and the same party appellation, but profoundly different ideas. As everyone knows, this is precisely what happened in the case of what is called French Romanticism. It may or may not be true that, as M. A. Viatte has recently sought to show,²⁸ at the beginning of this process of transformation some subtle leaven was already at work which made the final outcome inevitable; the fact remains that in most of its practically significant sympathies and affiliations of a literary, ethical, political, and religious sort, the French "Romanticism" of the eighteen-thirties was the antithesis of that of the beginning of the century.

But the essential of the second remedy is that each of these Romanticisms—after they are first thus roughly discriminated with respect to their representatives or their dates—should be resolved, by a more thorough and discerning analysis than is yet customary, into its elements—into the several ideas and aesthetic susceptibilities of which it is composed. Only after these fundamental thought-factors in it are clearly discriminated and fairly exhaustively enumerated, shall we be in a position to judge of the degree of its affinity with other complexes to which the same name has been applied, to see precisely what tacit preconceptions or controlling motives or explicit contentions were common to any two or more of them, and wherein they manifested distinct and divergent tendencies.

II

Of the needfulness of such analytic comparison and discrimination of the Romanticisms let me attempt three illustrations.

1. In an interesting lecture before the British Academy a few years since, Mr. Gosse described Joseph Warton's youthful poem, *The Enthusiast*, written in 1740, as the first clear manifestation of "the great romantic movement, such as it has enlarged and dwindled down to our day Here for the first time

²⁸ *Le Catholicisme chez les Romantiques*, 1922.

we find unwaveringly emphasized and repeated what was entirely new in literature, the essence of romantic hysteria. *The Enthusiast* is the earliest expression of complete revolt against the classical attitude which had been sovereign in all European literature for nearly a century. So completely is this expressed by Joseph Warton that it is extremely difficult to realize that he could not have come under the fascination of Rousseau, . . . who was not to write anything characteristic until ten years later."²⁹ Let us, then, compare the ideas distinctive of this poem with the conception of *romantische Poesie* formulated by Friedrich Schlegel and his fellow-Romanticists in Germany after 1796. The two have plainly certain common elements. Both are forms of revolt against the neo-classical aesthetics; both are partly inspired by an ardent admiration for Shakespeare; both proclaim the creative artist's independence of "rules." It might at first appear, therefore, that these two Romanticisms, in spite of natural differences of phraseology, are identical in essence—are separate outcroppings of the same vein of metal, precious or base, according to your taste.

But a more careful scrutiny shows a contrast between them not less important—indeed, as it seems to me, more important—than their resemblance. The general theme of Joseph Warton's poem (of which, it will be remembered, the sub-title is "The Lover of Nature") is one which had been a commonplace for two centuries: the superiority of "nature" to "art." It is a theme which goes back to Rabelais's contrast of *Physis* and *Antiphysie*. It had been the inspiration of some of the most famous passages of Montaigne. Pope's *Essay on Man* had been full of it. The "natural" in contrast with the artificial meant, first of all, that which is not man-made; and within man's life, it was supposed to consist in those expressions of human nature which are most spontaneous, unpremeditated, untouched by reflection or design, and free from the bondage of social convention. "Ce n'est pas raison," cried Montaigne, "que l'art gagne le point d'honneur sur notre grande et puissante mère Nature. Nous avons tant rechargé la beauté et richesse de ses ouvrages par nos inventions, que nous l'avons tout à fait étouffée." There follows the *locus classicus* of primitivism in modern literature, the famous passage on the

²⁹ "Two Pioneers of Romanticism," *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, 1915, pp. 146-8.

superiority of wild fruits and savage men over those that have been "bastardized" by art.³⁰

Warton, then, presents this ancient theme in various aspects. He prefers to all the beauties of the gardens of Versailles

Some pine-topt precipice
Abrupt and shaggy;

he rhetorically inquires:

Can Kent design like Nature?

He laments

That luxury and pomp . . .
Should proudly banish Nature's simple charms.

He inquires why "mistaken man" should deem it nobler

To dwell in palaces and high-roof'd halls
Than in God's forests, architect supreme.

All this, if I may be permitted the expression, was old stuff. The principal thing that was original and significant in the poem was that Warton boldly applied the doctrine of the superiority of "nature" over conscious art to the theory of poetry:

What are the lays of artful Addison,
Coldly correct, to Shakespeare's warblings wild?

That Nature herself was wild, untamed, was notorious, almost tautological; and it was Shakespeare's supposed "wildness," his non-conformity to the conventional rules, the spontaneous freedom of his imagination and his expression, that proved him Nature's true pupil.

Now this aesthetic inference had not, during the neo-classical period, ordinarily been drawn from the current assumption of the superiority of nature to art. The principle of "following nature" had in aesthetics usually been taken in another, or in more than one other, of the several dozen senses of the sacred word.³¹ Yet in other provinces of thought an analogous inference had long since and repeatedly been suggested. From the

³⁰ *Essays*, I, 31. There is a certain irony in the fact that the sort of naturalism here expressed by Montaigne was to be the basis of a Shakespeare-revival in the eighteenth century. For Shakespeare's own extreme antipathy to the passage is shown by the fact that he wrote two replies to it—a humorous one in *The Tempest*, a serious and profound one in *The Winter's Tale*.

first the fashion of conceiving of "nature" (in the sense in which it was antithetic to "art") as norm had made for antinomianism, in some degree or other—for a depreciation of restraint, for the ideal of "letting yourself go." There seems to be an idea current that an antinomian temper was, at some time in the eighteenth century, introduced into aesthetic theory and artistic practise by some Romanticist; and that it thence speedily spread to moral feeling and social conduct.²² The historic sequence is precisely the opposite. It was Montaigne again—not usually classified as a Romanticist—who wrote:

J'ai pris bien simplement et crûment ce précepte ancien: 'que nous ne saurions faillir à suivre Nature' . . . Je n'ai pas corrigé, comme Socrate, par la force de la raison, mes complexions naturelles, je n'ai aucunement troublé, par art, mon inclination; je me laisse aller comme je suis venu; je ne combats rien.²³

It was Pope who asked:

Can that offend great Nature's God
Which Nature's self inspires?

and who spoke of

Wild Nature's vigor working at the root

as the source of the passions in which all the original and vital energies of men are contained.

Aside from a certain heightening of the emotional tone, then, the chief novelty of Warton's poem lay in its suggesting the application of these ideas to a field from which they had been curiously and inconsistently excluded, in its introduction of antinomianism, of a rather mild sort, into the conception of poetic excellence.²⁴ But this extension was obviously implicit

²¹ This is not rhetorical exaggeration; at least sixty different senses or applications of the notion of "nature" as norm can be clearly distinguished.

²² So apparently Mr. Gosse: "When the history of the [Romantic] school comes to be written, there will be a piquancy in tracing an antinomianism down from the blameless Warton to the hedonist essays of Oscar Wilde and the frenzied anarchism of the futurists" (*op. cit.*, p. 15).

²³ *Essais*, III. 12.

²⁴ The title of the poem and some elements of its thought and feeling—especially its note of religious "enthusiasm" for "Nature" in the sense of the visible universe—are akin to, and probably derivative from, Shaftesbury's *Moralists*. But in Shaftesbury there is no opposition of "nature" to "art" and no antinomian strain, either ethical or aesthetic; "decorum," "order," "balance," and "proportion" are among his favorite words.

from the outset in the logic of that protean "naturalism" which had been the most characteristic and potent force in modern thought since the late Renaissance; it was bound to be made by somebody sooner or later. Nor was Warton's the first aesthetic application of the principle; it had already been applied to an art in the theory and practice of which eighteenth-century Englishmen were keenly interested—the art of landscape design. The first great revolt against the neo-classical aesthetics was not in literature at all, but in gardening; the second, I think, was in architectural taste; and all three were inspired by the same ideas. Since, the "artful Addison" had observed, "artificial works receive a greater advantage from their resemblance of such as are natural," and since Nature is distinguished by her "rough, careless strokes," the layer-out of gardens should aim at "an artificial rudeness much more charming than that neatness and elegance usually met with."²⁶ This horticultural Romanticism had been preached likewise by Sir William Temple, Pope, Horace Walpole, Batty Langley, and others, and ostensibly exemplified in the work of Kent, Brown, and Bridgeman. Warton in the poem in question describes Kent as at least doing his best to imitate in his gardens the wildness of Nature:

He, by rules unfettered, boldly scorns
Formality and method; round and square
Disdaining, plans irregularly great.

It was no far cry from this to the rejection of the rules in the drama, to a revulsion against the strait-laced regularity and symmetry of the heroic couplet, to a general turning from convention, formality, method, artifice, in all the arts.

There had, however, from the first been a curious duality of meaning in the antithesis of "nature" and "art"—one of the most pregnant of the long succession of confusions of ideas which make up much of the history of human thought. While the "natural" was, on the one hand, conceived as the wild and spontaneous and "irregular," it was also conceived as the simple, the naïf, the unsophisticated. No two words were more fixedly associated in the mind of the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries than "Nature" and "simple." Con-

²⁶ *Spectator*, No. 144.

sequently the idea of preferring nature to custom and to art usually carried with it the suggestion of a program of simplification, of reform by elimination; in other words, it implied primitivism. The "natural" was a thing you reached by going back and by leaving out. And this association of ideas—already obvious in Montaigne, in Pope, and scores of other extollers of "Nature"—is still conspicuous in Warton's poem. It was the "bards of old" who were "fair Nature's friends." The poet envies

The first of men, ere yet confined
In smoky cities.

He yearns to dwell in some

Isles of innocence from mortal view
Deeply retired beneath a plantane's shade,
Where Happiness and Quiet sit enthroned,
With simple Indian swains.

For one term of the comparison, then, I limit myself, for brevity's sake, to this poem to which Mr. Gosse has assigned so important a place in literary history. There were, of course, even in the writings of the elder Warton, and still more in other phenomena frequently called "Romantic," between the 1740's and the 1790's, further elements which cannot be considered here. There is observable, for example, in what it has become the fashion to classify as the early phases of English Romanticism, the emergence of what may be called gothicism, and the curious fact of its partial and temporary fusion with naturalism. It is one of the interesting problems of the analytic history of ideas to see just how and why naturalism and gothicism became allied in the eighteenth century in England, though little, if at all, in France. But for the present purpose it suffices to take *The Enthusiast* as typical, in one especially important way, of a great deal of the so-called Romanticism before the seventeen-nineties—a Romanticism, namely, which, whatever further characteristics it may have had, was based upon naturalism (in the sense of the word which I have indicated) and was associated with primitivism of some mode or degree.

2. For in this fundamental point this earlier "Romanticism" differed essentially from that of the German aesthetic theorists and poets who chose the term "Romantic poetry" as the most

suitable designation for their own literary ideals and program. The latter "Romanticism" is in its very essence a denial of the older naturalistic presuppositions, which Warton's poem had manifested in a special and somewhat novel way. The German movement received its immediate and decisive impetus from Schiller's essay *On Naïve and Sentimental Poetry*; and what it derived from that confused work was the conviction that "harmony with nature," in any sense which implied an opposition to "culture," to "art," to reflection and self-conscious effort, was neither possible nor desirable for the modern man or the modern artist.³⁶ The *Frühromantiker* learned from Schiller the idea of an art which should look back no more to the primitive than to the classical—the notions of which, incidentally, Schiller had curiously fused—for its models and ideals; which should be the appropriate expression, not of a *natürliche* but of a *künstliche Bildung*; which, so far from desiring simplification, so far from aiming at the sort of harmony in art and life which is to be attained by the method of leaving out, should seek first fullness of content, should have for its program the adequate expression of the entire range of human experience and the entire reach of the human imagination. For man, the artificial, Friedrich Schlegel observed, is "natural." "Die Abstraktion ist ein künstlicher Zustand. Dies ist kein Grund gegen sie, denn es ist dem Menschen gewiss natürlich, sich dann und wann auch in künstliche Zustände zu versetzen." And again: "Eine nur im Gegensatz der Kunst und Bildung natürliche Denkart soll es gar nicht geben." To be unsophisticated, to revert to the mental state of "simple Indian swains," was the least of the ambitions of a German Romantic—though, since the unsophisticated is one type of human character, his art was not, at least in theory, indifferent even to that. The Shakespeare whom he admired was no gifted child of nature addicted to "warblings wild." Shakespeare, said A. W. Schlegel, is not "ein blindes wildlaufendes Genie;" he had "a system in his artistic practise and an astonishingly profound and deeply meditated one." The same critic seems to be consciously attacking either Joseph Warton's or Gray's famous lines about Shakespeare when he writes: "Those poets whom it is customary to represent as

³⁶ Cf. the writer's "Schiller and the Genesis of Romanticism," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXV. 1-9, 136-146.

carefree nurslings of nature, without art and without schooling, if they produce works of genuine excellence, give evidence of exceptional cultivation (*Kultur*) of their mental powers, of practised art, of ripely pondered and just designs." The greatness of Shakespeare, in the eyes of *these* Romantics, lay in his *Universalität*, his sophisticated insight into human nature and the many-sidedness of his portrayal of character; it was this, as Friedrich Schlegel said, that made him "wie der Mittelpunkt der romantischen Kunst." It may be added that another trait of the Romanticism found by Mr. Gosse in Joseph Warton, namely, the feeling that didactic poetry is not poetic, was also repudiated by early German Romanticism: "How," asked F. Schlegel again, "can it be said that ethics (*die Moral*) belongs merely to philosophy, when the greatest part of poetry relates to the art of living and to the knowledge of human nature?"³⁷

The difference, then, I suggest, is more significant, more pregnant, than the likeness between these two Romanticisms. Between the assertion of the superiority of "nature" over conscious "art" and that of the superiority of conscious art over mere "nature"; between a way of thinking of which primitivism is of the essence and one of which the idea of perpetual self-transcendence is of the essence; between a fundamental preference for simplicity—even though a "wild" simplicity—and a fundamental preference for diversity and complexity; between the sort of ingenuous naïveté characteristic of *The Enthusiast* and the sophisticated subtlety of the conception of romantic irony: between these the antithesis is one of the most radical that modern thought and taste have to show. / I don't deny anyone's right to call both these things Romanticism, if he likes; but I cannot but observe that the fashion of giving both the same name has led to a good deal of unconscious falsification of the history of ideas. The elements of the one Romanticism tend to be read into the other; the nature and profundity of the oppositions between them tend to be overlooked; and the relative importance of the different changes of preconceptions in modern thought, and of susceptibilities in modern taste,

³⁷ Quotations in this paragraph from F. Schlegel are from *Athenaeum*, II, 1, p. 29; III, 1, p. 12; I, 2, p. 68; III, 1, p. 19. Those from A. W. Schlegel have already been cited by Marie Joachimi, *Weltanschauung der Romantik*, pp. 179-183.

tends to be wrongly estimated. I shall not attempt to cite here what seem to me examples of such historical errors; but the sum of them is, I think, far from negligible.

Between the "Romanticism" which is but a special and belated manifestation of the naturalism that dates from the Renaissance, and the "Romanticism" which began at the end of the eighteenth century in Germany (as well as that which appeared a little later in France) there is another difference not less significant. This is due to the identification of the meaning of "Romantic" in the later movement with "Christian"—and mainly with the medieval implications of the latter term. This was not the central idea in the original notion of "Romantic poetry" as conceived by Friedrich Schlegel. Primarily, as I have elsewhere tried to show,³⁸ the adjective meant for him and the entire school "das eigentümlich Moderne" in contrast with "das eigentümlich Antike." But it early occurred to him that the historic cause of the supposed radical differentiation of modern from classical art could lie only in the influence of Christianity. He wrote in 1796, before his own conversion to what he had already defined as the "romantic," *i.e.*, modern, point of view:

So lächerlich und geschmacklos sich dieses Trachten nach dem Reich Gottes in der christlichen Poesie offenbaren möchte; so wird es dem Geschichtsforscher doch eine sehr merkwürdige Erscheinung, wenn er gewahr wird, dass eben dieses Streben, das absolut Vollkommene und Unendliche zu realisiren, eine unter dem unaufhörlichen Wechsel der Zeiten und bei der grössten Verschiedenheit der Völker bleibende Eigenschaft dessen ist, was man mit dem besten Rechte modern nennen darf.³⁹

When, after reading Schiller's essay, Schlegel himself became a devotee of those aesthetic ideals which he had previously denounced, he wrote (1797):

Nachdem die vollendete natürliche Bildung der Alten entschieden gesunken, und ohne Rettung ausgeartet war, ward durch den Verlust der endlichen Realität und die Zerrüttung vollendeter Form ein Streben nach unendlicher Realität veranlasst, welches bald allgemeiner Ton des Zeitalters wurde.⁴⁰

"Romantic" art thus came to mean—for one thing—an art inspired by or expressive of some idea or some ethical temper

³⁸ "The Meaning of Romantic," etc. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXI. 385-396; XXXII. 65-77.

³⁹ Review of Herder's *Humanitätsbriefe*; in Minor, *Fr. Schlegel, 1794-1802*.

⁴⁰ Vorrede to *Die Griechen und Römer*, in Minor, *op. cit.*, I. 82.

supposed to be essential in Christianity. "Ursprung und Charakter der ganzen neuern Poesie lässt sich so leicht aus dem Christentume ableiten, dass man die romantische eben so gut die christliche nennen könnte,"⁴¹ said Richter in 1804, repeating what had by that time become a commonplace. But the nature of the essentially Christian, and therefore essentially Romantic, spirit was variously conceived. Upon one characteristic of it there was, indeed, rather general agreement among the German Romanticists: the habit of mind introduced by Christianity was distinguished by a certain insatiability; it aimed at infinite objectives and was incapable of lasting satisfaction with any goods actually reached. It became a favorite platitude to say that the Greeks and Romans set themselves limited ends to attain, were able to attain them, and were thus capable of self-satisfaction and finality; and that modern or "romantic" art differed from this most fundamentally, by reason of its Christian origin, in being, as Schiller had said, a *Kunst des Unendlichen*. "Absolute Abstraktion, Vernichtung des Jetzigen, Apotheose der Zukunft, dieser eigentlich bessern Welt!; dies ist der Kern der Geheisse des Christentums," declared Novalis. In its application to artistic practise this "apotheosis of the future" meant the ideal of endless progress, of "eine progressive Universalpoesie" in the words of Fr. Schlegel's familiar definition; it implied the demand that art shall always go on bringing new provinces of life within its domain and achieving ever fresh and original effects. But anything which was, or was supposed to be, especially characteristic of the Christian *Weltanschauung* tended to become a part of the current connotation of 'Romantic', and also a part of the actual ideals of the school. Preoccupation with supersensible realities and a feeling of the illusoriness of ordinary existence was thus often held to be a distinctive trait of Romantic art, on the ground that Christianity is an otherworldly religion: "in der christlichen Ansicht," said A. W. Schlegel, "die Anschauung des Unendlichen hat das Endliche vernichtet; das Leben ist zur Schattenwelt und zur Nacht geworden."⁴² Another recognized characteristic of Christianity, and therefore of

⁴¹ *Vorschule der Aesthetik*, I, Programm V, § 23.

⁴² *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*, 1809-11, in *Werke*, 1846, V. 16. Cf. also Novalis's *Hymnen an die Nacht*.

the "Romantic," was ethical dualism, a conviction that there are in man's constitution two natures ceaselessly at war. The Greek ideal, in the elder Schlegel's words, was "vollkommene Eintracht und Ebenmass aller Kräfte, natürliche Harmonie. Die Neueren hingegen sind zum Bewusstsein der inneren Entzweiung gekommen, welche ein solches Ideal unmöglich macht."⁴³ Directly related to this, it was perceived, was the "inwardness" of Christianity, its preoccupation with "the heart" as distinguished from the outward act, its tendency to introspection; and hence, as Mme de Stael and others observed, "modern" or "Romantic" art has discovered, and has for its peculiar province, the inexhaustible realm of the inner life of man:

Les anciens avaient, pour ainsi dire, une âme corporelle, dont tous les mouvements étaient forts, directs, et conséquents; il n'en est pas de même du cœur humain développé par le christianisme: les modernes ont puisé dans le repentir chrétien l'habitude de se replier continuellement sur eux-mêmes. Mais, pour manifester cette existence tout intérieure, il faut qu'une grande variété dans les faits présente sous toutes les formes les nuances infinies de ce qui se passe dans l'âme.⁴⁴

It is one of the many paradoxes of the history of the word, and of the controversies centering about it, that several eminent literary historians and critics of our time have conceived the moral essence of Romanticism as consisting in a kind of "this-worldliness" and a negation of what one of them has termed "the Christian and classical dualism." Its most deplorable and dangerous error, in the judgment of these critics, is its deficient realization of the "civil war in the cave" of man's soul, its belief in the "natural goodness" of man. They thus define "Romanticism" in terms precisely opposite to those in which it was often defined by the writers who first called their own ideals Romantic; and this fashion, I can't but think, has done a good deal to obscure the palpable and important historical fact that the one Romanticism which has thus (as I have said) an unequivocal title to the name was—among other and often incongruous things—a rediscovery and revival, for better or worse, of what these critics, at least, regard as characteristically Christian modes of thought and feeling—of a mystical and otherworldly type of religion and a sense of the inner

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, V, 17.

⁴⁴ *De l'Allemagne*, Pt. II, chap. XI.

moral struggle as the distinctive fact in human experience—such as had been for a century alien to the dominant tendencies in 'polite' literature. The new movement was, almost from the first, a revolt against what was conceived to be paganism in religion and ethics as definitely as against classicism in art. The earliest important formulation of its implications for religious philosophy was Schleiermacher's famous *Reden* (1799) addressed "to the cultivated contemners of religion," a work profoundly—sometimes, indeed, morbidly—dualistic in its ethical temper. Christianity, declares Schleiermacher, is *durch und durch polemisch*; it knows no truce in the warfare of the spiritual with the natural man, it finds no end in the task of inner self-discipline.⁴⁵ And the *Reden*, it must be remembered, were (in the words of a German literary historian) "greeted by the votaries of Romanticism as a gospel."⁴⁶

Now it is not untrue to describe the ethical tendency of the "Romanticism" which had its roots in naturalism—that is, in the assumption of the sole excellence of what in man is native, primitive, "wild," attainable without other struggle than that required for emancipation from social conventions and artificialities—as anti-dualistic and essentially non-moral. This aspect of it can be seen even in the poem of the "blameless Warton," when he describes the life of the state of nature for

⁴⁵ Cf. *Fünfte Rede*: "Nirgends ist die Religion so vollkommen idealisiert als in Christentum und durch die ursprüngliche Voraussetzung desselben; und eben damit ist immerwährendes Streiten gegen alles Wirkliche in der Religion als eine Aufgabe hingestellt, der nie völlig Genüge geleistet werden kann, Eben weil überall das Ungöttliche ist und wirkt, und weil alles Wirkliche zugleich als unheilig erscheint, ist eine unendliche Heiligkeit das Ziel des Christentums. Nie zufrieden mit dem Erlangten, sucht es auch in seinen reinsten Erzeugnissen, auch in seinen heiligsten Gefühlen noch die Spuren des Irreligiösen und der der Einheit des Ganzen entgegengesetzten und von ihm abgewandten Tendenz alles Endlichen."

⁴⁶ Typical is the review of the book in the *Athenaeum*, II, 299: "Für mich ist das Christentum und die Art wie es eingeleitet und das, was ewig bleiben soll in ihm, gesetzt wird, mit das Grösste im ganzen Werk." Cf. also Schlegel's defense of Fichte against the charge of having "attacked religion": "Wenn das Interesse am Uebersinnlichen das Wesen der Religion ist, so ist seine ganze Lehre Religion in Form der Philosophie." There are, undeniably, also occasional manifestations of a conflicting strain in the *Frühromantiker*, especially in Novalis; but these are not the usual, dominant, innovating and characteristic things in the body of ideas of the school; they are rather vestigial structures, such as are to be found remaining in all new developments.

which he yearns. But as a consequence of the prevalent neglect to discriminate the Romanticisms, the very movement which was the beginning of a deliberate and vigorous insurrection against the naturalistic assumptions that had been potent, and usually dominant, in modern thought for more than three centuries, is actually treated as if it were a continuation of that tendency. Thesis and antithesis have, partly through accidents of language, and partly through a lack of careful observation on the part of historians of literature, been called by the same name, and consequently have frequently been assumed to be the same thing. An ideal of ceaseless striving towards goals too vast or too exacting ever to be wholly attained has been confused with a nostalgia for the untroubled, because unaspiring, indolent, and unselfconscious, life of the man of nature. Thus one of the widest and deepest-reaching lines of cleavage in modern thought has been more or less effectually concealed by a word.]

3. This cleavage between naturalistic and anti-naturalistic "Romanticism" crosses national lines; and it manifestly cuts, so to say, directly through the person of one great writer commonly classed among the initiators of the Romantic movement in France. The author of the *Essai sur les révolutions* and of the earlier-written parts of *Atala* may perhaps properly be called a Romantic; the author of the later-written parts of the latter work and of the *Génie du Christianisme* may perhaps properly be called a Romantic; but it is obvious that the word has, in most important respects, not merely different but antithetic senses in these two applications of it to the same person. Chateaubriand before 1799 represented in some sort the culmination of the naturalistic and primitivistic Romanticism of which Mr. Gosse sees the beginning in Joseph Warton;⁴⁷

⁴⁷ There are, for example, passages in the penultimate section of the *Essai sur les révolutions* which present a close parallel to some in *The Enthusiast*; e.g.: "O homme de la nature, c'est toi seul qui me fais me glorifier d'être homme! Ton cœur ne connaît point la dépendance; tu ne sais ce que c'est que de ramper dans une cour ou de caresser un tigre populaire. Que t'importent nos arts, notre luxe, nos villes? As-tu besoin de spectacle, tu te rends au temple de la nature, à la religieuse forêt . . . Mais il n'y a donc point de gouvernement, point de liberté? De liberté? si: une délicieuse, une céleste, celle de la nature. Et quelle est-elle, cette liberté? . . . Qu'on vienne passer une nuit avec moi chez les sauvages du Canada, peut-être alors parviendrai-je à donner quelque idée de cette espèce de liberté."

he had not only felt intensely but had even gratified the yearning to live "with simple Indian swains." That the Chateaubriand of 1801 represents just as clearly a revolt against this entire tendency is sufficiently evident from the repudiation of primitivism in the first preface to *Atala*:

Je ne suis point, comme M. Rousseau, un enthousiaste des sauvages; . . . je ne crois point que la *pure nature* soit la plus belle chose du monde. Je l'ai toujours trouvée fort laide partout où j'ai eu occasion de la voir . . . Avec ce mot de nature on a tout perdu.⁴⁸

Thus the magic word upon which the whole scheme of ideas of the earlier writing had depended is now plainly characterized as the fruitful source of error and confusion that it was. And in his views about the drama the Chateaubriand of 1801 was opposed *both* to the movement represented by *The Enthusiast* and to the German Romanticism of his own time. Shakespeare was (though mainly, as we have seen, for differing reasons) the idol of both; but Chateaubriand in his *Essai sur la littérature anglaise*⁴⁹ writes of Shakespeare in the vein, and partly in the words, of Voltaire and Pope. In point of natural genius, he grants, the English dramatist was without a peer in his own age, and perhaps in any age: "je ne sais si jamais homme a jeté des regards plus profonds sur la nature humaine." But Shakespeare knew almost nothing of the requirements of the drama as an art:

Il faut se persuader d'abord qu' écrire est un art; que cet art a nécessairement ses genres, et que chaque genre a ses règles. Et qu'on ne dise pas que les genres et les règles sont arbitraires; ils sont nés de la nature même; l'art a seulement séparé ce que la nature a confondu . . . On peut dire que Racine, dans toute l'excellence de son art, est plus naturel que Shakespeare.

Chateaubriand here, to be sure, still finds the standard of art in "nature"; but it is "nature" in the sense of the neo-classical critics, a sense in which it is not opposed, but equivalent, to an art that rigorously conforms to fixed rules. And the "great literary paradox of the partisans of Shakespeare," he observes, is that their arguments imply that "there are *no* rules of the drama," which is equivalent to asserting "that an art is not

⁴⁸ On the two strains in *Atala*, cf. Chinard, *L'Exotisme américain dans l'oeuvre de Chateaubriand*, 1918, ch. ix.

⁴⁹ The section on Shakespeare was published in April, 1801 (*Mélanges politiques et littéraires*, 1854, pp. 390ff.).

an art." Voltaire rightly felt that "by banishing all rules and returning to *pure nature*, nothing was easier than to equal the *chefs-d'oeuvre* of the English stage;" and he was well advised in recanting his earlier too enthusiastic utterances about Shakespeare, since he saw that "en relevant les beautés des barbares, il avait séduit des hommes qui, comme lui, ne sauraient séparer l'alliage de l'or." Chateaubriand regrets that "the *Cato* of Addison is no longer played" and that consequently "on ne se délasse au théâtre anglais des monstruosités de Shakespeare que par les horreurs d'Otway." "Comment," he exclaims, "ne pas gémir de voir une nation éclairée, et qui compte parmi ses critiques les Pope et les Addison, de la voir s'extasier sur le portrait de l'apothicaire dans *Roméo et Juliette*. C'est le burlesque le plus hideux et le plus dégoûtant." The entire passage might almost have been written with Warton's poem in mind, so completely and methodically does this later "Romanticist" controvert the aesthetic principles and deride the enthusiasts of the English "Romanticist" of 1740. It is worth noting, also, that Chateaubriand at this time thinks almost as ill of Gothic architecture as of Shakespeare and of *la pure nature*:

Une beauté dans Shakespeare n'excuse pas ses innombrables défauts: un monument gothique peut plaire par son obscurité et la difformité même de ses proportions, mais personne ne songe à bâtir un palais sur son modèle.⁴⁰

We have, then, observed and compared—very far from exhaustively, of course, yet in some of their most fundamental and determinative ideas—three "Romanticisms." In the first and second we have found certain common elements, but still more significant oppositions; in the second and third we have found certain other common elements, but likewise significant oppositions. But between the first and third the common elements are very scanty; such as there are, it could, I think, be shown, are not the same as those subsisting between either the first and second or the second and third; and in their ethical preconceptions and implications and the crucial articles of their

⁴⁰ It is somewhat difficult to reconcile this with the eloquent passage on the Gothic church in the *Génie du Christianisme* (V, Ch. 8); yet even there, while ascribing to the Gothic style "une beauté qui lui est particulière," Chateaubriand also refers to its "proportions barbares."

literary creeds, the opposition between them is almost absolute.

All three of these historic episodes, it is true, are far more complex than I have time to show. I am attempting only to illustrate the nature of a certain procedure in the study of what is called Romanticism, to suggest its importance, and to present one or two specific results of the use of it. A complete analysis would qualify, without invalidating, these results, in several ways. It would (for one thing) bring out certain important connections between the revolt against the neo-classical aesthetics (common to two of the episodes mentioned) and other aspects of eighteenth-century thought.⁶¹ It would, again, exhibit fully certain *internal* oppositions in at least two of the Romanticisms considered. For example, in German Romanticism between 1797 and 1800 there grew up, and mainly from a single root, *both* an "apotheosis of the future" and a tendency to retrospection—a retrospection directed, not, indeed, towards classical antiquity or towards the primitive, but towards the medieval. A belief in progress and a spirit of reaction were, paradoxically, twin offspring of the same idea, and were nurtured for a time in the same minds. But it is just these internal incongruities which make it most of all evident, as it seems to me, that any attempt at a *general* appraisal even of a single chronologically determinate Romanticism—still more, of "Romanticism" as a whole—is a fatuity. When a Romanticism has been analyzed into the distinct "strains" or ideas which compose it, the true philosophic affinities and the eventual practical influence in life and art of these several strains will usually be found to be exceedingly diverse and often conflicting. It will, no doubt, remain abstractly possible to raise the question whether the preponderant effect, moral or aesthetic, of one or another large movement which has been called by the name was good or bad. But that ambitious inquiry cannot even be legitimately begun until a prior task of analysis and detailed comparison—of the sort that I have attempted here to indicate—has been accomplished. And when this has been done, I doubt whether the larger question will seem to have much importance or meaning. What will then appear historically significant and philosophically instructive will be the

⁶¹ With this topic, upon which there is a good deal to be said, the writer is dealing elsewhere.

way in which *each* of these distinguishable strains has worked itself out, what its elective affinities for other ideas, and its historic consequences, have shown themselves to be. The categories which it has become customary to use in distinguishing and classifying "movements" in literature or philosophy and in describing the nature of the significant transitions which have taken place in taste and in opinion, are far too rough, crude, indiscriminating—and none of them so hopelessly so as the category "Romantic." It is not any large *complexes* of ideas, such as that term has almost always been employed to designate, but rather certain simpler, diversely combinable, intellectual and emotional components of such complexes, that are the true elemental and dynamic factors in the history of thought and of art; and it is with the genesis, the vicissitudes, the manifold and often dramatic interactions of these, that it is the task of the historian of ideas in literature to become acquainted.

ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY

XII. MURET AND THE HISTORY OF "ATTIC" PROSE

It is doubtful whether any other great literary reputation of the Renaissance has survived in so ambiguous and confused a state as that of Marc-Antoine Muret, recognized in his own time and ever since as the best writer of Latin prose in the second half of the sixteenth century. The most important event in the history of literary ideas during that period was the controversy concerning the imitation of Cicero; and in that controversy and the various conflicts connected with it Muret was more or less engaged at all periods of his career. Yet modern literary history tells us nothing intelligible of his part in it; or, to speak more exactly, it records two conflicting statements. On the one hand, he appears as the associate of Bembo, Sadoleto, Longueil in the stricter sect of the Ciceronians, a more accomplished, and not less devoted, imitator of the master. This is certainly the commoner view among those who have any acquaintance with his name; for generations he has been held up to the admiration even of school-children as the modern Cicero.¹ How confusing it is then to find that he also holds a conspicuous place in the sketches—few and inadequate—of the movement of opposition that finally triumphed at the end of his century over the great rhetorical scheme of education. From his letters and orations one or two passages have been cited which outdo the sarcasm of Erasmus' *Ciceronianus* and display a latitude of classical taste which even a modern critic cannot regard without dubiety.²

It is clear that this is a case requiring some particular explanation; the evidence will not tell a consistent story without careful interpretation. But when we turn to the scholars who have attempted a picture of Muret's career we find neither agreement among them nor any single explanation that carries

¹ See the quotations from German teachers prefixed to the *Scripta Selecta*, Teubner ed., two vols, Leipzig, 1887; Reinach, *Cornélius ou le Latin sans Larmes*, Preface.

² Passage quoted by Izora Scott, *Controversies over the Imitation of Cicero*, N. Y. 1910.

conviction to the mind of the reader. Mark Pattison,³ in a readable but superficial review of the subject, decides that he is one of those true Ciceronians who succeed in being like their master by not imitating him. Yet this interesting conclusion will not stand the test of the most obvious facts in the case; for it is evident that in some of his orations he deliberately does imitate Cicero, while in others he is just as deliberately *not* imitating him, but self-consciously reproducing a style directly opposed to his. Charles Dejob, Muret's only careful biographer, has indeed marshalled all the facts of his life with admirable care, and provided the materials for their interpretation.⁴ But he has placed himself too near his subject to see it in its historical relations, and his only explanation of the variations of opinion and purpose that appear in Muret's intellectual career is found in the extreme mobility of his temperament. This is an explanation that might indeed satisfy a reader's curiosity; but it would leave him with no further interest in the career of Muret.

It is a curious, not to say a disgraceful, fact that an author whose reputation depends—whether justly or unjustly—almost solely on the excellence of his prose-form has not yet been placed in an intelligible relation with the progress of modern style. But the fault does not lie chiefly with the critics who have written about him. It lies in the failure of modern literary history to recognize the importance and the true character of the literary movement in which the explanation of Muret's career is involved—the movement of opposition to the Ciceronian dogma which swept everything before it in the last quarter of the sixteenth century and established the forms of prose-style both in Latin and in the vernacular tongues that prevailed throughout Europe in the seventeenth century. The modern scholar finds peculiar difficulties in the study of this subject, the most baffling of them all perhaps being his inability to pass in thought back and forth from the facts of Latin to the facts of vernacular style as easily as men of the age of Montaigne and Bacon were wont to do. But these difficulties explain rather than excuse his failure to recognize a phase of the history

³ *Essays*, Oxford, 1889, I. 124-131.

⁴ C. Dejob, *Marc-Antoine Muret*, Paris, 1881. Upon this accurate and useful work I have depended almost wholly for the facts of Muret's life.

of prose-style which must be understood before the transition from the Renaissance prose of the sixteenth century to the so-called classical style of the end of the seventeenth can be intelligibly described. Hitherto the opposition of Bacon, Lipsius and Montaigne to the imitators of Cicero has been but casually and perfunctorily described as a negative movement, designed to correct the extravagances of humanism and to complete the correction of taste begun by Erasmus fifty years earlier. It was in fact a movement of progress and discovery, which brought prose-style into living connection with the intellectual movement of the period from 1570 to 1660 and with the parallel tendencies of the same period in the other arts, the sculpture and architecture of Bernini, the painting of Tintoretto and El Greco, the poetry of Donne and Marino, of Ben Jonson and Corneille.⁵

It is in connection with this later anti-Ciceronianism that Muret's literary opinions are to be interpreted; and there are therefore two good reasons for studying them anew. The first is that by this means we may get such a view of a great intellectual and literary movement as may be had only in the period when its purposes are beginning to formulate themselves clearly. The second is that we may do belated justice to a critic and artist whose real aims and merits have been obscured by contemporary prejudice and the ignorance of later ages.

What is necessary to the accomplishment of these purposes is not a knowledge of new facts in Muret's career. Those that we have already at our command are enough. We only need to restudy them in their relation with the larger body of facts that belong to the life of the age in which Muret lived, with the history of the movement of ideas in a period when an old generation had not yet quite passed away, and a new one had not yet quite learned what its mind was to be. That is to say,

⁵ In an article, "'Attic' Prose in the Seventeenth Century" (*Studies in Philology*, April 1921) I discussed the theory of this Anti-Ciceronian movement of 1575-1660, and especially its relations to its classical models and authorities. An object of the present study is to show its relations with the movement of ideas in its age. An article, "Lipsius, Montaigne, Bacon," in *Schelling Anniversary Papers* (1923), carries the history into the generation following Muret. Another study, "Juste Lipse et le Mouvement Anti-Cicéronien" (*Revue du Seizième Siècle*, July 1914), now calls for revision at several points.

we are compelled to look pretty widely round about our subject before we can look intelligently at it.

I. CICERONIANISM AND ANTI-CICERONIANISM

The history of thought in the sixteenth century, seen in its simplest outlines, is the story of the relations between two tendencies, both of which at the times of their sharpest opposition took the form of well-defined and self-conscious movements. The first was the tendency to give free, or freer, play, in the knowledges that were then most critically placed, to the spirit of skeptical enquiry which had been the characteristic and novel part of Petrarch's message to the modern world, which had been indeed the only strictly new thing in it. It was in short the growth of scientific and positive rationalism, and we need define it no more exactly than this; for we recognize it at once as the movement which by its further developments in the seventeenth century has created what we call the "modern" world.

The other is not so easy to describe exactly or to estimate justly; first, because it is *not* what we call "modern," and, secondly, because, like all movements of conservatism, it mingled in more intimate and intricate ways with the various special interests of its age than the radicalism that opposed it, and presents to the historical student cross-lights and contradictions which it is much harder for him to pattern or arrange. We may sum it up perhaps as the tendency to summarize and systematize the gained knowledge of the world, both that which had been inherited from the medieval past and that which had been added to this by the Renaissance, and to express this by means of formulistic methods or abstracts which would serve the practical purposes of general education. More briefly described, it was the tendency to study the *forms* of knowledge, as the middle ages had done, rather than the facts of nature and history. But if it was conservative and often reactionary, it was also eminently literary and classical, and was the friend of the beauties and symmetries of Renaissance art. Ciceronian imitation was, as we shall see, the representative of all that was best and worst in it. This is a very inadequate description, it is true; but it will be more convenient to adjourn further discussion of it to the point where we find it in sharpest conflict

with the various radical movements which it attempted—successfully for a time—to check or divert. Its real character can be made clearer at that point.

Meanwhile it is necessary, for our present purpose, to sketch the progress of the rationalistic tendency in the various fields of knowledge in which it showed most vitality during the century; and this need not be so elaborate an undertaking as it would seem; for we can conveniently take as our guides the "strong wits" of the seventeenth century. These bolder positivists of a later day, when the victory of their cause had already been won, were fond of making out catalogues or calendars of their heroes in the preceding century, and these lists, with other hints from their works, will serve to show us at least where to make the emphasis strongest, since it is precisely their view of the sixteenth-century conflict that we are most interested in.⁶

Politian's was the earliest name that had a current value among them, if we exclude those of certain skeptical philosophers whose works were too difficult to be known to the public at large or paraded for propaganda. Why they should have preferred Politian to Petrarch himself or to any other of Petrarch's successors during the fifteenth century we need not stop to inquire. He was slightly nearer to them in time, for one thing; his activities had been more public and conspicuous

⁶ The best studies of the Libertine movement will be found in Strowski, *Pascal et son Temps*, vol. 1; Perrens, *Les Libertins en France au XVI^e Siècle*, Paris, 1899; Charbonnel, *La Pensée Italienne au XVI^e Siècle et le Courant Libertin*, Paris, 1919. The roots of this movement in pure philosophy lie too deep for our present purpose, but may be studied in Charbonnel. Muret's real interest was in popular philosophy and practical culture. It should be added here that all the "strong wits" were not professed libertines. In the best of them—Montaigne, Lipsius, Sir Thomas Browne, etc.—skepticism and stoicism intermingle in always varying relations.—Such catalogues as I speak of in the text will be found in Lipsius' *Institutio Epistolica* and often in his letters, and in Naudé, *Bibliografia Politica*, p. 25, *Syntagma de Studio Liberali*, pp. 77-80. (References are to a volume called *Grotii et Aliorum Dissertationes*, Amsterdam 1645.) Compare the famous gallery of portraits in a room in Gui Patin's Paris house, described by him in a letter of 1650, December 1 (see below, p. 307).

Accounts of the rise of rationalism during the sixteenth century and after will be found in the Introduction to M. Villey's *Les Sources et L'Évolution des Essais de Montaigne*, and in C. Nisard's *Histoire de la Litt. Fr.* (esp. I. 428 ff., and II. 66-70), which seems to me to give a better account of the relation of ideas to letters in the period than any of the later works.

than those of any other fifteenth-century humanist of their type; and his militant opposition to the two "superstitions" of orthodox humanism, Platonism and Ciceronianism, justified the admiration of philosophers like Lipsius and Naudé.

His name, however, was overshadowed by that of Erasmus, who was generally considered by the seventeenth-century rationalists, from Montaigne and Bacon to Halifax and La Bruyère, as the greatest teacher and patron of their own method of acute realism. To limit the range of Erasmus' influence to a single subject of inquiry, or even to two or three subjects, would be a serious error. For the essence of his liberalism was his equal respect and enthusiasm for all kinds of learning; and the reason for his peculiar enjoyment of learned society in England was that there he could still observe the Renaissance in its first phase of unlimited and hopeful curiosity, scarcely touched as yet by the formalizing, the rhetorical, influences which he was combating with all his industry and wit on the Continent. Indeed it was Erasmus' spirit and temper rather than any of his particular doctrines that made him the hero of rationalism. For he had in perfection the manner that is constantly encountered in later protagonists of that school and was often studiously cultivated by the strong wits of the seventeenth century—a satirical and purposeful gaiety that was meant to reveal by contrast the pedantry of his opponents.

Yet we should have but a faulty idea of the character of his influence if we failed to note that his successors during the century that followed his death looked to him chiefly for instruction in a particular subject of knowledge, and that not one of the subjects that modern scholars oftenest associate with his name. Moral philosophy was the dominant interest of the sixteenth century, and even in the seventeenth it was more important than the new scientific studies; it was virtually the exclusive theme of Lipsius, the founder of Neo-Stoicism, and of Montaigne, the teacher of philosophical libertinism; and it may be for this reason alone that these philosophers read a moral significance in almost every conspicuous phase of Erasmus' activity, even where we should not suspect that they would find it. His vast collections of the adages and apothegms of the ancients were chiefly of use to them in the discovery of a

realistic method in the study of human nature; his especial diligence in the reading of Seneca and Plutarch's *Morals* had an effect—how much we cannot say—in determining the most characteristic tastes of Lipsius and Montaigne and a host of their contemporaries; his dislike of oratory, his preference of the more intimate modes of discourse, meant to them primarily a new emphasis on the inner and individual life of men in contrast with the plausible and public forms of their social existence; and, finally, his discourse on the method of writing familiar epistles helped to reveal to them the chief instrument of moral instruction and casuistical discipline through which the seventeenth century was to practice the “heroic virtue” of self-dependence. Whether his own century estimated him more justly and correctly than later ones have done we need not stop to inquire; but we must at least recognize that Erasmus has more profoundly affected the modern world by teaching a rationalistic method in the study of morals than by any other part of his varied labors.

Budé and Vives were perhaps the two humanists of his own time who best understood Erasmus' spirit. In the interests of both of them, however, the subject of political and social science, which had been subordinate in Erasmus' mind to private morals, occupied a high, or even the highest, position; and their names may therefore be conveniently used to introduce another important phase of the development of sixteenth-century rationalism. The most conspicuous names in the reform of political study in the sixteenth century are of course those of Machiavelli and his disciple Guicciardini. In a later generation than their own their acute and skeptical method, reinforced by a new study of Tacitus, was to prove the chief instrument of one of the most radical movements in the history of modern rationalism. But it was both too bold and too difficult to produce this effect at once, and it was not perhaps until Lipsius had made Tacitus familiar by his famous 1575 edition that the period of its great success really began.

Meanwhile, during the earlier generations of sixteenth-century scholarship the cause of progress in political science was chiefly associated with the outcome of the struggle—so typical in every way of the conflict of ideas in the Renaissance—between the approved medieval method of the Barthollist

Commentators and the effort of some of the greatest and bravest scholars of the century to show that the Institutes of the Roman Law are really historical documents, to be studied in the light of particular conditions of life in the Roman republic. The actors in this drama who were most admired by the positivists of the seventeenth century were Frenchmen of three successive generations, Budé, Cujas, and the French-Swiss Hotman; and even in Muret's time the pre-eminence of the first two was so well recognized that the new historical study of Law was spoken of as the French method.⁷ It is true that Alciati deserved at least an equal place in their esteem for his service to their cause. But they were accustomed to choose their heroes with as much attention to their temperaments as to the value of their ideas; and in both Budé and Cujas they recognized the quick mobility of mind, the venturesome satirical wit that have always been dear to the intellectual radical. Were they not also, like most of their successors, Northerners?

Morals and politics—*sapientia* and *prudentia*—were the subjects of thought in which the cause of rationalism made most progress during the sixteenth century. This would have been so, if there had been no other reason, merely because private and public morality were the chief subjects of interest, even to scholars, during that century. But a second fact of almost equal importance was that these subjects could be pursued with little danger of interference from the established authorities of the intellectual world. They were near the circumference of the intellectual system, no more than its outer defenses, and the attacks of the radical modernist spirit of the age could be tolerated more easily at these points than when they were directed closer to the citadel of orthodoxy itself. And this Pierre de la Ramée found out to his grief when he promulgated to the world his new—or, as he said, his old—logic, which, he declared, had not been invented by Plato, or by Aristotle, or by Petrus Ramus, but by nature herself. He was challenging, or could be made to seem to be challenging,

⁷ See a letter addressed to Muret in 1578 by the German "Nation" at Padua (Ep. 75 in vol. II of Leipzig ed. 1629; ed. Frotscher, II. 212); also a letter of a former colleague at Padua, dated 1564 (ed. Leipzig 1629, I., Epp. 1, 45).

the authority of Aristotle. The authorities of the Sorbonne, representing all the orthodoxies, rallied to the defense of a fading tradition, rejoicing perhaps that at last the issue was thus sharply drawn. They had the temporary success which those who hold power may always enjoy, and the convenient death of Ramus among the crowd of undistinguished slain on St. Bartholomew's Eve may have seemed to his friends and enemies alike a symbol of the failure of the movement for free thought in the Renaissance.

To us, of course, that event seems rather the signal of the beginning of its triumph. For in the year 1572 Montaigne was already contemplating his philosophic retirement from the world—the symbol of a new age; Lipsius had returned from his visit to Rome with the new program of positive radicalism born full-armed in the moment of his meeting with Muret; and Bacon was beginning his studies at Cambridge. Within two generations of that date rationalism had won all its decisive victories—in moral philosophy, politics, and the natural sciences; an acrid and virile realism had displaced the fluent eloquence of the sixteenth century in all the arts; and the beginning of the modern age of reason waited only for the unifying influence of the Cartesian philosophy.

Seen from the vantage-point of a modern historical student, this victory seems of course inevitable; it must have seemed certain to an intelligent spectator even in the last decade of the sixteenth century. But at any earlier period it was far from certain; and during the middle and the third quarter of the century the forces that stood in the way of radicalism and progress enjoyed more powerful and intelligent support than ever before and recovered the ascendancy of which Erasmus' singular influence had at least seemed to deprive them for a time. During this period the leaders of orthodox humanistic opinion in both Protestant and Catholic circles, Ascham, Melancthon, and Sturm in the North, the organizers of the new Catholic education in the South, were first of all practical men, more interested in training pupils who should worthily represent the political and religious causes to which they themselves were so devoted than in promoting the triumph of pure reason or disinterested scholarship. The liberalizing influence of Erasmus, Budé, Vives and Cujas was not lost upon these leaders:

they were more intelligent and humane conservatives than the orthodox scholars of Erasmus' own generation. But the use they made of their broader wisdom was to reason more broadly and wisely for a policy of reaction which was hostile to all the purposes of Erasmus, to formulate a more humane program of imitative and formal education, which doubtless had its immediate usefulness, but was fatal for the time to the progress in positive knowledge which the rationalists of the Renaissance believed that the modern world could achieve.

It would be easy—but not wise—to dismiss this conservative movement as an aberration in the history of modern education. A movement which has entered into history *cannot* be dismissed; and to do justice to this one we have to observe carefully a distinction of great importance in Renaissance culture. If we mean by the Renaissance the beginning of the modern mastery of fact, the progress of positive and sceptical modes of reasoning in the thought of Petrarch, Erasmus, Montaigne and Descartes, of course the movement we are considering was a counter-Renaissance, a surrender of the disinterested purposes of the Revival of Learning to the immediate educational needs of an age. But the Renaissance was also a revival of *letters*, an attempt to create cultured habits in the minds of modern men by contact with the literary forms of ancient art; and of this part of its tradition Ascham and Sturm and the more orthodox party among the Jesuit teachers professed honestly and truly to be the devoted representatives, while their opponents, the radicals, they constantly and correctly asserted to be its enemies. (It must be observed that the later history of the rationalist movement exactly bears them out in this contention: from Montaigne to Descartes there is an anti-classical tendency in this movement, which shows itself most clearly in the scorn of Greek studies which is characteristic of it. It may justly be regarded, in this respect, as a counter-Renaissance.) In their view the Renaissance, the rapid advance in learning, that is, of the past hundred years—for it is necessary to remind ourselves that the word *Renaissance*, with its implications of sudden and utter change, is a modern coinage—had brought with it a serious public peril, the peril of the disorganization of educational programs and a consequent failure in the task which to these conservatives seemed most important,

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namely, the diffusion of the new culture among the laity of the upper classes. The free range of intellectual curiosity, the unlimited extension of what we should call the "elective system" in learning, was doubtless a safe enough process as far as the class of professional scholars was concerned. But education is not for them. It is for the ordinary sensual human beings who have the means of paying for it, and in the sixteenth century it needed to be brought especially, so these conservatives argued, within reach of the desires and tastes of a class of nobles and gentlemen who were still lingering, for the greater part, in the gross ignorance and provinciality of the fifteenth century. The way to win such a class, they said, was not to address their minds to the exact truth of reason or the immediate study of things as they are. The truth of nature is too diffuse and various for their needs; it is dull and inornate; and it does not act directly and quickly enough upon the barbarism of inherited manners and customs. The only education that would meet their needs—and this is more or less true of any class that must acquire a culture alien to it—was one that would give them a palpable design, a single and sensuous pattern, which might finally teach them—when they had learned to conform their speech, their manners, their external lives to it—the method of apprehending the truth itself. Surely, said Wilson the English rhetorician, if we learn the gesture of the ancients, we shall not fail at last to have minds like theirs too.⁸ Yes, literature, they thought, had to be the staple subject, practically the unique subject, of education for their time; literature, too, in the easy and teachable form of oratory.⁹

⁸ *The Arte of Rhetorique*, ed. Oxford 1909, p. 5.

⁹ The following words of a rhetorician to a philosopher are worthy of being pondered by all who are interested in education: "Now, what you write about ideas I am very loth to question, seeing that you are a learned man and have great reputation. But how can you think that there is an idea of style innate in your mind? As for me, I can only declare that I saw no form of style, no image of discourse in my mind until I had formed one there by attentively reading the ancients for many years and by practising long. Before I did this, I used to look into my mind and seek as from a mirror some shape from which I could fashion what I wished. But there was no image there. And when I tried to write, I was borne along at random without law or principle of judgment. None of those things that you mention, no idea, no image, guided me." (Bembo to Pico, Rome, Calends of January, 1513.)

It was a reasonable enough argument. There was nothing in it that was not humane and intelligent; and as a general or abstract theory of education we dare not treat it with contempt unless we are prepared to put out of court the only principles upon which a classical education can be defended. The judgment of history upon its proponents in the sixteenth century must depend solely upon whether it decides that they had read the character of their age correctly. If it was indeed an age that had reached such a maturity in the positive sciences that it could afford to pause and consider a balancing of its accounts; or, on the other hand, if it was so weak and immature that it could not hope to advance by its own inventive power, but must rest content with the imitation and revival of a more glorious past; in either of these cases a study of the external forms and conventions of culture was what was required. But if, on the contrary, it was an age full of new and unbreathed energies, on the eve of great discoveries and expansions, and capable of coping with the ancients themselves in the criticism of life, then of course the reactionary teachers cannot escape the condemnation due to those who misread the signs of their times. And the modern world is not slow to render its judgment. Had the sixteenth-century rhetoricians succeeded in their purposes the progress of the seventeenth century in natural science and the study of life would have been postponed we cannot tell how long, and the Cartesian philosophy would never have been born in the womb of Time. If their success had been permanent they would have done for the culture of the upper classes of European society in succeeding centuries what the philosophers of China had already done centuries before for the culture of *their* aristocratic patrons.

And even that does not tell the whole truth. The sixteenth century was in a state of rapid and confused transition—at least this was so in the northern countries—from medieval to modern civilization. It had, strictly speaking, no definable character of its own, and but one thing is clear about it, that it could not rest where it was. It must go forward or back, and whatever in its culture and ideas did not impel it toward the future was sure to strengthen its links with its past. The advocates of a program of pause and recollection in such an age were sure to promote other results than those they had in view. However

humane and intelligent their own culture might be, they were doomed to witness the revival in their pupils and imitators of ancient habits of superstition justifying themselves by modern pretensions, of the old medieval indolences disguised by the great classical names of the Renaissance. And this was in fact a phenomenon that was generally observed by the teachers of the more progressive policy. When Bacon and Montaigne, for example, looked about them and took stock of the learning of the sixteenth century they remarked with justice that almost every impulse of the new age had been re-conformed to a medieval habit or formula. The new study of Plato had only produced a new, a more frivolous, Platonism; the enlarged knowledge of Aristotle's method had given new vigor to the old Aristotelianism of the Universities; the new investigations of the history of Roman Law had enriched the orthodox Barthollism of the schools with a few specious ornaments; the more critical reading of the science of Pliny and Plutarch had had no other visible effect than to re-establish medieval pseudo-science in a new position of literary respectability; the revival of the pure Latinity of the best ages had issued in the new authoritarianism of the Ciceronian cult. They might be pardoned if they believed that another hierarchy of orthodoxies had arisen out of the ashes of the Renaissance.

Ciceronianism, then, was not an isolated phenomenon, a mere aberration of Renaissance taste; it was the representative in rhetorical theory of a tendency which expressed itself in a congeries of similar dogmas in all the chief subjects of sixteenth-century learning. To show this relation has of course been the object of the preceding survey. And we must now observe that it was much the most conspicuous of all these dogmas of orthodoxy, and was chosen more frequently than any of the others to appear in the controversial arena as their common champion.

The explanation of this fact is not difficult. In the first place, merely because it was a *rhetorical* doctrine, Ciceronianism ideally represented the aims and interests of the conservative orthodoxies. For rhetoric was the form of learning toward which they all consciously or unconsciously aspired. The method that characterized them all, Barthollist, Platonist, Aristotelian, was in a broad sense the method of rhetoric, in

the sense, that is, that they all tended toward the study of the *forms* of their various sciences rather than toward the direct observation of the facts; they all busied themselves, as their opponents constantly affirmed, with words rather than with things. Well, there is, as we have observed, a great deal to be said, at least educationally, for the study of forms. But it was only the Ciceronian who could profess this doctrine with perfect confidence and consistency; for his was the only learning—unless it be music—which is directed solely toward the art of expression through a conventional form, and the model he offered for the imitation of his pupils was admittedly the most perfect single instrument of education that the world has in its possession. It is not surprising that the principle on which educational conservatism rested in that period expressed itself in the words of a rhetorician and Ciceronian. "Ye know not what hurt ye do to learning," says Roger Ascham, with a boldness that may still make one stare, "that care not for words, but for matter."¹⁰

A second reason, but a little less important than this, for the pre-eminence of Ciceronianism is to be found in the love of authority and a single standard of reference which still flourished in the medieval mind of the sixteenth century. All of the orthodoxies, it is true, drew their profit from this inherited habit of mind; but none of them in the same degree as the Ciceronian cult, because it alone could claim the full sanction of the Renaissance. The authority of Aristotle in philosophy, the authority of Rome in religion had suffered in various ways because they were evidently survivals of a medieval mode of thought that had now for a considerable time been subject to attack and suspicion. They were, even in the least damaging view of them, habitual and routinary. Ciceronianism alone could offer the freshness and charm of modernity combined with unity and simplicity of doctrine.

¹⁰ *Works*, ed. Giles, London 1864, III. 211. The rhetorical tendency of *all* learning is admirably illustrated in the introductory discourse of Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae Linguae Latinae*. "Who," he asks, "are the men who have been great philosophers, orators, jurists, in short great authors? Why, only those who have striven to speak well. . . . If we will only strive heroically enough, the Roman speech, and along with it every branch of learning, will revive and flourish in its old splendor."

It is hard for us of the present day to understand the customs of an age in which a rhetorical doctrine made common cause with philosophical and religious orthodoxies, sharing the benefits of their sanctions, and lending them in turn the support of its literary prestige. That this was in fact, however, the relation between Ciceronianism and the other dogmas of learning in the sixteenth century is proved by all the evidence that is necessary. The reader of the correspondence of Lipsius, for instance, will find it impossible to explain in any other way the curious air of mystery and danger in which the Belgian scholar envelops his Anti-Ciceronian, or 'Attic,' principles. Though he had been converted to these principles before 1570 he did not dare to profess them openly until after 1585.¹¹ And if we desire a specific illustration of the kind of dangers he dreaded we need look no further than the indictments drawn up against Ramus by the doctors of the Sorbonne, in which the rhetorical doctrine of his *Ciceronianus* marches *pari passu* with his Anti-Aristotelian logic and his ecclesiastical heresy. The Jesuit teacher quoted by a modern historian, in fact, merely stated a common opinion more incautiously than most when he said that the authority of Cicero in rhetoric, of Aristotle in science, and of Rome in religion would stand or fall together;¹² and of the same substance is Ascham's constant plea that the radical opponents of Ciceronian imitation are undermining the defenses of the semi-Protestant establishment of Henry and Elizabeth.

It is just as clear, on the other hand, that Anti-Ciceronianism was associated with the radical and rationalistic tendency in whatever fields of controversy it manifested itself, though there are not here the same signs of concerted *action*—there seldom are in a radical movement—that one may observe among the

¹¹ See Croll, "Juste Lipse et le Mouvement Anti-Cicéronien," p. 211. Even in the eighties, Lipsius' two letters to Montaigne show caution and concealment.

¹² "As in the study of theology we follow the divine Thomas Aquinas, and in philosophy Aristotle, so in the humanities Cicero must be regarded as our peculiar and pre-eminent leader . . . But some, misguided by a willful and self-formed taste, have gone astray, preferring a style totally different from that of Cicero; such an erratic course is quite at variance with the genius of our institutions and hostile to the spirit of prompt obedience" (Qu. by W. S. Monroe, *Comenius*, N. Y. 1900, pp. 7-8).

defenders of the traditional dogmas. The names of the scholars most frequently mentioned in the preceding pages have been chosen, without reference to their rhetorical opinions, as those of the positivist teachers who made the strongest impression on the minds of their successors. It is interesting, therefore, to find that they were all Anti-Ciceronian in theory and practice, and that nearly all of them took some part in the agitation against the Ciceronian dogma. This statement needs no defense in the case of Erasmus. His *Ciceronianus* was almost the Bible of the later movement; for it not only showed the method which was to be employed by all subsequent leaders in the attack upon orthodox style; it was also a model of the easy and fearless competence in the criticism of the ancients which it was their duty to oppose to the deferential purism of the Ciceronian.

Vives and Ramus played a somewhat less important rôle of course in the rhetorical conflict; but the broad scheme of education outlined by the first, founded expressly on the subordination of rhetoric to less academic subjects, was well-known to the leaders of liberalism,¹⁵ and the excellent and temperate treatise of the second, named like Erasmus' dialogue, exerted a steady influence throughout the last quarter of the century.

The "French" school of legal studies and Roman jurisprudence does not occupy a large place in modern histories of sixteenth-century literature, because modern historians are disposed to divide the fields of learning very sharply, and especially to treat science and letters as distinct provinces of human culture. In this respect, however, the sixteenth century itself differed from them, and it is a habit of thought which we shall have to correct if we are to understand the important rôle that was played by unliterary scholars like Cujas and Budé in the history of modern prose-style. It may have been chiefly because they were so realistic and positive in their intellectual purposes that these scholars showed themselves hostile to the rhetorical formalism of the Ciceronian school: they were Anti-Ciceronian, that is, for the same reason that Erasmus and Ramus were. But there was also a reason peculiar to them, which is worthy of a moment's consideration because it opens up

¹⁵ Best described in his *De Disciplinis*, 1531.

a curious and almost unexplored region of literary history. The historical studies of these legalists made them acquainted with some of the most curious forms of written language that the records of the past have to show:—the law-French of the middle ages, for instance, and the special forms it took in England, the legal medieval Latin, more despised by Renaissance Latinists than any other style of the Gothic ages, and, finally, the primitive ancient Latin of the laws of the Twelve Tables. By contrast with the impoverished and regularized Latin of their Ciceronian schoolmasters, there was a rich feast for their fancy, their curious, erudite humor, in the language of these ancient documents—not only in its novel old words, though they took a keen pleasure in these, but also in its licentious, wandering sentence-form, phrase added upon phrase in delightful disregard of the rules of classical form. Anti-Ciceronianism thus had a special character and a peculiar charm for these antiquarian scholars, because it meant to them, not a more liberal classicism, or the substitution of one kind of classical models for another, but rather the freedom of individual fancy from academic control; in their own prose they expressed their tastes with exuberant license; and before the end of the century their writings, especially their letters, were being used as models of that “libertine” type of Anti-Ciceronian prose which is at present so much in need of a historian.¹⁴

And there is another chapter in this story of the connexion between literature and the law. In their study of early Roman institutions the masters of historical jurisprudence were of course compelled to study Plautus; and of this necessity they made a literary opportunity. A taste for this author became known as one of their characteristic eccentricities, and finally a kind of shibboleth by which their followers claimed the right of initiation both into the new legal method and into the school of extreme Anti-Ciceronianism. His antique and “rustic”

¹⁴ The excellent work of L. Clément on *Henri Estienne* (Paris 1899) has a brief discussion of the influence of law-Latin on the French and modern-Latin vocabulary, and the ideas on this subject derived by Estienne from Budé. Concerning Cujas' influence in the movement for freer vocabulary, see below. Budé's *Forensia* (1544), his *Notes on the Pandects*, and his *De Studio Litterarum* (1527) will have to be studied carefully by any one who should wish to consider the subject.

vocabulary was one of the sources from which Muret, Henri Estienne, and Lipsius enriched the modern Latin which the Ciceronians had so impoverished; and he takes his place beside Rabelais and Plutarch and Montaigne among the heroes and models preferred by many writers of libertine prose in the seventeenth century—for example, Naudé and Burton.¹⁵

The scholars whose opinions we have been considering were primarily moralists, social philosophers, legalists, or logicians; not one of them was a professed rhetorician. To explain their common interest in a rhetorical controversy we need not suppose anything resembling a deliberate agreement among them, or even a transmission of ideas from one to another. There is a golden chain wherein the sciences (like the virtues) "linked are y-fere," and they are quick to feel anywhere the presence of a spirit hostile or friendly to their mutual purposes. In the sixteenth century, rhetoric was the *nodus* in which their interests were all knit up. As the Ciceronian doctrine was the representative of all the educational orthodoxies, so the opposition to it was the form in which a liberal and rationalizing spirit in any of the sciences could most effectively express itself.

It has been necessary to treat these two great tendencies in sixteenth-century thought at so much length because without a clear understanding of them and especially without a clear understanding of their connection with the rhetorical controversy, it is impossible to interpret Muret's career intelligently. Through failure to grasp the true implications of Ciceronian and Anti-Ciceronian doctrine, it has been possible, as we have seen, to represent the variations of his opinion and practice as the mere whims of a volatile temperament. But in fact the history of his ideas is a steadily unfolding drama of consistent change. Beginning a Ciceronian, establishing in his youth a European reputation which led his patrons to regard him as the probable successor of Bembo, he diverged from

¹⁵ The following references will be useful in the investigation of the part played by Plautus in the Anti-Ciceronian triumph:—H. Estienne, *De Plauti Latinitate* (appended to his *De Latinitate Suspecta*, 1575); Lipsius, *Quaestiones Epistolicae* (1574), introd. epistle; Sir Thomas Browne, letter addressed *Amico Opus Arduum Meditanti*, Works, ed. Wilkins, IV, 291-3; Naudé, *De Studio Liberali*; Balzac, letter (in Latin) in his *Epp. Sel.*, published with Vavas seur's *De Ludicra Dictione*, Leipzig 1722.

this expected course, in the face of much opposition, by a series of steps which can be accurately distinguished, until in middle age he had become a declared Anti-Ciceronian and a pioneer in the development of the rhetorical and intellectual program of the triumphant Anti-Ciceronianism (or "Atticism") of the seventeenth century. His later life was spent in confirming, defining, extending this program. It was a progress, like that of his age, from conventionality to intellectual realism; and his position in it was at the front, often far in front, not among the slowly increasing numbers of the rank and file.

The story of this progress is written in all of his publications and academic labors, and even in some of the events of his career in the world; but it is written most conspicuously and clearly in the long series of orations which he delivered year after year in introducing the courses of reading in ancient literature through which he conducted his pupils; and upon these, interpreted by other evidence, we may safely depend in tracing the interesting course of his intellectual adventures.¹⁶

II. MURET'S PROGRESS

At the age of twenty-five years, Marc-Antoine Muret was widely known both in poetry and prose as a better master of Augustan latinity than any other member of the rising generation of humanists; and his tastes and associations seemed already to have committed him irrevocably to the Renaissance program of rhetorical education. He had been adopted as the intellectual "son" of Scaliger, Erasmus' bitterest literary antagonist; he was supposed to have taken an active part in the persecution from which Ramus was now beginning to suffer; and the fame of his own oratorical style had already signalized him, even beyond the bounds of his own country, as the Ciceronian of the future. In short his intellectual career seemed to be unalterably determined, when, at the age of twenty-eight, disaster overtook him and he began anew in a different scene. He was convicted at Paris and Toulouse of Protestant heresy and of

¹⁶ I have used the Teubner volume of *Scripta Selecta* wherever possible. For material not there included, I refer to the two volumes of Orations, Letters, and Poems, published at Leipzig in 1629, "*juxta editionem postremam Ingoldstadianam*." The publication of Muret's works after his death seems to have been in the hands of German Jesuits. Unfortunately the modern edition of Muret's collected works, ed. by Frotscher, has not been available.

sodomy; he was burned in effigy by public order at the latter city; and he fled from France to begin his career over again in the new Italy that was rising out of the moral and material catastrophes of the previous generation—the Italy of the Counter-Reformation.

We will not discuss the effects of this disaster upon his character and opinions. It may have confirmed in his mind a tendency toward the Machiavellianism of his later political doctrines; for his personal sufferings were in some ways characteristic of the general disturbances which occasioned so wide a diffusion of Machiavellian principles in the later sixteenth century. But biographers are, on the whole, too prone to read the inward life of their heroes in terms of manifest events of their external experience. The crisis in Muret's affairs does not coincide in time with the critical point in the change of his literary teachings and practise that we are to trace in the following pages. It neither caused nor hastened this change, as far as we can see; and it is possible that it tended rather to retard it.

After some weeks of curious and dangerous adventure in the north of Italy, he secured, with surprising ease, from the Venetian Senate, the appointment to the vacant professorship of eloquence at the University of Padua, and preluded his first courses of reading (in 1554 and 1555) with orations *De Laudibus Litterarum . . . adversus quosdam earum vituperatores*, which have often been cited in evidence of his blameless Ciceronianism. That he was Ciceronian at this time they do in fact abundantly demonstrate. Their perfect elegance of phrase, the conventional beauty of their cadence, could be illustrated by the quotation of one or two of the elaborate periods in which they are composed; but to display adequately their poverty of ideas, the suave emptiness of complimentary paragraph after paragraph—so strangely different from the incisive utterance of the later Muret—would demand a larger space than we have at our command.¹⁷ The young scholar, in short, had elected to

¹⁷ *Scripta Selecta*, Orat. I, II; ed. Leipzig 1629, I, Orat. ii, iii. The following is a period from the 1555 oration: A quibus ego quoniam ita dissentio, ut ex omnibus, qui se aliquid docere profitentur, horum vel gravissimum munus esse contendam, neque ullos esse, qui aut laborum plus perferant, aut majores in republica pariant fructus, doctrinae denique a nullo hominum genere majorem

begin his new career by being what his employers unquestionably intended him to be, the successor of Bembo in the Ciceronian tradition; and all of his public acts during the four years of his incumbency serve to make clear this deliberate choice of vocation.¹⁸ The works he published at Manutius' press to justify his new academic honors were either Augustan or impeccably orthodox: one on Catullus, one on Terence; and he let it be known that his public readings would be from Cicero's works in every alternate year as long as he held his Professorship.¹⁹

Is it possible to imagine that Muret was guilty of an elaborate deception during these four Venetian years? Had he already broken definitely in his own intelligence with the literary orthodoxy which he was publicly defending? Was his desire to re-establish his ruined reputation so strong that he was willing to conform, either in bitter irony or in pure cowardice, with the opinions of a Senate which had lately forbidden the reading of Erasmus and Budé in its university and conferred the title of *Ciceronianus* as the crown of literary achievement? There are two considerations that might lend color to so unlikely a conjecture. One is the fact that when we find him settled once more—after an interval of a few years, it is true—in a different kind of situation he has already gone far from his first opinions. The other is that during his last year and a half in France he had already attempted to establish himself as a teacher of jurisprudence according to the new method of Cujas, and had been hailed by Douaren as a brilliant novice in its mysteries.²⁰ A man could not consistently be both a Ciceronian rhetorician and a disciple of Cujas! We will have occasion to consider the meaning of both of these facts at a later point. Neither of them,

aut copiam requiri aut varietatem arbitrer: constitui hodierno die, Patres amplissimi vosque ceteri viri ornatissimi, eam mihi ad dicendum materiam sumere, et nobilissimam studiorum partem, quantum id quidem in me positum erit, a contemptu atque ab intolerabili eruditorum hominum insolentia vindicare.

¹⁸ Bembo, who had died seven years before, had been official historiographer of Venice.

¹⁹ Dejob (Chap. 6) has strangely distorted the meaning of Muret's Venetian utterances in a mistaken effort to find a consistency in his career. The only consistency to be found is a progressive change.

²⁰ Dejob, pp. 48-50

however, must be taken as indicating insincerity in Muret's Venetian professorship. It was never his way to truck and huckster in the affairs of the mind: he was capable of an exquisite diplomacy in the accomplishment of his intellectual purposes; but his temperament was too lively and eager to let him conceal them for any great length of time. Indeed it would be possible, if it were worth while, to point out, even in these Venetian orations, the first faint beginnings of his later opinions.

Events happened, however, immediately after this which made him more susceptible to new ideas or encouraged a change which may have already begun, by removing him from the scene on which he had so unhappily committed himself to the policy of reaction. Enemies of Muret asserted, some years after his death, that the cause of his departure from Venice was his continued practise of the vice that had driven him out of France.²¹ This is all obscure; and what we know is only that he was taken into the employment of the magnificent Hippolito II, Cardinal d'Este, during the year 1558, and went to reside in his Ferrarese palace. During the next five years he traveled once at least to Rome with his employer, and accompanied him in 1561, in the capacity of official orator, on an embassy to his native country, whence he had fled seven years before, an outlawed Huguenot and libertine. Finally in 1563, by the appointment of Pope Pius IV, he became professor at the University of Rome—professor, we note, not of rhetoric this time, but of moral philosophy—and began the course of teaching and public discourse which was to occupy him without interruption until his retirement in the eighties. The salary of his post was small; but this was a matter of little importance, as his fellow-scholars enviously observed, because he enjoyed, during almost all of this period, the material luxuries and artistic splendors of Hippolito's palace at Tivoli.

His transplantation meant that Muret had at last reached the center and source of European Catholic culture during the period of the Counter-Reformation. After the disasters which she had suffered during the preceding generation, the city of Rome was undergoing a process of material transformation

²¹ See *Scaligerana* II; also an unpublished biography of Muret by Colletet, used by Dejob (p. 47).

which exactly corresponds to the change that was taking place in her relation to the culture of Southern Europe. Before her misfortunes she had been the beneficiary of the arts and learning of the Renaissance; but she had not been the original source or teacher of them. Painters, sculptors, poets, and scholars had sometimes brought their various works to adorn the papal city; but the schools in which they had learned to produce them were elsewhere. And this condition was almost a necessary consequence of the non-Christian character of the Renaissance arts as they were practised at the beginning of the sixteenth century. An art of Latin prose, for instance, which excluded the mention of the Christian titles and offices as one of the conditions of its excellence could not, openly at least, acknowledge the inspiration of the Holy See. But the Reformation had given a check to the cult of Paganism by making everyone vividly aware of it. The secular glories of the high Renaissance could never be renewed; the arts that should adorn the new age must be animated by the spirit of the Catholic revival; their motives and sanctions must proceed from a re-Christianized papacy, as the opportunity for the practise of them proceeded chiefly from the need of restoring the damaged splendors of the papal court.²²

That the culture of the Counter-Reformation must be Christian and Roman was a point of common agreement among the leaders of Catholic policy. But this does not mean that there was unity of literary doctrine or educational program among them. On the contrary, the conflict between the formal classicism of the Renaissance and the "modern," or positivistic, tendency of sixteenth-century thought is displayed just as clearly in the Catholic education of this period as in that of the northern countries; and indeed there is no body of writings in which it may be so advantageously studied as in those which proceeded from various representatives of Jesuit education. This is a point which needs to be insisted upon because the history of the literary tendencies of the succeeding century has been confused by the failure to give it the attention it deserves. A number of critics have attempted to show that the authority of the Jesuit teachers was chiefly thrown into the

²² The best description of the effect of the Catholic revival upon the arts is in Marcel Reymond, *De Michel-Ange à Tiepolo*, Paris 1912, Chapters 1 and 2.

scales on the side of classical purism and the Ciceronian dogma;²³ and there is a huge array of facts and names to be cited in support of their contention. But, on the other hand, an equal weight of evidence has been urged by others in favor of the opinion that the Anti-Ciceronian movement, and particularly the *concettismo* that was one of its offshoots, owed their success to the influence of teachers of the same order.²⁴ The truth of the matter is that there was no more unity of intellectual purpose among the Jesuits than there was among the Protestant humanists of the north, and it would be as absurd to look for a common tendency among their various educational programs as to try to present a synoptic view of the doctrines of Roger Ascham and Francis Bacon. There was a faction among them, as there was in the North, that was devotedly attached to the conservative doctrine of classical imitation; and another that had felt the rationalistic impulses of the time and was groping its way toward the positivistic formula of the seventeenth century: *de re magis quam de verbis*. That the weight of official sanction was always on the side of literary orthodoxy is shown by a great variety of evidence. But, as in other societies, forces were openly at work in literary Jesuitry quite different from those that were officially acknowledged; and the historian of the positivistic movement in prose-style has to observe that new phases of this movement constantly come to light within the Order or under its patronage: it is enough here to mention the rhetorical doctrines of Lipsius, Quevedo, and Gracian. In the first half of the 17th century, Father Caussin and Father Vavas seur represent that alliance of literary orthodoxy with authorianism in politics and religion which was approved by high Jesuit policy;²⁵ but, on the other hand, Father Bouhours,

²³ So, for instance, Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, and 779, n. 1, where many Jesuit rhetoricians are cited; and Borinski, *B. Gracian u.d. Hofliteratur in Deutschland*, Halle a.S., 1894, p. 54.

²⁴ See Arturo Graf, *Il Fenomeno del Secentismo*, in *Nuova Antologia* CXIX (1905), 372 ff. Graf himself thinks that Jesuitism had little to do with *Secentismo*.

²⁵ See Caussin, *De Eloq. Sacra et Humana*, Paris 1619 (largely an attempt to correct the prevailing Anti-Ciceronianism of the seventeenth century), and Vavas seur, *De Novo Dicendi Genere*, an oration of 1636, in his *Opera Omnia*, Amsterdam 1709 (devoted, like Vavas seur's other rhetorical works, to the same purpose). Both writers had a considerable part in correcting the errors

though he was the professed reformer of the vices of *concellismo* in the following generation, is just as clearly Anti-Ciceronian, or "Attic," as they are conservative and Augustan.²⁶

When Muret arrived in Rome in 1563 the conflict of intellectual forces had not yet declared itself there. The teaching in the University and the other educational institutions controlled by the Papacy had been reformed in the sense that it had been brought into harmony with the new moral seriousness of the Counter-Reformation; but it showed no disposition to reform itself in any other sense. The new Jesuit discipline, which was already imposing itself upon the life of the University, displayed all the familiar signs of intellectual conservatism and academic orthodoxy. During the twenty years of his professorship it was to be Muret's mission to give voice to the new intellectual tendencies of the age at the very center of Catholic education and under the protection of Popes and Cardinals. He was not only a man of mobile intelligence, quick to adapt itself to new perceptions; he also had the active and challenging disposition which leads men to give immediate effect to their ideas in the world about them. The successive steps in the evolution of his own thinking are exactly indicated, therefore, by the controversies in which he was involved; and the history of his activity at Rome during the two decades from 1563 to 1583 is a kind of microcosm in which we can study the rise of positivistic culture in Europe from apparent defeat at the middle of the century to an almost universal triumph at the end.

He was appointed professor of moral philosophy, not of literature; and in the three public lectures with which he inaugurated his courses in 1563-1565 he made clear the deliberateness of his breach with his rhetorical past by discoursing on "the praises," the "necessity" of *philosophia moralis*, and the "lauds of justice." The pattern of his style, it is true, is still moderately Ciceronian; in his exordiums he still displays the suavity and copiousness of the epideictic oration; nor is there

of *secentismo* and establishing the dominion of "good taste," though their use of the Latin language has concealed their true importance from most modern critics.

²⁶ See a passage from Bouhours, *Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène*, quoted in Croll, "'Attic' Prose in the Seventeenth Century," p. 99; also quotations from a Louvain Jesuit on same page.

anything original or challenging in the ideas he expresses. These are productions made to order, with the deliberate purpose of illustrating the moral gravity and elevation that Pope Pius and his Cardinals wished the world to look for in the new art of the Counter-Reformation. Their only significance in Muret's intellectual development is to be found in their subject.²⁷

Immediately after his series of readings on the Nichomachean ethics was completed, however, Muret announced another deliberate change in his intellectual pursuits which might convict him of the volatility which his biographer so readily invokes at hard places in his career, were it not apparent that it was the result of a process of change which had been going on slowly in his mind for a number of years. Muret, as we have already seen, had made an experiment in the teaching of jurisprudence and Roman law during his last years in France, and had rashly attached himself to the new school of Cujas and Douaren. There is even some slight evidence to show that he maintained an interest in this suspected subject, and in the study of Plautus which often accompanied it, by discussions in an intimate circle during the years of his professorship at Venice.²⁸ It is not easy to relate this discordant note to the smooth harmony of his other intellectual interests at this period; and he himself apparently made no attempt to resolve the discord. We can only infer, therefore, that he was unaware at this time of the significance which he afterward came to see in the rationalistic jurisprudence of Alciati and Cujas. It appealed to his lively temperament because it was novel and exciting; it appealed to his love of adventure because it was slightly dangerous; but he had evidently not yet observed the connection between the new jurisprudence and the radical movements of the age in moral and political philosophy (perhaps no one had yet seen it quite clearly); and in particular, he had not discovered a necessary relation between it and the literary tendencies of his day, which after all were his chief interest.

Since his Venetian days, however, his ideas had been undergoing a steady, and partly unconscious, development, and his fortunate encounter with certain works of Alciati and Budé soon

²⁷ *Scripta Selecta*, Orat. iv-vi; ed. Leipzig 1629, I. Orat. 7-9.

²⁸ See a letter from Martinus Belliviceius, a former colleague of Muret's at Padua (ed. Leipzig 1629, I, Epp. I, 45.)

after his settlement at Rome had the effect upon his mind of a revelation. The scales fell from his eyes, he says; he awoke to the full consciousness of his former ignorance; and the way he was henceforth to travel lay clear before him. The exact date of this illumination is not clear. But in 1567 he threw down his gauntlet. He announced the Pandects as the subject of his course, and in an initial discourse, composed, we observe, in a wholly new and Anti-Ciceronian manner, rashly asserted that he would henceforth teach no other subject but jurisprudence. He recalls now with pride his youthful adventure in this direction, which in the interval he had been willing to forget, and asserts that his audience is well aware of the causes that have detained him now for so long in the "softer studies" of rhetoric and moral philosophy. (Of course he implies that it was the will of his superiors; but does he not acknowledge that his own enlightenment has been recent?) These other pursuits, he says, have been the wanderings of Ulysses to the caves of the Sirens and the land of the lotus leaf. He has now returned to rugged Ithaca, enriched, it is true, by his adventures, but resolved never again to wander from the country of his intellectual birth.²⁹

The importance of this conversion, so defiantly announced, is not to be measured by the value of Muret's contribution to the science of Roman law; both he and his critics declare that this is very slight. When his eyes were unsealed, the vision revealed to him was not of new facts in legal history, but of the new spirit in which, as he dimly foresaw, the pursuit of letters and learning would be conducted in the age that was then beginning. The terms in which he compares his old studies with his new one are such as we constantly hear from the "strong wits" of the next generation; and, though he returned before ten years had passed to the subject of moral philosophy which he had been appointed to teach, it is clear that from the moment he detected a significant relation between *sapientia* (private wisdom) and *prudentia* (public or worldly wisdom), on the one hand, and *jurisprudentia*, on the other, he became a conscious forerunner and founder of the seventeenth-century positivistic learning.

²⁹ Ed. Leipzig 1629, I. Orat. 15: "On the history of his intellectual pursuits, and the necessity of uniting eloquence and the other subjects of study with jurisprudence."

The bad latinity of the Barthollist legal commentaries—*illas mixobarbaras cantiones*, as Muret himself calls them—was notorious; and it had even created a general supposition that the study of style and the study of law were disjunct and irreconcilable. It was incumbent upon a man of Muret's literary reputation to show that this was a pernicious heresy. The necessary union of science and art, then, may be more or less correctly stated as the subject of all his four academic discourses of 1567, 1569, and 1571.³⁰ This was an interesting and important doctrine, with all the charm of novelty in the sixteenth century. But what is still more significant in these discourses is that Muret is here gradually revealing in public what he was more frankly admitting in private, that his literary tastes and theories themselves had accommodated themselves to his new zeal for political science and jurisprudence.

This change had, it is true, occurred before his public profession of law. After the three "public" discourses of 1564 and 1565, in which he spoke officially, as we have seen, for the court of Rome, he had delivered another in November of the latter year to a smaller, essentially a "private," audience of his pupils in introducing a second term of readings in Aristotle's *Ethics*; and to any of his hearers who were intelligent enough to understand what Muret meant, the contrast with the epideictic orations which had immediately preceded it must have greatly heightened the effect of this remarkable deliverance.³¹ He not only describes admirably the alliance of moral philosophy and political science (*sapientia* and *prudentia*), which was to become, partly through the mediation of his disciples, the educational formula of seventeenth-century rationalism; he also shows what were to be the ideals of the new kind of style which was to accompany this educational program, and even illustrates the methods by which many of his successors in the next age were

³⁰ Ed. Leipzig 1629, I. Orat. 15-18. These orations, and the oration of November 1565 described below, the most significant of all in the history of his ideas, written in an un-Ciceronian style and with a spirit and zest which he had not displayed before, are not included in the *Scripta Selecta* by which Muret is now chiefly known; the omission of course gives a disproportionate value to the perfunctory orations of 1564 and 1565 (March) and the commanded discourse of 1575 on "the excellence of literary studies."

³¹ Ed. Leipzig, I. Orat. 10, "On the knowledge of oneself, and on all the faculties of the human mind."

to teach themselves and others the practise of it. After describing *prudentia* ("policy," as Bacon calls it; political science, as we might say; though perhaps the recent term *Realpolitik* would be more exact) he goes on to say that "we acquire from nature, or at least may easily learn, certain maxims or sentences concerning good and evil, things to be desired and things to be avoided: of which sort are: 'the social laws that bind men together must be observed'; 'justice must be observed'; 'we must abstain from injuring others'; 'to repel force with force is both law and righteousness'; and others of the like sort, which are the rudiments, or as it were the seeds, of the arts necessary to life. From these rudiments springs at last the art that is schoolmistress of life—*prudentia*." The passage is founded wholly upon Aristotle, partly on the *Ethics*, but partly also upon the discussion of the use of "positions," or commonplaces, in the *Rhetoric*, which served as authority for the cultivation of the fixed form of the aphorism, or *pensée*, in the seventeenth century.³² Who can fail to think of the famous passage in the *Advancement of Learning* in which Bacon, using Aristotle as his monitor, advises the study of the "colours of good and evil" and of *antitheta rerum*, as a great aid in that "politic part of eloquence in *private* speech" which he opposes to the "well-graced forms of speech" of "the greatest orators," and professes that he is indifferent whether this new kind of literary practise ought to be considered a branch of "policy" or of rhetoric?³³

The style itself of this oration of 1565—its broken period; its deliberate rhetorical roughness, every phrase a thought; its original metaphors, themselves thoughts—what is it but the

³² It could be said without much exaggeration that the whole subject-matter of Book I and II of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is propositions (*κοινὰι προτάσεις*), or Commonplaces; for propositions are the elements of logic or dialectic; and Aristotle's purpose is to establish rhetoric in an intimate, insoluble connection with dialectic. It is for this reason that his treatise was taken as the foundation of Anti-Ciceronian theory in the seventeenth century. (On this point, see "'Attic' Prose, etc." p. 103-4).—The passages on which Muret particularly depends, in the passage quoted, are I, ch. 3, sect. 8-9, and perhaps II, ch. 21 (on the maxim, or γνώμη).

³³ The second Book (*De Augmentis* VI), 3, where the discussion is extended by the addition of fifty pages meant to supplement Aristotle's *Rhetoric* I, chs. 6 and 7. See also the passage on Civil Knowledge touching Negotiation or Business (*De Augmentis* VIII, 1 and 2), where Bacon employs an extraordinary number of English names to describe what in the Latin version are

pure Baconian positivism in rhetoric? A reader familiar with his earlier orations might suppose that Muret is here speaking merely as a *savant* indifferent to the effect of his style, except that a moment later he calls attention, in a challenging manner, to his *quotidiana verba*, his *inornatum dicendi genus*, and appeals, in his peroration, to those, if there be any, who can be captivated by an exact treatment of things "arduous and remote from a vulgar comprehension," who can find a pleasure in discourse that is not grand and *sublimis*, but concerned with matters of daily use and adapted to the needs of real life.

It is clear that in 1565 Muret had already renounced the *genus sublime* and the *genus ornatum* (or *medium*) of ancient rhetorical theory; his literary formulas were already those of the *genus humile*. The effect of his public espousal of the law in 1567 was to commit him more definitely in the same sense; and in his oration of 1569, on the method of teaching law, we find him more "Attic" than he has ever dared to show himself before. The style he now proposes as a corrective to the barbarism of the legalists has the three qualities of the *Stoic* rhetoric: first, the purity of idiom that can be studied in the conversation of cultivated people; secondly, terseness; thirdly, aptness or expressiveness. The dishes he eats from, he says, need not be of gold; they need not be adorned with jewels and emblems. (He alludes here, in his new metaphorical manner, to the richness of oratory). He can eat of earthen vessels, provided the viands are fine; but these vessels must be well-rubbed (*tersa*), clean (*nitida*), trim in appearance.³⁴

Two years later, in 1571, he has made still further progress, spurred on clearly by opposition. He had resolved, he says,³⁵ to begin his course of legal readings without a prefatory discourse; his friends and patrons protest, however, against so violent a break with custom, and he has yielded on the main point. "But," he says, "that I should take as my theme some-

called *axiomata*, *aphorisma*, or *sententiae*: sentences politic, axioms, aphorisms, cautions, precepts, positions (cp. Aristotle's *τόπος*, I, 2, 21, and elsewhere); all of these and their Latin equivalents being in effect renderings either of Aristotle's *κοινὰ προτάσεις* or of his *γνώματα*. Of course almost all of Bacon's own works illustrate the method of writing by aphorisms or "commonplaces."

³⁴ Ed. Leipsic 1629. I, Orat. 17.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Orat. 18.

his style now changed
'Ciceronian' was not
his style now changed
for any thing. How the
... was every ...

thing, however remote from and alien to our subject, something popular and plausible, in which to display merely verve and copiousness of style (*vim ac copiam dicendi*)—that they should have leave to obtain this of me, I could not obtain leave of myself to grant them. Hardly could I persuade myself to do this when I was young and devoted myself to the rhetorical studies that justify such things. If I should show myself anxious *now* to frise and rouge my style after the manner of boys and sophists, I could hardly escape the reprehension of serious and resolved men.” “I mean to discourse, therefore,” he continues, “not in the oratorical manner, but in a scholastic, domestic (*umbratili*), and composed manner of our own, not meant to excite but to teach, not planned to catch the clamors of applause, but rather to win the respect of silence and attention.” —These are the terms constantly employed by students of Attic in the seventeenth century, and are derived by them from the same critics in antiquity.

In the preceding section of this paper, a connection was traced between the new study of jurisprudence and the Anti-Ciceronian cult of unfamiliar, new or old words.³⁶ There is evidence to prove that in this phase of the movement Muret played the part of a mediator between the scholarly legalists and the taste of the general public. The fondness he indulged for Plautus is made manifest in his letters and *Varia Lectiones* of all periods; that this was long cherished as a heretical hobby of his unacademic hours is also clear. When he cites Plautus therefore in the same breath with Cicero, Caesar, and Terence as masters of Latinity in his revolutionary oration of 1569, he is fully aware of the meaning of his words; and we are not surprised at the fact that the first step taken by Lipsius after his conversion from Ciceronianism by Muret (in 1568) was a public profession of his pleasure in the rustic words and the ingenuous style of the old comedian.³⁷ But we are able to connect Muret's fondness for Plautus directly with his devotion to Cujas and his interest in jurisprudence. There is a letter³⁸ from a former colleague at Padua, implying that in a circle of his friends there

³⁶ See above, pp. 269-270.

³⁷ In the Preface to his *Quaestiones Epistolicae* (1574). On the significance of this see Croll, “Juste Lipse, etc.” p. 211.

³⁸ Ed. Leipzig 1629, I, Epp. 45, p. 322-3.

his project for an edition of Plautus and his study of Cujas' method had been discussed side by side, as if they were closely related; and there is a passage in his *Variae Lectiones* (XI, 17) concerning Cujas himself, in which Muret expresses his delight at the old words with which the legalist has 'enlivened his pages, and congratulates him on his effort to correct by this means the tendency of Ciceronian purism to impoverish the vocabulary of modern Latin. As Dejob has pointed out,³⁹ the word *pauperare*, used here by Muret, occurs only in Plautus.

Muret's adhesion to the new rationalistic program of studies did not involve in his own mind a renunciation of his old interest in literature; on the contrary he regarded it as a movement of rhetorical as well as intellectual progress. But the opponents of modernism could not or would not see it in that light. He was under constant pressure to return to the teaching of the subject with which the world even yet persists in associating his name; and when a lectureship in rhetoric fell vacant in 1572⁴⁰ he was urged to accept the appointment, without, however, as it would appear, giving up his professorship in philosophy. He yielded on the advice of his patrons, and announced as the subject of his first course of reading Cicero's *Tusculans*, and as the topic of his initial discourse "the Method of Arriving at Distinction in Eloquence." It seemed a victory for the reactionaries; but if they indulged the hope of his return to orthodoxy on the strength of these promises they had not made sufficient allowance for the ironies that Muret was capable of.⁴¹ For this discourse proved to be not only a diatribe against the Ciceronians, but the most telling attack yet delivered upon the conventional academic method of rhetorical teaching.⁴²

The general tenor of his remarks on this occasion will not surprise any one who has read the orations in 1565, 1569, and

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 242.

⁴⁰ Through the honorable dismissal of an old Professor, Cesareo Cosentino, whose noon-hour lectures had long been the scene of notable undergraduate disorder.

⁴¹ A letter written to a former pupil indicates the spirit in which Muret went at his new task. After relating the circumstances of his appointment, he says that the additional money has prevailed with him. He will return for a time to those *congerones* of his youth, Horace and Cicero—*et mihi quodammodo repuerascere videbor*. He adds that those who had expected to hear him continue his exposition of the *Pandects* are raising a tumult. (*Scripta Selecta*, II. 65.)

⁴² *Scripta Selecta*, Orat. VII; ed. Leipzig 1629, I. Orat. 21.

1571; but the discourse is epoch-making in the history of modern style because here the greatest rhetorician of the second half of the century for the first time openly arrays himself by the side of Erasmus and Ramus; and it is full of interest to the careful student of Muret's career because it shows his advance in several respects toward the complete Atticism of the seventeenth century. In the first place, it contains the first intimations of the leaning toward utter individualism in style, and even toward the "libertinism" of Montaigne, which Muret often displays throughout the rest of his career, though his orthodox past usually holds him back from a free expression of it. "It is no better than an eloquence of Picts and parrots," he says, "to echo and reverberate words you have already heard, nor ever to say anything that is really and peculiarly your own." Muret never rejected in terms the Renaissance doctrine of Imitation; probably he never determined clearly whether he had broken with it in fact; but such words as these show how little hold it retained upon his affections or his imagination. In the second place, he made clearer than before the connection between his literary ideas and his enthusiasm for *prudentialia*, or political philosophy. The ancient teachers of style, he says, were masters of the history of institutions and laws, were skilled students in the art of government, and prided themselves in the name—not of rhetoricians or sophists—but of politicians (*politici*).

Thirdly—to complete the picture of this striking work—Muret here places the study of rhetoric firmly upon the foundation of Aristotle's treatise, where it was to rest during the century of "Attic" prose which was to follow. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is a difficult work to interpret historically; the modern historian finds inconsistencies in it that are hard to explain. But Muret and his successors disregarded these; to them the work meant one thing, an inexpugnable authority, equal in magnitude to that of Cicero himself, to which they could appeal in their effort to divorce prose-writing from the customs of epideictic oratory, and wed it to philosophy and science. It is so that Muret interprets the work in this oration. Its teaching is, he says, that rhetoric is "a something that arises (or floats up) out of the mixture of dialectic and politics,"⁴⁸ and he cites the

⁴⁸ See Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Book I, ch. 2., § 7, and I, ch 4, § 5. Bacon frequently refers to this doctrine of Aristotle's.

passages in which the study of it is brought into connection with the processes of reasoning and feeling and with the proper methods of carrying on a demonstration. Muret, then, derives his *theory* of style here from the first two books of the *Rhetoric*; his doctrines concerning *practise* are drawn from the same work. But here he picks his way carefully, disregarding, as the seventeenth-century "Attics" did, Aristotle's full treatment of the conventional style of oratory in Book III and basing his doctrine on the connection between dialectic and rhetoric elaborated in Books I and II and chapter 17 of Book III. "As the dialectician," says Muret, "uses two instruments of proof, the syllogism and induction; so the orator, the twin and true comparative of the dialectician,—his exact similitude in a dissimilar *genre*—has two also, each of which corresponds to one of these: the enthymeme, which corresponds to the syllogism, and the *exemplum*, which corresponds to induction. . . . Without a copious supply of enthymemes and *exempla* adapted to every subject-matter no one can support the name of an eloquent writer." In these passages is foreshadowed a new method of rhetorical training founded on the use of the *Index Rerum* and the Common-place book, the method of "colours," "positions," and *pensées*, practised by countless seventeenth-century writers, and learned by them, partly from Aristotle, partly from the prose-writers of the Roman silver age.

The delivery of this public discourse determined Muret's intellectual and literary position unalterably. During the decade of active life that remained to him he was only to carry out toward their logical conclusions the principles he had now arrived at. But before we continue the story of this progress we must notice a phase of his literary career which has done more than anything else to shadow his reputation and confuse the judgment of posterity concerning his service to modern literature. His position at Rome was more than that of a professor. He was also the official orator of the Roman court; and, as it happened, his activities in this function attained their greatest fame during the years 1571-2, just at the time, that is, when he was making clear his final emancipation from the rhetorical formalism of the Renaissance. During these years he was called on by his patrons to use the art for which he was famous throughout Christendom in the adornment of three

great occasions of public ceremonial: the celebration of the victory of Lepanto in the church of *Ara Coeli*, the funeral of Pope Pius V in St. Peter's in the Vatican, and the reception, probably in the Vatican palace, of an envoy-extraordinary sent by the king of France to lay his fidelity at the feet of the new Pope, Gregory XIII. Muret responded exuberantly to these opportunities to celebrate the glories of reformed Catholicism; and on the third occasion even went out of his way—it would seem—to glorify the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve in the most ornate and fulsome rhetoric that the odious art of panegyric could provide him with.⁴⁴

The moral aspect of these performances does not interest us here. Our only concern with them is to show their right relation with the intellectual and literary tendencies that we have been studying and their curious effects upon Muret's literary reputation. Both in their form and in their substance they appear to be in direct conflict with the positivistic movement on which Muret was now embarked. Inasmuch as they are in the oratorical *genre*, and in a peculiarly inflated and grandiose variety of it, they are hard to reconcile with the professions of one who was teaching the form of an intimate and philosophical *genus humile*; and they have in fact tended to confirm his reputation as a Ciceronian in the minds of those who can conceive of only one type of oratory. Inasmuch as they are apologies of absolutism and persecution, they seem to run counter to the liberal stream of modern thought. With the skeptical liberalism of the 18th century, which developed out of the "libertinism" of the 17th century, they are in fact at complete variance. But we are interested here only in Muret's relation to his immediate successors, the "strong wits" of the seventeenth century; and the orations we are speaking of are in both respects, that is, both in the character of their ideas and in the character of their style, representative of one of the most important tendencies of that school.

Almost all of the liberal and skeptical thinkers of the seventeenth century were believers in external conformity. Montaigne and Bacon, Browne and Balzac, for instance, supported the religious and political orthodoxies of their time, though

⁴⁴ Ed. Leipzig 1629, I. Orat. 22. (January 1572 O. S. 1573 N. S.). The others mentioned are *Orations* 19 and 20. (December 1571 and May 1572.)

their inward convictions and principles were almost wholly independent of them; and they were all advocates of absolutism in the administration of public affairs. These philosophers, it is true, also believed in a policy of toleration, and most of them played some part in promoting the growth of this modern principle in the mind of the seventeenth century. But there was another mode of thought on this subject, directly opposed to theirs, and on the whole more characteristic of the positivistic movement of ideas in their time. The "strong wits" of the century had in a special degree the weakness characteristic of their kind in all ages, namely, an undue contempt for the conventional sentiments and tender prejudices of the minds that they considered commonplace. They were convinced realists, and applied the principle of "thorough" as firmly in their political and social philosophy as Strafford and Richelieu did in the political practice of two kingdoms. The heroic thinker, the heroic statesman, was in their opinion he who was willing to march rough-shod over the feelings of the weaker part of mankind, or the scruples of his own mind, straight toward a clear-seen goal; and if persecution was necessary to the accomplishment of his ends and the advancement of civilization—well, persecution is justified by the incompetency of mankind in all great matters and large programs.⁴⁶

Muret's eulogy of St. Bartholomew's could give no offense to thinkers of this kind; on the contrary, when it was taken in connection with the rumors of his secret "atheism" which circulated underground in the seventeenth century, it might especially qualify him for their admiration. There can be no doubt, for instance, that it won him his place among the *libri homines* of the past venerated by Naudé, Patin, Le Vayer and the circles of learned libertines that gathered about them in the middle of the seventeenth century; and it is not improbable that the praise of St. Bartholomew's, which was one of their favorite themes of discourse, was suggested to them

* Concerning this phase of libertine thought, see Janet, *Histoire de la Science Politique*, Book III, ch. 2, *L'École de Machiavel*; Charbonnel, R., *La Pensée Italienne au XVI^e Siècle et le Courant Libertain* (Paris 1919), Chapter IV, pp. 389-437. (Perrens, *Les Libertins en France*, Paris 1899, does not deal much with political ideas.) Fra Paolo, Lipsius, Scioppius, Naudé, Gracian are good representatives. Bacon, in spite of what is said of him above, was strikingly Machiavellian, and Descartes somewhat less so.

by this very work of Muret's.⁴⁶ It may not be possible to prove that Lipsius took his notorious formula *Ure et seca* from the same source; but it is certain that the idea it expresses sprang from the general complex of ideas that he derived from his master.

As regards the form in which Muret expressed these dangerous doctrines, it is to be observed, in the first place, that the positivists of the seventeenth century by no means rejected the use of public oratory. On the contrary, though they acknowledged a secret or open contempt for its necessary insincerity, they constantly recommended the study and practise of it as an important instrument in controlling the affairs of the world.⁴⁷ The style, however, that they employed was not of the Ciceronian form, but of a form exactly opposed to that, namely a condensed style full of points and aphorisms for which they often professed to find the model in Demosthenes' orations, but which they in fact derived from the study of Roman prose of the first century, and especially from Pliny's Panegyric to Trajan. It was a style developed, in fact, from the practise of the Stoic *genus humile* of antiquity, but vitiated, as this style is likely to be when it is used for purposes of public oratory, by the tumor which Cicero recognized as one form of Asianism. The style of Muret in the three orations we are considering is exactly in this form; and it is strange indeed that none of the competent classicists who have written of Muret's style should have pointed out its complete contrast with the oratory of his Ciceronian period.⁴⁸ How far it is true that

⁴⁶ See Janet, as above, pp. 95-98; Charbonnel, p. 53, p. 58, pp. 617-620; Naudé, *Considerations politiques sur les Coups d'État* (1639), III. 379-392.

⁴⁷ Bacon's opinion is exactly representative: "For although it [the Art of Eloquence] is inferior to wisdom . . . , yet with people it is the more mighty" (*Adv. of Learning II, Rhetoric*); see also his letter to Fulke Greville (signed with Essex' name), advising him about his studies.

⁴⁸ A single sentence will illustrate: "O Catherine, Queen-mother, most blessed of women, who, after she had by her admirable foresight and anxious care preserved for so many years his kingdom for her son, her son for his kingdom, at last beheld this son effectively a king." (O felicissimam Catharinam, regismatrem, quae, cum tot annos admirabile prudentia parique sollicitudine regnum filio, filium regno conservasset, tum demum secure regnantem filium adspexit. *Scripta Selecta* I. 197.) The sentence shows exactly the truth of the paradox that a style planned to express acuteness and subtlety of thought

these orations set the model of style for the panegyrics of the seventy-five years following—until Bossuet returned to the normal Isocratean model of oratory—it is impossible to say until the history of this form shall have been adequately studied. At least they have the same traits that prevailed throughout that period; they are certainly among the earliest examples of the art of panegyric in which these traits are displayed; and they derive them from the imitation of the same work that was so minutely studied in the succeeding generations, Pliny's *Panegyric*.

We return to the study of the academic orations in which the course of Muret's intellectual development is so clearly depicted. After the discourse on style, delivered in 1572 from a chair of rhetoric, there could be no turning back; he had reached the climax of a long development. But the process of change in his opinions had by no means ceased, and his services to the rising generation were to be even greater in the ten years of activity that remained to him than any that he had yet performed. If we are able to record them more briefly than the former steps in his career, this will only be because their significance is more easily understood in the light of what has already been said.

The defect of the Anti-Ciceronian movement before 1575 was its failure to offer a program of literary imitation in exchange for the one that it attacked. Erasmus himself had failed in this respect; and the reaction toward Ciceronianism noticeable in the third quarter of the century among men like Ascham and Melancthon, who were the natural inheritors of Erasmus' ideas, was due to the feeling that he had led them out of Egypt into an educational wilderness—and left them there. Abstractly considered—if such questions ever could be abstractly considered—his reference of the choice of models to free individual taste and reason had everything in its favor; the time might even come when it would be a practical method of education. But actually, said Bembo and Ascham, it asked too much of men living in the sixteenth century. Whatever the theory of

falls into a tumor and violence far worse than the Ciceronian emptiness when it is used for the purposes of oratory. The vices of sermon-style in the reign of Louis XIII and in seventeenth-century England are to be accounted for in this way.

education might be, such men, they argued, must hold to the practise of imitation in their effort to learn the classical mode of thought; imitation, moreover, of prescribed models and by a defined method. And history has proved that they were right. For it was not until it had learned to suggest other models for imitation in place of Cicero and Isocrates, as it did in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, that the Anti-Ciceronian movement became a positive force and began its career of triumph.

What these models must be seems clear enough to the historian, who can look both before and after the event. For the range of choice was limited. Greek models of the classical period were out of the question because Greek education had so far proved impracticable for any but a small band of *savants*, and was declining rather than gathering power; and in Latin the poverty of the pre-Augustan ages in literary prose and the marks of approaching decay and medievalism in most of the literature produced after 200 A.D. were facts too evident to be overlooked. The only escape from the superstitious purism of Augustan imitation was in the literature of the first century of the empire, in the poetry of Lucan and Juvenal and Persius, and especially in the splendid prose of Seneca, Tacitus, and the younger Pliny, or in the Greek prose classics of the same period which had been made available by translation, Plutarch and Epictetus. Both philosophically and rhetorically, we can now see how admirably adapted this literature was to the needs of the seventeenth century; but the facts of a situation are never so clear to those who are involved in all its actual complexities as they are to the historian; and the duties of a prophet and leader were made more difficult in this case by the fact that the Latin writers of the first century were imputed dangerous to good Latinity, good morals, and good political philosophy. It required both the clearsightedness of a prophet and the courage of a warrior to proclaim a rehabilitation of the Silver Age in the third quarter of the sixteenth century.⁴⁹

The honor of effecting, or at least of initiating, such a program must be divided between Montaigne and Muret, who were

⁴⁹ For a fuller statement of the relations between seventeenth-century and first-century literature, see "'Attic' Prose in the Seventeenth Century," pp. 120-127.

arriving, at the same time, but by different processes, at the same conclusions. There was neither correspondence nor co-operation, however, between them,⁴⁰ and though Montaigne's ideas had vastly greater results in the course of time on the general opinion of the world, Muret's immediate influence upon the learned classes was greater, and the conspicuousness of the post in which he challenged and suffered attack may justify us in attributing to him a higher degree of courage. The gradual discovery and proclamation of this literary program was the work of his last decade. During this time he forgot his vow to jurisprudence; and indeed it is now clear that that stirring episode in his career, important as it was in the development of his ideas, was a following after false fires. He had long been seeking a formula to express his new intellectual needs, and the reformed study of law had for a time seemed to be the true center of all his desires. But it proved to be too special a theme for his peculiarly impatient mind; and it was not until he embraced the cause of silver-age literature that he found the single and significant word to express at the same time his political, his moral, and his literary philosophy.

It remains for us only to trace rapidly the course of this last development of his thought, by which he earns the title of the chief founder of the theory of Attic prose in the seventeenth century.

The first post-Augustan author to attract him was naturally the younger Seneca. But he could not proceed at once with the development of his true intellectual purposes after his declaration of opinion in 1572. The requirements of his new rhetorical post had to be acknowledged. In 1573 he delivered a purely ceremonial oration for some important anniversary-day of the University, on the theme—commanded, as he is careful to say, by the authorities—of the excellence of literary studies. Then he begins the reading of Plato's *Republic* during the winter term of 1573-4, protesting against the opposition that is being made to his program, and renewing his praise of Aristotle's rhetorical principles. All this he continues in the spring term of 1574⁴¹; and his plan was to pursue the study of Plato in the

⁴⁰ The fact that Muret was Montaigne's house-tutor for a time, when Montaigne was a boy, probably has no especial relevance.

⁴¹ See the orations for these courses, ed. Leipzig 1629, II. Orat. 4 and 5; not in *Scripta Selecta*.

following winter; but the authorities—whose reasons for their conduct it is not becoming in us, he says, to inquire into—have ordered him to devote the year to Cicero alone. His characteristic revenge is to renew his Anti-Ciceronian pledges and cite the authority of Cato beside that of Aristotle; and it is in the prelude oration of this course that we first detect the influence of Seneca clearly. For the first time the terms in which he describes the Anti-Ciceronian style are drawn from that author—though he does not mention his name—and his style betrays the influence of Seneca's brief antithetical sentences. *Vera et solida eloquentia*, he says, *non tantum in verbis posita est, sed in rebus*.⁵² In the following year he gives a course in the *De Providentia*, preluded with a discourse in which he begs his auditors not to let their minds be poisoned by the reproaches they constantly hear directed against this author.

A word of explanation concerning these reproaches is necessary. Seneca was one of the ancients who needed least to be interpreted by the humanists of the Renaissance. His works had come down through the middle ages almost unimpaired and constantly studied; and in the 15th and 16th centuries the employment of them by teachers for the practical purpose of moral instruction continued without interruption. Probably it is in these facts that we are to find one of the reasons for his hard treatment by the rhetorical humanists. His long popularity had given him an air of medieval vulgarity; and his moral usefulness made the supposed defects of his Latinity peculiarly dangerous. It was a literary prejudice, therefore, that he had to overcome in order to take his place as the model and mentor of the new generation; and the chief significance of Muret's oration about him is that it portrays him as a master of eloquence and wisdom alike, and an exemplar of that new style to which Muret was inviting his pupils—*ad graves et serias res bonis et lectis verbis explicandas*.⁵³

In this oration Muret gives no hint of a purpose of rehabilitating the authors of the silver age, or even of a preference for any of them as such. But in the autumn of the same year this purpose has evidently taken definite form in his mind. He has

⁵² Ed. Leipzig 1629, II. Orat. 6, *Ingressurus Explanare M. T. Ciceronis libros de Officiis*.

⁵³ Ed. Leipzig 1629, II. Orat. 3 (misdated 1585).

elected to study the 13th Satire of Juvenal, and in the first words of his discourse throws out a challenge to those who disapprove of the study of the authors of his age. He begins the discussion of this prejudice with a sketch of the history of culture since the beginning of the Renaissance—perhaps one of the earliest attempts to place the Renaissance in its historical relations.⁵⁴ The first effect, he shows, of the Renaissance⁵⁵ was to create an indiscriminate classical erudition, in which the more obscure and difficult authors were even preferred, because of their novelty and the neglect of the Middle Ages. Then followed the generations of the Bembo and Sadoleto, by whom the hands of the clock are set as far wrong in one direction as they had been before in the other. For now "no prose authors are allowed except Cicero and his contemporaries; all poets are dubbed barbarous save Virgil, Catullus, Lucretius, and three or four others"; and the whole effort of teachers is spent in proving that "silly orations may be made by using no words but Cicero's, bad verses of none but Virgil's." Writers of modern Latin, who have never heard a Roman speak, have become so infatuated that they prefer their own writings to the Latin of Silius Italicus, Lucan, and Seneca. They dare to despise Ovid, next to Virgil the best of Latin poets; and one of them has translated his works into the vernacular for his pupils' use, for fear their Latinity might suffer contamination from his.⁵⁶ In fact, says Muret, in a fine frenzy raging, the cooks and mule-drivers of any of these ancients could write better Latin than a modern Latin rhetorician.

Muret, in short, has made another clear step forward in the formation of his ideas. Though he may still choose the

⁵⁴ Ed. Leipzig 1629, II. Orat. 12; *Scripta Selecta*, Orat. II. Similar sketches, possibly influenced by Muret's, will be found in Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, Book One, "the first distemper of learning" (his sketch of the causes of Ciceronianism in the sixteenth century, with the interesting supplement to it in *De Aug.*, noting the rise of the Anti-Ciceronian movement and the imitation of Seneca and Tacitus since 1600), and at greater length, in Barclay's *Satyricon*, ed. Leyden 1674, pp. 90-95.

⁵⁵ Of course this late term does not appear in Muret, Bacon, or Barclay.

⁵⁶ This association of Ovid with the writers of the Silver Age is interesting; in the seventeenth century Ovid and Sallust were generally recognized as the only Augustans who displayed the traits of style of the succeeding century, and were therefore worthy to rank with Tacitus, Seneca, and Lucan as models of "Attic" style.

names of Ciceronians to point his scorn, the object of his attack is now the theory of Augustanism *in toto*—and that in a public oration. How much further he could go, how much franker he could be, when he was less hampered by conventional necessities, is shown by a long essay in one of the later series of his *Variae Lectiones*,⁸⁷ in which he reports a conversation with a young friend. Here Muret admits that he himself had once believed that only the Augustans should be imitated. But at a later time, when he had considered the matter more fully, he came to see how presumptuous it would be in him to pass judgment on the style of writers like Seneca, Valerius Maximus, Quintilian, Pliny, Tacitus, Velleius, Lactantius, and others of that kind who had lived so near to the time when Latin flourished at its best, and had been considered excellent writers at that time. Certainly, he says, none of the ancients ever accused them of writing faulty Latin. In this list he hardly extends his charity beyond the limits of the Silver Age (as it came to be called in the generation following Muret). But a little further on in the same essay he takes a flight which has caused his commentators and admirers the greatest concern. He describes the method of teaching and practising style which was later to be taken up and much more fully developed by Lipsius in his treatise on style in letter-writing.⁸⁸ His plan is, he says, to derive the general form of his style from Cicero, Caesar, Terence, and others of the best kind; but then also to imitate and adapt whatever beauties he can find that other writers have excelled in; and he will look for these beauties, he adds, not only in the authors of the Silver Age, but even in Tertullian, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, or Saint Ambrose, and, yes, even in Apuleius, Sidonius Apollinaris, and Cassiodorus. There was nothing here to cause disturbance of mind to the Stoic or Libertine writers of the first half of the seventeenth century; for Tertullian at least became almost as great a favorite of a number of them as Seneca and Tacitus themselves. But commentators who were resolved at any cost to retain the authority of Muret on the side of orthodoxy were guilty of strange contortions in

⁸⁷ XV, 2; in *Scripta Selecta*, Chap. 58.

⁸⁸ *Institutio Epistolica*, esp. the concluding chapter. Barclay (*Satyricon*, pp. 96-7) gives a similar method of teaching as his own. In fact, it may be considered the typical Anti-Ciceronian method.

the attempt to rob these words of their sting. It was argued, for instance, that Muret put in this passage in order to have an excuse if he should by mistake have used any words or phrases that were not Ciceronian; and a comparatively recent commentator has been found to accept this explanation as correct.⁵⁹

Another work of post-Augustan rehabilitation remained for him to perform, the most difficult and dangerous, but also the most congenial to his tastes and temperament. When he first contemplated the teaching of Tacitus we cannot exactly determine; for he seems to have entered into a kind of truce with the orthodox party after his readings in Seneca and Juvenal, and the subjects of his courses during the next four years (1576-9) were Aristotle, Virgil, and Sallust. But the fact that Lipsius applied himself to the editing of Tacitus immediately after his momentous visit to Muret in 1568 is not without significance; and a careful study of the orations of the period from 1576 to 1580 makes it clear that he was veiling with an appearance of conformity the preliminaries of a more startling offensive moment than any that he had yet attempted. His aim in all of these discourses is evidently to relate as closely as possible the several subjects he is now interested in: dialectic, history and politics (*prudentia*), and rhetoric, and to try to organize them into a definite program or curriculum of positivism. This purpose is apparent, for instance, in his Sallust discourse; and in the two orations of 1576, on the subject of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, he has worked out much more fully than he did in 1572-73 his conception of the uses of the *genus humile*, founded on the doctrines of that treatise. For the first time, too, he has here expressed or hinted the prophetic opinion that obscurity may be a virtue of style.

When he finally announced that his winter-term subject for 1580-81 would be the first book of the *Annals* of Tacitus, the storm he must have anticipated broke upon his head. The opposition from the authorities which he had met at every step in his progress from Ciceronianism to "Atticism" now became more acute. His overture-oration was a general and moderate defense of Tacitus; but it evidently roused his

⁵⁹ Ruhnken, quoted in *Scripta Selecta* II, p. 203, n. 3. It was Scioptius, in his *De Stilo Historico*, p. 64, who originally expressed the idea. (See also his *De Rhetoricarum Exercitationum Generibus*).

opponents to new energy, and there are hints that disorders in his class-room were fomented by their machinations. Muret was never diverted from his intellectual ends by persecution, though he was capable of Machiavellian policy in the pursuit of them; and on this occasion he returned to the defence of Tacitus in a second oration which is distinguished among all his productions by the originality of its thought and the energy of its style, and must be considered his most important contribution to the history of modern thought.⁶⁰

Its abrupt beginning ("Those who have been attempting to debar me from the interpretation of Tacitus have brought five particular charges against him") was itself a challenge to the Ciceronian taste for copious and mellifluous exordiums; and he proceeds to consider the five objections in a discourse in which, for the first time probably in the Latin of a modern author, the pointed brevity, the studied asymmetry of Tacitus' own style are successfully imitated. It is unnecessary to follow his argument *seriatim*; but in answering the charges against his new hero he makes some observations so significant in the history of the ideas and the literary style of the succeeding century that they should be rescued from the obscurity in which they have been allowed to remain.

The most serious of all the scandals that attached themselves to the cult of Tacitus during the period from 1575 to 1650 was the alleged use of his writings as a manual of Machiavellian policy, especially by the supporters of the régime of absolutism in church and state. The parallel that was constantly drawn during this period between the affairs of the Roman Empire as described by Tacitus and the contemporary affairs of European states⁶¹ was as constantly (and justly) denounced by the

⁶⁰ This oration (ed. 1629, II. Oration 14) is dated November 4, 1580 (the day following his first Tacitus oration, II, 13, in ed. 1629) in the early, and hence also in the modern, editions; but for a number of reasons it seems to me likely that it was delivered in March 1581, at the opening of a second term of reading in the *Annals*, probably in the Second Book. In November 1581 he continued with the Third Book, thus completing a *triennium* in one author: his favorite method, as he has recorded. As regards the disorders in his class-room, Norden attributes them to Jesuit instigation; but Norden has falsely read the Jesuit literary doctrine as uniformly Augustan and Ciceronian: see above p. 6-7. At this time Muret's most intimate friends and some of his favorite former pupils were important members of the Order.

⁶¹ E.g., in the essays of Bacon, Malvezzi, and Gracian.

lovers of liberty as an insidious corrupting influence in political thought. Well, Muret meets the charge with an astonishing frankness in a passage which must be quoted at length as an illustration of modes of thought that were to become extremely common in another generation.

"In the first place," he says, "it must be observed that there are very few republics to-day: there is almost no nation but hangs upon the beck and nod of one man, obeys one man, is ruled by one man: therefore in this respect at least the state of things in our time is more like that of Rome under the Emperors than when the people had the power. And the more like their history is to ours, the more things we may find to study in it that we can apply to our uses, and adapt to our own life and customs. Although by the blessing of God we have no Tiberiuses, Caligulas and Neros, yet it is profitable for us to know how good and prudent men managed their lives under them, how and how far they tolerated and dissimulated their vices; how, on the one hand, by avoiding an unseasonable frankness they saved their own lives when they would have served no public end by bringing them into danger, and on the other hand showed that baseness was not pleasing to them by not praising what was foul and corrupt. There are oftentimes many things in the conduct of princes which a good man cannot praise, but which he can cover up or pass by in silence. Those who do not know how to connive at such things not only bring themselves into danger, but often make princes themselves worse. For many men, if they believe that their vices are concealed and unknown, gradually get out of them of their own accord, for fear they will be detected, and *become* good from thinking that they are *considered* good.⁶² These same men, however, if they see that their baseness is recognized, their reputation fixed, will openly live up to what they know is openly said of them, and become indifferent to a bad reputation because they despair of a good one.⁶³ And again, a man (of the present time) will the better bear the fewer and lesser vices of his own princes, when he has observed how the good and brave men of a former day endured worse and more numerous ones."

⁶² An excellent Tacitean "point": *Dum se bonos haberi putant, boni fiunt.*

⁶³ *Idem si turpitudinem suam palam esse videant, jam famae securi, quae palam dici vident, palam quoque faciunt, et famam dum bonam desperant, malam negligunt.*

This is a language quite familiar to students of Bacon, Malvezzi, Gracian, Naudé, and many other strong wits and Machiavellians of the seventeenth century.

In all of these authors, moreover, the love of Tacitus' singular wisdom is attended by a love of his significant darkness of utterance; for the *prince des ténèbres*, as they called him in the seventeenth century, was the chief model of the use of the conceit in prose. Muret deals as boldly and prophetically with this aspect of his author's reputation as with the other. On the subject of the "debased Latinity" of the Silver Age he had already made himself clear enough, and the only notable addition here is a statement to the effect that the lower limit of good Latinity is the reign of Hadrian. But in answering the charge of obscurity and harshness brought against Tacitus, he stirs the ground about the roots of seventeenth-century style; the peculiar merits and also some of the faults of the prose of Bacon, Donne, Greville, Browne, of Quevedo and Gracian, of Balzac and La Bruyère, and even of Pascal, are foretold in the novel and dangerous ideas he here expresses. After saying that the Greeks recognized his obscurity as one of the virtues of Thucydides, he goes on:—

For although a bare and clear style gives pleasure, still in certain special kinds of writing *obscurity* will win praise sometimes. By diverting discourse from common and vulgar modes of expression, it wins a dignity and majesty even out of strangeness (*peregrinitas*) and grips the reader's attention.⁶⁴ It acts as a veil, to exclude the view of the vulgar. Thus those who enter the dark crypt of a temple feel a kind of awful solemnity sweep in upon their souls. *Asperity* of style, again, has almost the same property as bitterness in wine: which is thought to be a sign that the wine will bear its age well.

In short, Muret has stated admirably in this oration all the chief causes of the popularity which Tacitus was now beginning to enjoy. He has left little to say; and in his third Tacitean discourse, in November 1581, he devotes himself to the praise of three other Post-Augustans: Plutarch, chiefly, and Seneca and Pliny, thus practically completing his task of the rehabilitation of the prose of the Silver Age.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ The idea of a style meant for readers, as contrasted with hearers, was new and anticipates Attic theory of the seventeenth century. See "Attic Prose in the Seventeenth Century," p. 95, n. 18.

⁶⁵ On Bacon and Tacitus see my article: "Lipsius, Montaigne, Bacon" (*Schelling Anniversary Papers*, 1923).

One other task, however, he had still to perform in the service of the new Attic prose: the discovery of the genre in which it best displays its peculiar merits. The discourse in which he introduced his students to a reading in Cicero's *Epistolae ad Atticum* is chiefly an argument to show that the only practical use that can now be made of rhetorical skill is in the writing of letters. He sketches again, as he had done once before, the history of culture in the Renaissance, and shows that though the Ciceronians had attained to excellent eloquence (though partial) there is no modern author "to whom simply and unexceptionably one can give the praise of *writing* Latin well." He commends, however, two writers of epistles, Giovanni Casa, and his friend Manutius, and then proceeds, after an invocation to his young hearers' love of dangerous truth, to show that the practical uses of oratory have ceased in the present state of society. For the decision of great affairs is no longer made in open senates or even in open law-courts, but in the cabinets of single men (of course he means princes and their ministers). Of the three uses of oratory described by Aristotle, therefore, but one now remains, the epideictic: school-disputations, sermons, panegyrics, and funeral orations. On the other hand, the writer who nowadays may hope to be admitted to the intimacy of princes and a part in the serious and great business of the world is one who has learned to write with charm and wisdom letters exactly adapted to the facts of the case, the character of the persons involved, and the actual state of society (*ad res, ad personas, ad tempora*).⁶⁶

⁶⁶ *Scripta Selecta*, Orat. 17; ed. 1629, II. Orat. 16. See also his letter concerning the collection and publication of his own letters (ed. 1629, I. Epp. I, 1; *Scripta Selecta*, Ep. 1). Those who may wish to study the new literary significance of the letter at the beginning of the seventeenth century will find interesting points in the following: Lipsius, *Institutio Epistolica* (Works 1675, vol. II), esp. pp. 1083-6; Estienne Pasquier, *Lettres*, Book I, 1 (*Oeuvres* ed. Amsterdam 1723, vol. II), citing Erasmus, Budé, and Politian as models; also, Book X, Letter 12, citing Cyprian, Jerome, and (chiefly) Seneca; a very interesting letter of Donne (Gosse's *Life and Letters*, I, 122-3), and another extraordinary one, I, 168; Hall, Dedic. of his *Decades of Epistles*; Bacon, Dedic. of the second (1612) ed. of his *Essays*. In all of these the novelty of the letter as a literary genre is insisted on or implied. As an intimate and "moral" form, like the essay, it was in fact new, and was associated in all minds with the "Attic" tendency. See a passage in Fournel's *De Malherbe à Bossuet*, p. 54.

Muret's work was now complete. He had traveled all the way from sixteenth-century rhetorical culture to the naturalism of Montaigne, Lipsius, and Bacon; and in his latest discourses had illustrated a new art of prose, as somber in mood, as heightened in emphasis, as the new sculpture, painting, and architecture devised in his time to express the spirit of the Counter-Reformation. And now, in the last act of his career, his withdrawal from the public scene, he was to show once more how sensitively he felt the spirit of the changing age in which he lived. One of the most striking signs of the spiritual transformation of Europe in the period from 1575 to 1650 was the voluntary withdrawal of so many of its representative men from the affairs of the world, to seek unity of mind and moral self-dependence in a contemplative retirement, either philosophical or religious. The external activities of the Renaissance had lost the power to satisfy their minds; it was an inward weakness that demanded their attention. To the list of these students of wisdom must perhaps be added the name of Muret. In or about the year 1573 he had taken holy orders, and the latter years of his life were lived in complete sobriety and with an attention to the duties of Christian observance which—there is every reason to believe—reflected the true state of his mind. Finally in 1584 he requested and obtained his release from academic duties, refused a professorship urged upon him by Bologna, and spent the few remaining months of his life in domestic retirement with a nephew, the son of a brother who had died some years before, and in so strict an intimacy with several Jesuit friends that an opinion—probably false—became current that he himself had joined their order.

One of his aims in seeking quiet and leisure was undoubtedly to contribute some lasting work of erudition to the cause for which he had spent so much active energy as a teacher. He in fact completed his Latin translation of the first two books of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*; but his commentary on all the works of Seneca was interrupted by his death in June 1585, and the glory of domesticating the Stoic philosopher in the seventeenth century remained to Lipsius, Muret's greatest disciple.

III. MURET'S REPUTATION

A number of leaders of European culture in the Post-Renaissance period, the period, that is from 1575 to 1660, have been

restored of late years to the honors due to them: Lipsius, for instance, as the founder of neo-Stoicism in thought and style; Donne as the voice of a new age in poetry; Donne, Quevedo, and Gracian as masters of a new art of prose-style; El Greco and Bernini in the other arts. That Marc-Antoine Muret has not taken his proper place in the history of this period is partly due, no doubt, to the fact that he was primarily an oral teacher. He left no very substantial and extended works as monuments of his doctrines, and a great deal of his influence passed into the works of others without being expressly recorded as his. There are several other important reasons, however, for the confusion and misapprehension that early settled down upon Muret's reputation, and have finally left him in modern times the mere shadow of a name as a rhetorician and the champion of the cause of Augustan purism which he spent most of his life attacking! Without some attention to these special circumstances we can hardly have a clear conception of his career.

1. His position in the world was unfavorable, not indeed to the dissemination of his doctrines, but to the open recognition of his influence. In the century of the Reformation, when sectarian partisanship colored all intellectual opinion, in the part of this century, moreover, when the leadership in humanism was rapidly passing from the South to the North and both sections had become aware of this new condition, a professorship at Rome and the open patronage of Cardinal d'Este and Pope Gregory were not points of vantage for a disinterested teacher of new ideas. Muret, moreover, suffered in Protestant countries, and, especially, in France, the peculiar suspicion and dislike that fall to the lot of the renegade. There is some doubt, it is true, whether he was actually—as it was charged in the indictment that drove him out of France—a Huguenot; but he had been a house-pupil of the elder Scaliger; his associates, it seems, had been chiefly of that sect; and it is clear that the malice of the younger Scaliger in some public utterances concerning him are due to the memory of these early experiences. Even Lipsius, who was professor at the Calvinistic University of Leyden when he visited Muret at Rome, and remained in that position for ten years afterwards, during all that time carefully veiled much of what he learned from Muret. Only

in letters did he reveal the full change of his opinions and the cause of it.

2. He was unquestionably a *literary* renegade, and the literary world has never yet recovered from the confusions and obstinate perversions of opinion concerning him into which it fell, even during his lifetime, as a result of the change of his ideas during the years from 1558 to 1568. A few men of his own age, a good many men twenty or thirty years younger than he, made the same change, some of them much more abruptly than he; but none had to execute the dangerous *volte-face* on so exposed an eminence or after so express a commitment; and the world could never quite learn that the successor of the tradition of Bembo had become an Anti-Ciceronian and the rehabilitator of Seneca and Tacitus. In Germany and the Netherlands, particularly, it appears that his rhetorical reputation kept growing after he had cut its tap-root, partly because the "new learning" that he had espoused was slower to be understood there, partly through a deliberate unwillingness to renounce a model of pure style which had already found its way into the schools. There were amusing efforts to conceal or even to deny that Saul also was among the prophets of a new style. Scaliger was no less than disingenuous in his admiration for Muret's early Ciceronian prose and his disregard of all the prose of his maturer years; for he at least must clearly have understood the significance of Muret's change of literary opinions.⁶⁷ And one hardly knows what to make of the argument by which Scioppius (echoed by other Germans) attempted to find in his Anti-Augustan tirades a subtle expression of Ciceronian orthodoxy.⁶⁸ Curious but not unjust return of the extravagance of an ironist upon his own head! In Germany and England, at all events, the youthful Muret won the victory over the mature

⁶⁷ There is no way of explaining Scaliger's various opinions about Muret except by assuming a constant interplay of malice and intelligent admiration in his mind. Thus he says that Muret could write excellent prose style (it is clear that he means *Ciceronian* excellence), if only he had not chosen sometimes to write in different modes; yet there are sayings in the *Scaligerana* that show how well he understood Muret's later stylistic aims and how much he admired his later style. Thus *Scaligerana* II (1668), p. 235-6: *Muretus optime percepit mentem Aristotelis in Rhetoricis, and Quid elegantius ejus oratione de Tacito et aliis?*

⁶⁸ See above, note 59.

man, and his early Ciceronianisms kept their place in the educational curriculum of many schools, it is said, until the end of the eighteenth century—a fact exactly paralleled in the study of Cicero himself in the sixteenth century, when the first two orations were regularly studied in England and Germany as the best models for imitation, though Cicero in his mature years regretted their style as too Asian.⁶⁹

Even in Anti-Ciceronian quarters Muret met the kind of ill-luck that often attends the man who changes. It is frequently seen in politics, science and all kinds of affairs that the originators of programs and policies lose the credit of their achievements merely because men hate to associate themselves with a name blown upon by violent controversy; the policy lives while its author is repudiated. Muret's radicalism in thought and letters was made the mark of obloquy by the reactionary party at Rome, because the European reputation he had won by his early Ciceronian style could so easily be turned against him; the contest became confused with other than literary kinds of partisanship; violent and irrelevant prejudices were aroused; and on the whole men found it safer to avoid Muret's name than to explain their indebtedness to him. An illustration of how his reputation was obscured a generation after his death may be seen in Boccacini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso*,⁷⁰ where Lipsius is presented to Apollo for the honors of literary immortality by Velleius Paterculus and attended by "Seneca the moralist" and "Tacitus the politician," one riding on either hand. Here the whole program of realistic studies and late Latin rehabilitation is transferred from the master to the disciple who learned it of him.

3. The most important cause, however, of the depression of Muret's reputation was the character of his opinions. In the rapid development of rationalistic thought that went on during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, two strains soon made

⁶⁹ Another interesting parallel in the criticism of Lipsius:— D. Nisard (himself a Ciceronian of the old school) commends the style of Lipsius' first work as the best he ever wrote (see his excellent work, *Lipse, Scaliger, Casaubon*, Paris 1852.) Lipsius' conversion by Muret followed soon after its publication and he always looked on it as a youthful error.

The world is slow to think a man repents;
And this old world is mainly in the—wrong.

⁷⁰ I, 23.

✓ themselves apparent: a general movement of skepticism, or, as it was more commonly called, libertinism, and a revival of the Stoic morality of the ancients. The former of these is probably to be regarded as the more important in the history of modern thought: it was in the form of libertinism that the rationalist movement first attained to full consciousness of itself in the last quarter of the sixteenth century; this was the form, too, in which it finally triumphed and produced the philosophic liberalism of the eighteenth century. But by the end of the sixteenth century it had already begun to be clear that libertinism was in advance of its age. Its anarchical, or centrifugal, tendencies had at that time to be corrected by the strengthening and unifying moral discipline of Stoicism; and the philosophers who best represent normal rationalism in the period from 1575 to 1660 are men, like Montaigne and Browne, who are both Skeptics and Stoics. Muret's opinions, on the other hand, were formed too early to include the Stoic element of the new intellectual amalgam; and he is to be looked upon chiefly as a precursor of libertine doctrines in thought and letters. It is true, of course, that he was not conscious of a dichotomy which had not yet revealed itself plainly; and how he would have been affected if he could have seen later developments of libertinism we cannot say. But his temperament constantly led him into extravagance of statement in his running fight against intellectual orthodoxy and commonplaceness; and some of his opinions, often exaggerated and distorted by oral tradition, made him too much a favorite of the "strong wits" of a later generation.

Illustrations of this phase of his reputation are numerous. We have already seen that the praise of St. Bartholomew's became a favorite paradox of radicals like Naudé and La Mothe le Vayer in the middle of the seventeenth century and there is reason to believe that Muret's notorious oration of 1572 suggested this method of startling "plebeian intelligences." How little the praise of persecution had to do with sectarian partisanship or religious prejudice is shown by the fact that Muret was also spoken of sometimes (quite unjustly) as an "atheist." He was regarded, says Imperiali, in his *Musée Historique*, as one of those Italians, like Paolo Giovio and Della Caza, who never opened their breviaries and were

therefore attacked by those "little minds that love to hang a quarrel on the point of a needle";⁷¹ and this opinion at last gained such currency that he was one of the many writers to whom was attributed late in the seventeenth century, the authorship of the mysterious work *De Tribus Impostoribus* (that is to say, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet): one of the highest honors that libertinism could bestow.⁷² The most valuable evidence, however, concerning the libertine tendency in Muret's opinions, recognized by men who were familiar with them, is to be found in the fact that his portrait was among those gathered by Gui Patin to adorn the interesting room in his Paris house in which a company of strong wits sometimes held their convivial synods.⁷³ Other sixteenth-century worthies honored in this carefully-chosen collection were Erasmus, Montaigne, Charron, Justus Lipsius, and "enfin François Rabelais." It is a kind of genealogy of positivism from 1500 to 1600.

In his temperament as well as in his doctrines Muret showed his kinship with the philosophers of the libertine tendency; and with some consideration of this point we may fitly close the present consideration of his career.—Certain traits of character and temper are common to skeptical rationalists of all periods. Curiosity about new ideas, for example, and readiness to adopt new opinions, an individual turn of wit and a constant tendency toward satire—these are traits just as conspicuous in scholars like Petrarch, Politian, and Erasmus as they are in their successors, the libertines of the later Renaissance. In the latter, however, they are attended by others peculiar to their own age. For reasons that need not be specified, these later rationalists felt themselves even more hostile to the accepted commonplaces of their time than it is the usual lot of the radical intellectualist to be; and their sense of estrangement betrayed itself frequently in excess, or even violence, of statement; sometimes in pride, sometimes in exasperation, they allowed themselves to abound, even extravagantly, in their own peculiar sense. Many *libres penseurs*, like Naudé, were

⁷¹ Quoted by Charbonnel, *La Pensée Ital. et le Courant Libertin*, p. 102.

⁷² Erasmus, Rabelais, Aretino, Machiavelli, Bruno, Hobbes were among others similarly honored. See Charbonnel, p. 696.

⁷³ See Patin's letter to Falconet, Dec. 2, 1650.

secretly delighted with the name of atheists, when it was thrown at them by horrified weaklings; and even a meditative philosopher like Browne allowed his doctrines of tolerance to cover a multitude of startling paradoxes. Some hardy adventurers, like Donne and Gracian, guarded their speculations from the apprehension of vulgar wits behind a veil of obscurity; while many others, like Estienne and Burton, expressed their protest against convention by an affectation of eccentricity. In fact, for every classical virtue of the Renaissance the strong wits of the seventeenth century discovered a counter-virtue of romantic individualism and violence.

Muret was temperamentally of the new school, and was among the first who displayed its virtues and vices in their conduct. To speak more exactly, he gradually discovered the temper appropriate to the new positivism as he gradually discovered its program. Enough has already been said of his eulogy of absolutism and persecution. It may be—it doubtless is—true that the famous orations on these subjects were prompted by a sudden and sincere conversion to the doctrine of authoritarianism. But the excess with which he charged his guns on this occasion was none the less symptomatic of a new violence of intellectual temper. And this was but one of many occasions on which he invited danger. Challenged to defend his championship of later Latin authors, he encouraged his pupils to study Tertullian, Apuleius, and Cassiodorus. The opposition to his teaching of Tacitus in 1580 struck from his mind—like flint on steel—a sketch of the rapid decline of freedom and public counsel in the politics of the sixteenth century. When he was charged with corrupting the purity of Latin style he retorted with an all-but-public acknowledgment of the doom that hung over the modern use of the ancient tongue.

A display of extravagance and violence of opinion may doubtless be accounted for in various ways. It may be the expression, for instance, of normal joy in the noise of combat; it may be the vehicle of a healthy sense of humor; it may be a somewhat provincial way of showing confidence and ardor in one's cause. And in one or another of these ways we can usually explain the excesses and oddities of the earlier humanists of all parties, of men like Rabelais, Erasmus, Budé, and the elder

Scaliger, for instance. Their exuberance of wit may be regarded, on the whole, as a sign of mental well-being. But their successors in the last period of the Renaissance were not conscious of mental well-being, but of the contrary, and their extravagances are the signs of an inward exasperation, an inward dis-ease, seeking an opportunity to vent itself upon some external object. To appease their own sense of maladjustment they wreak their pain upon dull intelligences that know nothing of the agues that shake the mind. The Rabelaisian humors of Henri Estienne and Robert Burton are not an overflow of high spirits, but the symptoms of an unappeasable restlessness of soul; the raillery of Lipsius and the paradoxes of Donne are the guiléd shore to a most dangerous sea of melancholy. Melancholy, in fact, was the root of the bitter wisdom of the seventeenth century; and Muret showed himself to be of the spiritual company of Montaigne, Donne, Browne, and Balzac (not to say of Pascal himself) when he voluntarily withdrew to a contemplative retreat in the midst of an active career.⁷⁴ His death within a year after he had taken this step of course suggests that his physical condition may have been the cause of it. But even though this may be true, the earlier moves by which he had gradually submitted his mind to the spiritual direction of his Jesuit friends show that he was aware of the same inward weakness that drove so many of his intellectual kindred into solitude and philosophy. The sense of strength and unity of mind which men of the high Renaissance had been able to enjoy without effort, by mere conformity with the world, or in unreflective industry, had now to be studied in the quietness of thought and a rigorous discipline of self-examination.

*in virtue
of it?*

MORRIS W. CROLL

⁷⁴ Observe the interesting characterization of him by Bernays, quoted by Dejob, p. 400, n.: "Muret was a complete virtuoso in the art of smiling; his patronizing compliments, his contempt, his frivolity, and in his later years, his melancholy also, express themselves in the smile, and conceal themselves behind it; but just because he is always smiling he never laughs."

XIII. THE NARRATIVE-TECHNIQUE OF THE *FAERIE QUEENE*

Although to the casual reader, and indeed to some serious critics, the *Faerie Queene* seems to consist only of an unsystematized accumulation of episodes bound together merely by the rich glamor of Romantic atmosphere, yet there can be no doubt that Spenser had a rather definite theory of narrative art, and that, at least along general lines, he developed his material according to a preconceived plan. He had already showed himself a literary theorist by his experiments in diction and style in the *Shepheardes Calender*; and the *Faerie Queene* itself has a certain symmetry in the arrangement of its episodes: in most of the books, a knight and a lady engage upon a quest; ✓ the knight falls into sin, usually the antithesis of the particular virtue portrayed in that book; he is saved by a sort of *deus ex machina*, usually in the person of Arthur; he is taught the virtue that corresponds to his sin; and he proceeds upon his quest and conquers. This general arrangement, occasioned partly by Spenser's moral purpose, partly by the romance material that he used, is decidedly apparent in Books I, II, and VI: indeed, in the *Prologue* to the *Legend of Sir Calidore*, he implies a sort of apology for straying from it so widely in the intervening books, and suggests that he has done so for the sake of the "sweet variety" of the inserted episodes; and finally, at the beginning of the last canto, he compares the whole poem to a ship driven hither and thither, but still keeping to her route:

Right so it fares with me in this long way
Whose course is often stayed, yet never is astray.¹

Spenser, in short, was certainly following a plan; but the mass of interpolated material has sometimes obscured it. So digressive is his method, indeed, and so incomplete the poem as we have it, that even the main facts of his scheme would be subject for debate, had he not himself, in his famous letter to Raleigh, mapped out its larger aspects.

¹ *F.Q.* VI, xii, 1.

This letter to Raleigh, commonly prefixed to modern editions of the *Faerie Queene*, is too well known to need quotation; but a brief summary of its main points, in some half-dozen propositions, may not be amiss. (1) The "generall end" of the poem is "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline"; and in this respect—not necessarily in other matters—Spenser is following what he believes to be the example of Homer, Virgil, Ariosto and Tasso. (2) This moral purpose, in order to make it "plausible and pleasing," is to be accomplished under the guise of an "historicall fiction," *i.e.* a piece of true history treated with an artistic freedom not unlike that of a modern historical novel. (3) Spenser seems to have felt that monotony was the essence of dullness; and, therefore, to hold the interest of the reader, his first aim is "variety of matter." This is to be obtained in two ways: (4) by making a different knight the hero of each book, and (5) by introducing many extended episodes "rather as accidents then intendments." (6) Spenser, moreover, proposes not to follow a chronological order, like an "historiographer," but to "thrust into the midst, even where it most concerneth him," and to suggest earlier events as opportunity arises: the antecedent action as a whole will not be told until the last book where the "annuall feaste" of the Faerie Queen is shown, and the twelve knights starting out upon their quests.² Spenser, in short, although his basic purpose is didactic (1) "to fashion a gentleman," and perhaps (2) incidentally historical, makes his chief concern a purely artistic problem (3, 4, 5), to lend his poem interest by the variety of the matter he treats and (6) by the ordering of that matter according to his peculiar conception of thrusting "into the midst."

² See also *F. Q.* II, iii, 40 *et seq.* The existence of twelve knights has troubled some critics, for, if the last book were given over to the adventures of the twelfth knight, space would seemingly be lacking for the narration of the antecedent action. Very possibly, however, Spenser would have made room for this material in the last two or three cantos of the final book. He would, perhaps, have brought the twelve knights together at the end of a year of adventures at a second annual feast, and there have narrated in retrospect the events that took place at the first one. In any event, this study is concerned rather with the sources of Spenser's plan, as far as we know it, than with guesses as to his probable method of completion.

Although critics have debated the justice of Spenser's plan—some blaming it for lack of unity, some defending it on the Romantic principle that the part is more important than the whole—yet none have analyzed his technique methodically or sought, in more than a casual way, for the origin of his conception of narrative. The neo-Classicists commonly judged the *Faerie Queene* as an "Heroic Poem," and most of them were at one with Dryden in censuring the disunity of the complete conception and the disjunction in the arrangement of parts. Dryden had compared Spenser to Virgil;³ and, from his day to ours, the *in medias res* of the classical epic has, from time to time, been suggested as one element of Spenser's plan.⁴ In the generation following Dryden, a different theory arose, that Spenser owed his narrative-method to Ariosto; and the mention of Ariosto by Spenser and by Harvey in connection with the poem, has doubtless lent support to this opinion. Hughes seems to have been the first to give it general currency,⁵ and it has been more or less accepted by Warton,⁶ Hazlitt,⁷ Masterman,⁸ de Vere⁹ and Dodge.¹⁰ The vulgate doctrine of the present day appears to be a combination of these two views, to the effect that the *Faerie Queene* is in the main modeled upon Ariosto, but begins *in medias res*.

That Spenser is telling his story in an order that is not chronological is evident; but, even so, the method is not the same as that of the *Odyssey* or the *Æneid*; nor could it well have been derived from an immediate imitation of them. In Spenser, the antecedent action is to form the climax at the end of the poem; in the classical epic, it forms an extended

³ H. E. Cory, *Critics of Spenser*, Berkeley, Cal., 1911, p. 115 *et seq.*

⁴ E.g., Upton, ed. *Faerie Queene*, London, 1758, I. xx *et seq.*, Hurd, *On Chivalry and Romance*, Letter VII; Aikin, ed. Spenser, London, 1802, I, xxviii, *et seq.*; Dodge, ed. Spenser, Boston, 1908, p. 132.

⁵ Hughes, ed. Spenser, London, 1715, I. lxi *et seq.* Spenser mentions Ariosto in the passage already noted in the letter to Raleigh, and in writing to Harvey he had evidently expressed a desire to "overgo" Ariosto—if we may judge from Harvey's reply.

⁶ Warton, *Observations*, London, 1754, p. 10 *et seq.* and 157-8.

⁷ Hazlitt, Lecture II, *On Chaucer and Spenser*.

⁸ Masterman, ed. Spenser, London, 1845, I, xxvii,

⁹ De Vere, *Spenser's Works*, ed. Grosart, I. 293 *et seq.*

¹⁰ Dodge, ed. Spenser, p. 132.

episode, narrated by one of the characters, in the middle. Milton appreciated this arrangement and imitated it in *Paradise Lost*; and any poet modeling his work directly on the classics could not fail to observe so obvious a matter of construction. Spenser's perversion might, however, have arisen from the biassed or inept version of the principle set forth by some critic of reputed authority; but a search of the classical sources to which he would have been likely to go, yields no very positive results. Aristotle does not discuss *in medias res*; and, moreover, the *Poetics* was not yet widely read in England when Spenser was planning his poem.¹¹ Horace, of course, instructs the poet not to begin *ab ovo*; and his hexameters were very popular in the sixteenth century: the *Epistles* seem to have been used as text-books in the schools;¹² in 1567, Thomas Drant published a translation of the *Ad Pisones*; and subsequent Elizabethan criticism is full of references to it and quotations.¹³ The only difficulty with this as the source of Spenser's conception is that Horace's words furnish no clue to the peculiarities of Spenser's use. The *Symposium* on Virgil by Macrobius and the *Commentum* of Bernard Silvestris, moreover, although they were not unknown to the Renaissance, help us no more than Horace.

Other classical sources are equally disappointing: Ovid merely collects his tales into a volume of *Metamorphoses* or of *Heroides*; there is little or nothing of frame-work to bind them together, and in no sense are poems built as a whole upon the theory of *in medias res*. The mere fact that the *Faerie Queene* and Ovid are both collections of tales, means nothing, for the telling of stories in sequence or the arrangement of them in a frame, is as old as history, and was particularly common in the Middle Ages and in the early Renaissance: witness the innumerable analogues and "sources" for the scheme of the *Canterbury Tales*. The *Æthiopica* of Heliodorus might be suggested as a possible prototype. It was recommended by Scaliger as a model for the epic poet; it was undoubtedly popular among learned Elizabethans, and indeed, gave its

¹¹ Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, Oxford, 1904, I, lxxiii.

¹² *Shakespeare's England*, Oxford, 1916, I, 235.

¹³ Smith *op. cit.* I, lxxv, 29, 71, 74, 117, 198, 230, 250.

structure to an early form of Sidney's *Arcadia*,¹⁴ but, although its beginning "thrusteth into the midst" of the matter, it soon tells the antecedent action, as does the classical epic; and Sidney, in imitating it, informs the reader of the previous events in the eclogues prefixed to his first two books. In short, the present investigation goes to show that there was little or no direct influence of the classics upon Spenser's narrative-technique.

Spenser's knowledge of mediæval literature, especially the romances, has long been unquestioned. Warton pointed out the influence of Malory; and more recent scholars have shown the probability of his having borrowed from *Huon of Bordeaux*,¹⁵ *Amis and Amiloun*,¹⁶ *Lybeaus Disconus*,¹⁷ and two of the Old French Grail poems.¹⁸ Of mediæval influence on Spenser's narrative-theory, however, practically nothing has been written, except Warton's suggestion that the twelve knights setting out from a single place, each to perform a separate adventure is paralleled in the *Seven Champions of Christendom*,¹⁹ and Gilfillan's inference that the feast of twelve days with the narration of twelve adventures, was borrowed from just such a feast held at the court of Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1453:²⁰ the idea for this situation might, however, have come just as well from Malory or from *Lybeaus Disconus*.

In spite of the neglect that it has generally received from scholars, mediæval influence upon Spenser's narrative promises to be a matter of some significance; for the general scheme of the *Faerie Queene* would seem to fit into the evolution of the romance-cycles rather more fully than the statement of Warton would imply. The *geste* of Arthur or of Charlemagne was apparently made in the first place from a combination of

¹⁴ Scaliger's *Poetics*, Book III, Sec. 96. See also S. L. Wolff, *Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, New York, 1912, 343 *et seq.* On the structure of *Æthiopica*, see C. W. Keyes in *St. in Ph.*, XIX, 42.

¹⁵ Fletcher in *Jour. of Germ. Ph.*, II, 203 *et seq.* and Keightley, *Fairy Mythology*, London, 1860, p. 53 *et seq.* On the wide popularity of the romances during this period, see, for example, Crane in *P. M. L. A.*, XXX, 125 *et seq.*

¹⁶ Ayres in *M. L. N.* XXIII, 177 *et seq.*

¹⁷ Broadus in *M. L. N.* XVIII, 202 *et seq.*

¹⁸ Hall in *P. M. L. A.* XXVIII, 539 *et seq.*

¹⁹ Warton, *Observations*, London, 1754, (14) *et seq.*

²⁰ Gilfillan, ed. Spenser, Edinburgh, 1859, I. vi.

ballads and tales. These *gestes* soon became widely known. As the novelty wore off, they were elaborated with episodes and digressions; and, since they were read or declaimed piecemeal during the leisure hours of the nobility, they lent themselves especially well to a loose, episodic structure. New figures had to be developed to express new marvels: the Charlemagne story had always stressed the nobles rather than the king; and the rise of the feudal lords to great power and prominence towards the close of the twelfth century, gave the poet a special reason for choosing a count or a baronet, Sir Orfeo, Sir Launcelot, Sir Bevis, for his hero, rather than the king or emperor. Thus a popular *geste* grew into a whole cycle of romances; and, at the dawn of the Renaissance, these cycles were collected into prose recensions and anthologies, and became staple reading for all classes of society. Arthur, meanwhile, had passed into the dignified obscurity that envelops him in most of the books of Malory; and Charlemagne, likewise, became a piece of background rather than a significant character, finally degenerating into a feeble old dotard with his "barbe fleuri." An analogous evolution is evidenced in the Robin Hood story: although it developed too late to be turned into a true romance, the ballads, as time went on, paid rather less attention to Robin, and tend to center more and more about the Friar or Little John.

It is this final period of the disintegration of the romances, the period nearest and most evident, to Spenser's own day, that may well have influenced the *Faerie Queene*. Much of the material that went to the making of the poem, Malory supplied in just this form: loosely connected books that, as they commonly derive their substance from separate poems, commonly exalt different heroes to the place of prominence; and, obviously, it is quite natural that, in composing a new group of Arthurian poems, with a "fairie" background borrowed from *Huon*, and a political and moral allegory suggested by the stirring events and the Puritan temper of his time, Spenser should have cast his new stories in the disjointed, cyclic mould in which he had found a large share of his narrative material. Such an explanation, however, although it helps to account for some elements in his scheme, is not by any means complete and sufficient. Spenser, to be sure, has developed his several

knights at the expense of Arthur; but the romances have nothing of his desire to fashion a gentleman, and nothing of his beginning in the "middest."²¹ These elements may, of course, be original with Spenser; but such a hypothesis is to be accepted only after an investigation of all the sources from which he might be supposed to have drawn them.

Various analogues for parts or elements of the *Faerie Queene* have been pointed out; and, indeed, there are a host of poems of greater or less length, that have one device or another in common with it: this very fact should make one all the more cautious in accepting any one of them as a significant influence. The underlying currents of the age expressed themselves religiously in the Reformation, dramatically in the morality plays, poetically in such works as Du Bartas's *Les Semaines*; and in prose there were a goodly number of courtesy books like the *Governour*, that set out "to fashion a gentleman." The moral allegory of the *Faerie Queene* may be said, therefore, to have innumerable analogues; and, because of the very number of such works, a general similarity such as this is hardly sufficient to demonstrate the direct influence of the moralities,²² of *Les Semaines*²³ or of the *Governour*. A somewhat analogous case is presented by such poems as Stephen Hawes' *Passelyme of Pleasure* and his *Example of Virtue*;²⁴ but again the similarities

²¹ In the letter to Raleigh, Spenser contrasts the poet who begins *in medias res* and the "historiographer" who "discourseth of affayres orderly as they were donne." A comparison of the poet and the historian appears in Aristotle, in Boccaccio's *De Genealogia* (Book XV), and in various other Renaissance authors who seem to have followed him (Smith *op. cit.*, I, lxxix); but, as far as I have learned, Spenser is unique in making the opening *in medias res* the cardinal point of contrast. Possibly by "historiographer," he meant Malory—who has on occasion been so called (Miss D'Evelyn in *J. E. G. Ph.*, XIV, 76, quoting Chester). If this be true, Spenser, in the letter, is simply pointing out an essential difference between his treatment of Arthur and the treatment in one of his chief sources.

²² Delattre seems to suggest this influence in his *English Fairy Poetry*, London, 1912, p. 80 *et seq.*

²³ The textual influence of Du Bartas upon the House of Alma and perhaps upon other parts of the *Faerie Queene* has been pointed out (Upham, *French Influence in English Literature*, New York, 1918, 67, 168 *et seq.*); but the poem as a whole has little in common with the *Faerie Queene* apart from its didactic purpose and its loose structure.

²⁴ Murison suggests this in the *Camb. Hist.*, II, 265 *et seq.*

are common to a large body of contemporary literature. Hawes does, to be sure, express a moral allegory under the guise of a chivalric romance; but he has nothing of Spenser's distinctive structure.²⁵

Beyond a doubt, however, the contemporary influences that have chiefly engaged the attention of scholars are those of Tasso and Ariosto, especially the *Orlando Furioso*. The arguments in favor of this poem as a source for Spenser's narrative-plan, are not without their cogency.²⁶ Spenser's verbal borrowings prove that he read and re-read it; in his letter to Raleigh, he cited Ariosto, along with Homer, Virgil, and Tasso, as authority for making the hero of "an historicall" poem the type of exemplary virtue;²⁷ and, apparently in a letter to Harvey, he expressed a desire that the *Faerie Queene* "emulate" and "overgo" Ariosto.²⁸ This array of evidence would be entirely convincing, were it not that the plans of the two poems actually present a number of striking differences. Ariosto manages his several plots simultaneously, changing from one to another, and leaping across Asia, Europe, and Africa in a fashion that is at once the amazement and the consternation of the methodical reader. There is, indeed, a goodly share of this in Books III, IV, and V of the *Faerie Queene*, where Spenser, doubtless under the influence of the *Orlando*,²⁹ has "intermedled" several plots so completely that one can hardly tell what are subsidiary and what is the primary story. The basic scheme of the poem, however, as set forth in the letter to Raleigh, and as carried out in the first two books, consists of an arrangement of plots, not simultaneous, but in series: the twelve adventures are to be told one after another in twelve separate books. Ariosto has nothing of this. Such a

²⁵ See Manly in *Ency. Brit.* 11th ed., IX, 612, for a discussion of this influence.

²⁶ I find these arguments most fully set forth by Dodge in *P. M. L. A.* XII, 151 *et seq.*

²⁷ Although no modern critic would for a moment credit Ariosto with a serious moral purpose, yet the literary theorists of the mid-sixteenth century, in order to square the *Orlando* with their own ideals, read a complicated moral allegory into almost every part of the poem. Spenser was doubtless following this generally accepted doctrine—as indeed, did Harrington, as the notes to his translation attest.

²⁸ *Works of Harvey*, ed. Grosart, 1884, I, 94-5.

²⁹ Dodge has pointed this out, *P. M. L. A.* XII, 192 *et seq.*

fundamental difference occasions other differences almost equally important: Ariosto has no unifying figures that occupy positions in the narrative similar to Arthur and to Gloriana; and, because his poem is really a sequel to Boiardo, he has no problem of introducing action antecedent to an opening *in medias res*. Such facts as these lead one to think that Spenser, when he proposed to "emulate" and to "overgo" Ariosto, meant merely that he wished to rival and excell, not that he planned to imitate him³⁰—at least not as far as the general design of his narrative was concerned.

Of the influence of Tasso, little need be said. The *Jerusalem Delivered* was published too late seriously to have affected Spenser's plan; and the arrangement of the two poems has little in common. Tasso's youthful performance, furthermore, the *Rinaldo*, which Spenser mentions to Raleigh, shows, in spite of its having something of a moral allegory, no very striking resemblances to the narrative-technique of the *Faerie Queene*.

Spenser's plan, in short, does not seem to have been borrowed from any previous poem; at the same time, his theory is rather conscious, and bears every impress of having been worked out beforehand: indeed, it reads better as a theory than it worked in actual practice. This leads one to ask whether its origin may not have been purely theoretical, not the epics of Homer and Virgil or the romances of Ariosto, but elements from all of these, vaguely commingled, perhaps actually confused and misstated, in the writings of some critic or group of critics from whom he borrowed. Spenser was a man of academic training and scholarly inclination: surely such a person would at least have consulted the accepted opinion of his age before setting out upon his masterpiece. The letter of Harvey's already referred to, shows that by 1580 at least some vague outline of the poem existed in his mind. At that time Elizabethan criticism had hardly come into being. The Italians were the arbiters of the elegant, a fact easily demonstrated by the large consumption of Italian books in England, and by the frequent quotation of Italian critics.³¹ It seems, therefore,

³⁰ Cory has already suggested this, *Edmund Spenser*, Berkeley, 1917, p. 53.

³¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, I, lxxviii, etc. See also Mary Augusta Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, Boston, 1916.

quite natural that Spenser should have consulted this body of theory; the next question is whether there are sufficient similarities to show that he actually did so.³²

The didactic purpose of the epic, the first element of Spenser's theory, was very widely accepted in Renaissance Italy.³³ Such critics as Daniello, Trissino, Robortelli, Capriano, and Scaliger stressed this function almost to the exclusion of æsthetic pleasure; and a number of other critics, including Giraldis and apparently Minturno,³⁴ probably under the influence of Horace, united the two ideals, and declared that the business of poetry was equally to teach and to delight. The teaching, one gathers, was to be expressed in the exemplary character of the chief figures, the "nobilissimi Heroi discritti";³⁵ and the delight, in the management of the story. This theory that the hero is to furnish us with a lofty example while the movement and variety of the plot holds our interest, plainly lies behind the letter to Raleigh, the earlier part of which, it will be remembered, discusses Arthur and the twelve knights as illustrations of Aristotle's virtues, and the latter part of which takes up the methods by which the narrative is to gain "variety."

The second important canon of Spenserian theory declares that the epic should be an "historicall fiction," that the story must have at least a foundation of fact, upon which may be erected a mass of more or less fictitious episode. This theory also is common among the Italian critics of the period. Beginning with Pigna in 1554, and developing with Minturno, Scaliger, Trissino, and Castelvetro, arose the liberation of the artist from the shackles of supposed historical accuracy; and, although Castelvetro still argued plainly for a basis of fact, embellishment by the end of the third quarter of the century, was very freely allowed. Spenser's choice of Arthurian material agreed perfectly with this requirement; for the Elizabethan

³² Dodge has summarized the progress of epic criticism in Italy during the mid-sixteenth century (*P. M. L. A.* XII, 157 *et seq.*); and, at one point (p. 163) he suggests that the critics of Ariosto were a strong influence; but he seems to feel that Ariosto's example was the more important matter; and he does not show what specific theories Spenser took from the critics.

³³ R. C. Williams has made a very convenient summary, *Rom. Rev.* XII. 3 *et seq.*

³⁴ Minturno, *L'Arte Poetica*, Venice, 1564, p. 17.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 5; and Williams, *Rom. Rev.*, XII. 12.

authorities, Caxton,³⁶ Holinshed,³⁷ and Camden,³⁸ all agreed that the story of Arthur, as told for example by Malory, was, in its main features at least, sober history. Spenser accepted the Arthurian material; and, just as the mediæval romancers had embroidered the period of Arthur's maturity with a cycle of romances, he proposed, in like manner, to embellish Arthur's youth with a group of stories, the characters of which would illustrate his moral, and the events of which, his political allegory. Suggestions for both characters and events, he has borrowed from the widest miscellany of sources; and, although Minturno³⁹ excludes the *romanzi* from the category of the epic because they depart too far from fact, yet Spenser, although he borrowed much of his material from old romance and stretched the fictitious to the very bounds of credulity, may well have felt that he was composing, according to the canons of Italian criticism, an essentially epic poem.

The latter half of the letter to Raleigh is taken up with purely æsthetic concerns, especially with the problem of getting "variety of matter." To attain this variety, Spenser puts a severe strain upon the unity of his poem: he gives each book a separate hero with a separate story; and with these, he interweaves other more or less unconnected tales. The former of these devices may go back to the *Morte D'Arthur*, and the latter to Ariosto; but it is also true that ample authority for both of them is to be found in the Italian critics of the period; for the tremendous popularity of Ariosto forced them so to modify the rigor of classic rule as to include the *Orlando*, with its rambling construction, if not as a Homeric epic, at least as a great poem and an entirely acceptable type of poetic narrative. Thus a loose structure of almost any type was permitted or even advocated; and Aristotle's allowance of episodic material was stretched to the limit. Scaliger, for instance, held the view that several plots ("fabulæ"), each developed in a separate book or canto, form, in this combination, a complete epic. Trissino

³⁶ Caxton in the Preface to Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*.

³⁷ Holinshed, *Hist. of Eng.*, Book V, Ch. xii, etc.

³⁸ Camden, *Britannia*, London, 1789, I. 59 etc.

³⁹ Williams in the *Rom. Rev.* XII, 15 *et seq.* Spenser in two other matters, although he does not mention them in the letter to Raleigh, has complied with the teaching of the Italian critics: he has made his chief subject deeds of arms; and he has kept "low" persons in the background.

claimed epic unity for the *Decamerone* because (as in the *Faerie Queene*) all the stories are related to a basic situation and are consequently placed in a single frame.⁴⁰ Giraldo Cinthio, moreover, in defending the *romanzi*, declared that they treated of "one or more illustrious actions of one or more excellent men"; he found tolerance, if not sanction for such a scheme in Aristotle; and, like Spenser, commended it for the opportunity that it gave for episodic digression.⁴¹ These digressions, which constitute Spenser's other means of obtaining variety, are commonly allowed by the critics: indeed, they are spoken of as the primary means by which a simple plot, such as one finds in tragedy, is to be inflated to epic proportions; and, in Castelvetro, it would even appear that episodes and sub-plots are so freely allowed—or at all events, his use of these terms is so confusing—that Spenser might well have gotten from him the recipe by which he wove together, into an almost inextricable tangle, the stories of the third, fourth, and fifth books of the *Faerie Queene*.⁴²

Spenser, however, was interested not only in the problem of unity but also in the arrangement of his material. If one sets out to tell a series of narratives, bound together in a frame-work, the question at once arises in what part of the poem the frame is to be introduced. The obvious answer would seem to be at the beginning, at the end, and perhaps here and there along the way. In the *Faerie Queene*, however, Spenser has followed the unusual plan of commencing at once with his separate tales without showing their common basis, thus omitting a quantity of highly important antecedent action, which, according to his letter to Raleigh, he did not plan fully to disclose until the very end of the poem, a procedure unprecedented among classical epics. In Italian criticism there appears rather less authority for this than for Spenser's other *dicta*; but at least something of it is to be found. Vida suggests that the antecedent action of the *Iliad*, the battles of the Trojan Wars, appears in the poem, quite properly, "potius prope finem"; and Minturno declares unequivocally that an epic

⁴⁰ R. C. Williams, *The Theory of the Heroic Epic in Italian Criticism of the Sixteenth Century*, Johns Hopkins U. diss., 1917. pp. 13-14.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 8 *et seq.*

⁴² *Ibid.* pp. 15-16.

ought to begin with the "last things"—a statement that might be taken to imply its converse, that the poem should end with the first.⁴³ Once having determined not to describe the annual feast of Gloriana at the beginning of his poem, Spenser may have felt that there would be no very good chance to tell of it until the end. Vida, moreover, and other of the critics, stress the importance of suspense; and perhaps Scaliger's statement that the principal theme should not be placed first in the narrative, but that the reader should be kept waiting and so be held captive, may have supplied Spenser with the authority for his plan.⁴⁴

Spenser, in short, looked upon narrative poetry through the eyes of the accepted authorities of his age. In like fashion, he seems to have depended upon Ronsard for the theory of diction that lay behind the *Shepherd's Calendar*,⁴⁵ and perhaps upon Minturno for the theory of poetry that underlies the *October Eclogue*.⁴⁶ In like fashion, the seventeenth century critics and poets came to accept more and more as a matter of course Castelvetro's three "Aristotelian" unities and the other "Rules" that were supposed to represent "Nature methodized." A certain deference to the authority of the latter-day Humanists was indeed characteristic, not merely of neo-Classical poets, but also of the more scholarly among the Elizabethans: it is not insignificant that Ben Jonson's *Timber* is full of quotations

⁴³ Vida, *De Arte Poetica*, II, lines 78-79. Minturno, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39. Spenser's curious differentiation of the poet and the "historiographer" on the ground that the former begins *in medias res*, may possibly have been drawn from a rapid reading of the passage in Minturno that follows, and a misinterpretation of his "come sono avvenute" to mean "in chronological order."

⁴⁴ Vida, *op. cit.*, II. 98 *et seq.* and Scaliger, *Poetics*, Book III, Sec. 96. The discussions of *in medias res* by this group of critics seem to me to be written in a peculiarly crabbed and ambiguous fashion; and it is hard to tell just what Spenser may have gotten out of them.

⁴⁵ See Fletcher in *Jour. Germ. Phil.*, II. 429 *et seq.* Ronsard borrowed his epic theory from Minturno, Cinthio and other Renaissance critics. See Williams in *M. L. N.* XXXV, 161 *et seq.*

⁴⁶ Fletcher in the *Eng. Grad. Record*, Col. Univ., 1905, pp. 70-71. One is tempted to say that Spenser based his letter to Raleigh almost purely on one authority, possibly Minturno; but his method of dealing with the chronicles and similar learned sources suggests that he rather consulted several and made a *cento* of their teachings.

from the Italian critics; and Spenser had in common with Jonson an essentially scholarly cast of mind.

The form of the *Faerie Queene* was, I believe, very largely dictated by the Italian criticism of the forty years preceding; but the content on the whole, had no such source. Oddly enough, Spenser found, in Malory and elsewhere, a body of material, or at all events a literary tradition, that fitted rather nicely with the theories of the Italians. Whether the form first came into his mind or the content, is a difficult question, and one that is further complicated by the fact that the episodic character of the poem may have been brought about by his insertion in it of earlier productions.⁴⁷ Spenser's early interests, as expressed in the *Shepheardes Calender*, rather suggest that the form and the choice of content developed simultaneously; for, even at that time, he seems to have been well read both in mediæval literature and in Renaissance critical theory. When he first pitched upon Arthur as the super-hero of his poem, it is unfortunately impossible to say. There is a passage in Camden that I should like to think definitive on this point: "The subject [of King Arthur] was certainly worthy the genius of some learned man, who by celebrating such a prince would have immortalized his own fame. It seems to have been the greatest misfortune of this gallant defender of the British empire that he could find no panegyrist of his virtues."⁴⁸ The passage fits Spenser's treatment of Arthur as an example of Aristotle's twelve moral virtues; but unhappily there seems to have been no edition of the *Britannia* before 1586; and the Harvey letters of 1579-80 suggest that the plan of the *Faerie Queene* had, at that time, been blocked out, at least in its larger aspects. Camden, to be sure, started work on his history about 1570; and it is possible that the manuscript of the early part of the work, containing this passage, came to Spenser's eye before 1579, perhaps through Sidney who was a mutual friend. But this is all the merest hypothesis; and it is equally possible that Camden, hearing of Spenser's projected poem, wrote this passage as a compliment to the poet—or perhaps the whole thing is pure coincidence. In the absence, therefore, of any certain knowledge of the steps by which Spenser's conception of the *Faerie Queene*

⁴⁷ See Helen E. Sandison, *P. M. L. A.*, XXV, 150.

⁴⁸ Camden, *Britannia*, London, 1789, I. 59.

came into being, it is impossible to speak with any finality regarding the source of those details of his plan that might have come either from the Italian critics or from the romances; but the significant fact remains that every major element of his narrative-technique as outlined in the letter to Raleigh, Spenser could have drawn from the preceding generation of Italian literary theorists, and that their opinions are on the whole nearer to his actual practice and to his general statements than either the classical epics or classical criticism or the *Orlando* of Ariosto.

JOHN W. DRAPER

XIV. ESSAYS ERRONEOUSLY ATTRIBUTED TO GOLDSMITH

In the 1801 edition of Goldsmith's *Miscellaneous Works* were collected for the first time seven essays republished from the *British Magazine* (July 1761–January 1763) where they appeared under the general heading, "On the Study of the Belles Lettres." Grouped under this title these essays have been included in all subsequent editions of Goldsmith's *Works* and, so far as I know, only one editor—Peter Cunningham, whose opinion will be discussed presently—has decided against their authenticity.¹

In many editions of the *Works* the essays were included under the heading, "Essays, originally published in the year 1765," thus implying that they were among those republished by Goldsmith in his lifetime. Prior, however, omitted this general heading and prefixed to the collection a note explaining that to the essays republished by Goldsmith others had been added; among them the *Belles Lettres* series known to Bishop Percy and Mr. Malone and included in the edition of 1801. J. W. M. Gibbs, the most careful of Goldsmith's editors, separates into different divisions the essays of 1765 and the later collection, giving to the *Belles Lettres* group the following subsidiary titles: I. Upon Taste, II. On the Cultivation of Taste, III. The Origin of Poetry, IV. Poetry, as Distinguished from Other Writing, V. On Metaphors, VI. On Hyperbole, VII. On Versification. In a footnote he quotes Cunningham's view of the *Belles Lettres* essays and in an appendix states briefly the case on both sides, inclining towards Goldsmith's authorship, but finally suggesting that "Goldsmith wrote the first essay only, though perhaps he had also some hand in the succeeding essays."

The question of Goldsmith's authorship is important. In the first place these essays fill sixty-two pages of the Gibbs edition, exactly the length of the *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning* as it now stands, and twice the length of the *History of Our Own Language* as it first appeared in the *British*

¹ *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, New York 1854, III. 260.

Magazine. Again, these essays are better known than most of Goldsmith's critical work, and are quoted to illustrate his attitude towards literature. For example, in Cowl's volume of specimens of English criticism two of the five quotations over Goldsmith's name are from the essay *Upon Taste*;² and, what is more important, Forster's objection to a "heresy" in the essay on *Metaphors* has doubtless prejudiced many readers against Goldsmith's views, because Forster's *Biography* is much more widely known than Goldsmith's criticism. Most important of all, these essays represent a definite theory and method which cannot be reconciled with the criticism in the *Enquiry*, the reviews, and Goldsmith's other essays. Accordingly, if they are proved to be by another writer, it is clear that an injustice has been done to the reputation of Goldsmith by all of the editors who have included the series in his works. I propose to consider in turn the arguments which have been advanced on either side, and to add to these certain further considerations.

THE EVIDENCE CITED BY GIBBS

The 1801 edition of Goldsmith's *Works*, in which, as we have seen, the *Belles Lettres* essays were included, has generally been regarded as an edition planned and superintended in detail by his intimate friend and literary executor, Bishop Percy. Gibbs, however, recognizes that the Bishop was not responsible for the selections for this edition and he briefly cites a reference to Percy's correspondence which proves his statement. Nevertheless, he does not make clear the real situation between Percy and the publishers which existed at the time the edition of the *Miscellaneous Works* was in preparation. This edition appeared after years of negotiation and dispute between Goldsmith's friend and the publishers—the Bishop seeking to make an arrangement to the advantage of Goldsmith's needy relatives in Ireland, the publishers considering only their personal profit. As a result Bishop Percy had been forced before the volumes appeared to withdraw his authority and assistance, and when he opened the books he was surprised at the insertions. The Bishop's letter to Nicholas, the printer,

² R. P. Cowl. *Theory of Poetry in England*. (London 1914) pp. 45-46 and 75-76.

under date of May 19, 1802, makes this situation perfectly clear:

I have just seen the new edition of Goldsmith's *Miscellaneous Works* in four volumes octavo, the press-work of which does honour to your printing-office, and, as I conceive, to my kinsman, your son, who I presume superintended it; but the proprietors would have done well to have consulted me in the selection and arrangement, for they have omitted one of the very best productions of Goldsmith . . . his Introduction to Brooke's *Natural History* . . . This is what they got by quarrelling with me for only supplicating a little assistance in advance to Goldsmith's poor niece, who was starving, for I would have given them every advice and direction gratis; but they carried their ill-humor so far as to refuse to let me see and make corrections in the MS *Life of Goldsmith* which had been compiled under my direction [known as the "Percy Memoir"]. They have also omitted noticing, that the Epilogue, now first printed in vol. II, p. 82, is given from a MS. in Dr. Goldsmith's own handwriting, which he had given to me as well as the other, which they have noticed in the note p. 88. I have only just looked into vols. II and IV, and immediately stumbled upon these defects; I fear I shall find others.³

This, I think, is sufficient proof that whoever was responsible for the collection of these essays it was not Bishop Percy.

In seeking to find confirmation for the theory of Goldsmith's authorship, Gibbs points to the fact that the essays appeared in the *British Magazine* month by month from July 1761 to January 1763 with the exception of the months of July, August, October, and December 1762, and that during three of these months (though not in December) Goldsmith was in Bath, so that his holiday would explain the break in the series. This, however, may have been a mere coincidence. Also it might easily be possible to show that other writers than Goldsmith were missing from London during these months.

The other arguments for Goldsmith's authorship are based entirely upon internal evidence, and these must be considered in some detail.

1. Gibbs lays much stress upon the use of the word "fermentation" in the following passage in the essay *Upon Taste*:

When a youth, therefore, appears dull of apprehension, and seems to derive no advantage from study and instruction, the tutor must exercise his sagacity in discovering whether the soil be absolutely barren, or sown with seed repugnant to its nature, or of such a quality as requires repeated culture and length of time to set its juices in fermentation.

³ *Illustration of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*. John Nichols (London 1831) VI, 583 f.

On the use of this word Gibbs commen's as follows:

The same word with a similar application occurs in two of Goldsmith's known works. In the *Enquiry into Polite Learning*, 1759 (chapter on Rewarding Genius in England), Goldsmith wrote:—"I forget whether the simile has been used before, but I would compare the man whose youth has been thus passed in the tranquillity of dispassionate prudence, to liquors which never ferment, and consequently continue always muddy." And in the 'Life of Bolingbroke,' 1770, we have the same idea taking the form: "This period (of Bolingbroke's youth) might have been compared to that of fermentation in liquors, which grow muddy before they brighten; but it must also be confessed that those liquors which never ferment are seldom clear." The appearance of this apparently favorite simile of Goldsmith in the 'Belles Lettres' essays, bearing a date coming between the above two instances, is certainly some evidence of Goldsmith's authorship.

These passages compared by Gibbs constitute his strongest argument for the authenticity of the Essays. But if we look further than Goldsmith's work for the use of the word *fermentation*, we find that the simile was not uncommon before the time of Goldsmith. It was used as early as 1660 by J. Gibbon⁴ who wrote of "A young man . . . in the highest fermentation of his youthful lusts." It is a natural figure. Johnson in his Dictionary cites a different application of it from Collier:

A man, by tumbling his thoughts, and forming them into expressions, gives them a new kind of *fermentation*; which works them into a finer body, and makes them much clearer than they were before.

Goldsmith's remark, "I forget whether the simile has been used before" implies a reminiscent feeling about the word. Perhaps he is vaguely aware of having himself used it in the *Memories of M. de Voltaire*. The following sentence in this biography may have been written earlier than the passage in the *Enquiry*:

These youthful follies, like the fermentation of liquors, often disturb the mind only in order to its future refinement: a life spent in phlegmatic apathy resembles those liquors which never ferment, and are consequently always muddy.⁵

⁴ Quoted from the *N. E. Did.* which cites the reference thus,—“C 1660 J. Gibbon in Spurgeon Treas. Dav. CXIX. 9. A young man, etc.”

⁵ See Gibbs Edition, London, 1901, IV. 8. Gibbs does not quote this sentence because this work was not published under Goldsmith's name by its original publishers. Its authorship, however, is quite certain. The date of its composition is not definitely known. See Editor's note, IV. 2.

All references in my footnotes are to the Edition of Gibbs.

The most striking thing about these quotations is that the three from Goldsmith express the same idea of disturbance through follies causing fermentation and in practically the same words. This form of almost exact repetition is common with Goldsmith. In the sentence from the *Belles Lettres* it is the remedy, "culture and the length of time," which causes fermentation. Here the phrasing as well as the thought is different. This adds to the evidence against Goldsmith's authorship. No phrase distinctive of his thought and style appears in these essays.

2. Gibbs considers that a passage in the essay *Upon Taste* reflects Goldsmith's well-known dislike for mathematics. In the *Enquiry* he had remarked, "Mathematics are, perhaps, too much studied at our universities. This seems a science to which the meanest intellects are equal." In the later essay after emphasizing the diversity of intellects and tests to be considered in education, the author continues:

A youth incapable of retaining one rule of grammar, or of acquiring the least knowledge of the classics, may nevertheless make great progress in mathematics—nay, he may have a strong genius for the mathematics, without being able to comprehend a demonstration of Euclid; because his mind conceives in a peculiar manner, and is so intent upon contemplating the object in one particular point of view, that it cannot perceive it in any other. We have known an instance of a boy, who, while his master complained that he had not capacity to comprehend the properties of a right-angled triangle, had actually, in private, by the power of his genius, formed a mathematical system of his own, discovered a series of curious theorems, and even applied his deductions to practical machines of surprising construction.

This appears to me a strange example to prove a contempt for the mathematical mind. I should say that it testified to a decided interest in mathematics. In any case, it is no evidence of Goldsmith's authorship for it is not characteristic of him to give prominence to this study in his remarks on education.

3. In the essay *On Poetry, as distinguished from Other Writing* there occurs this passage:

There are certain words in every language particularly adapted to the poetical expression; some from the image or idea they convey to the imagination, and some from the effect they have upon the ear. The first are truly *figurative*; and others may be called *emphatical*. Rollin observes, that Virgil has, upon many occasions, poetized (if we may be allowed the expression) a whole sentence by means of the same word, which is "*pendere*." [Examples follow from Virgil, Addison, Shakespeare and Milton.]

Gibbs compares this passage with Goldsmith's criticism of Barrett's translation of Ovid (*Critical Review*, Jan. '59). It will be seen at once that the passage in the *Belles Lettres* is just the sort of criticism that Goldsmith is ridiculing. He quotes a translation from Barrett ending,

And wives hang, list'ning on their husband's tongues.

and remarks:

Critics have expatiated, in raptures, on the delicate use the ancients have made of the verb *pendere*. Virgil's goats are described as hanging on the mountain side [the first example given in the B. L. Essay]; the eyes of a lady hang on the looks of her lover [not quoted in B. L.]. Ovid has increased the force of the metaphor, and describes the wife as hanging on the lips of her husband. Our translator has gone still farther, and described the lady as pendent from his tongue—a fine picture!

It does not appear unnatural that two critics should have read Rollin and have quoted him, one for the purpose of ridicule, the other with much seriousness; or, it would not have been strange for the same critic to have used the reference in two different moods. I give the quotations for what they are worth. I do not find in the first an indication of the man who wrote the second.

This concludes the internal evidence offered by Gibbs in support of Goldsmith's authorship of the *Belles Lettres* essays. Turning to the other side of the shield, he finds two considerations which point toward the contrary conclusion: (1) When the author of the essays quotes from a Latin poet, he adds a translation borrowed in nearly every instance from some other person, whereas it might be supposed that Goldsmith would have supplied his own translation; (2) In the essays on "Metaphors" and "Hyperbole" the author takes a decidedly unfavorable view of Shakspeare, in contrast to Goldsmith's estimate in the papers on the "History of Our Own Language" and in the essay on "The Augustan Age in England." Of these arguments the second is distinctly important and deserves to be developed in greater detail than in the few lines devoted to it by Gibbs.

In the essay *On Metaphors* the writer analyses Hamlet's soliloquy to show that it is "a heap of absurdities, whether we consider the situation, the sentiment, the argumentation, or the poetry." For six pages he discusses minutely the logic and

the phrasing of the soliloquy in a manner absolutely foreign to Goldsmith. In none of Goldsmith's reviews or critical essays does he stoop to such cavilling at imaginative words and thoughts. In the one review where he pursues anything of a detailed argument—the criticism of Burke's essay *On the Sublime and Beautiful*—he keeps his discussion in the broad field of general ideas and human examples, and, he was in all of his criticism of poetry true to his principle that "Poems like buildings, have their point of view and too near a situation gives but a partial conception of the whole." It would be futile to give an outline of this profane treatment of the soliloquy; a few passages will show the impossibility of its having been written by Goldsmith.

The argument, [of Hamlet] therefore, may be reduced to this lemma: This world abounds with *ills* which I feel; the other world abounds with *ills* the nature of which I do not know; therefore, I will rather bear those *ills* I have, 'than fly to others which I know not of:' a deduction amounting to a certainty, with respect to the only circumstance that could create a doubt, namely, whether in death he should rest from his misery; and if he was certain there were evils in the next world, as well as in this, he had no room to reason at all about the matter. What alone could justify his thinking on this subject, would have been the hope of flying from the ills of this world, without encountering any *others* in the next.

This soliloquy is not less exceptionable in the propriety of expression, than in the chain of argumentation. 'To die—to sleep—no more,' contains an ambiguity, which all the art of punctuation cannot remove; for it may signify that 'to die' is to sleep no more; or the expression 'no more', may be considered as an abrupt apostrophe in thinking, as if he meant to say 'no more of that reflection.'

'Ay, there's the rub,' is a vulgarism beneath the dignity of Hamlet's character, and the words that follow leave the sense imperfect.

In his forty and more contributions to the *Monthly and Critical Reviews* Goldsmith gives no suggestion of this type of criticism—of "propriety of expression," "abrupt apostrophes," and, least of all "vulgarisms" in speech. Of such an attitude to literature he wrote in the *Enquiry*, "The public, in general, set the whole piece in the proper point of view; the critic lays his eye close to all its minuteness, and condemns or approves in detail. And this may be the reason why so many writers at present are apt to appeal from the tribunal of criticism to that of the people."

In his one attack on Shakspeare's plays⁶ Goldsmith was moved by resentment toward what he considered an insincere taste in the people destructive of a contemporary drama and not conducive to an actual understanding of Shakspeare. Even in his reference to the scenes of the dramatist which he "could wish for the honour of our country, and for his honour too . . . were forgotten," he is careful to register his tribute to "this great father of our stage." Even if he could have conceived such a criticism of *Hamlet* he could not have carried it through without at least one passing word of homage to Shakspeare.

These objections apply equally to the other passage on Shakspeare, which occurs in the essay *On Hyperbole*. The critic remarks that "Extravagant hyperbole is a weed that grows in great plenty through the works of our admired Shakspeare," and quotes in illustration from the Queen Mab speech of Mercutio ending with "The collars, of the *moonshine's watery beams*." On this passage he comments as follows: "Even in describing fantastic beings there is a propriety to be observed; but surely nothing can be more revolting to common sense, than this numbering of the *moon beams* among the other implements of Queen Mab's harness, which, though extremely slender and diminutive, are nevertheless objects of the touch, and may be conceived capable of use."

It was precisely against this kind of criticism that Goldsmith constantly inveighed.

THE OBJECTIONS OF CUNNINGHAM

Cunningham, the only editor who has pronounced adversely on Goldsmith's authorship of the *Belles Lettres* essays, states his opinion in the briefest terms without discussion. These essays, he declares, "contain an appreciation of Scotch poets (Thomson, Armstrong, and Blacklock), of blank verse, and of new systems of versification very unlike the ascertained writings and known opinions of Goldsmith." It will be well to examine these objections in detail.

In the *Belles Lettres* a poem by Blacklock is quoted as "elegant and energetic" and Armstrong is praised for the "admirable

⁶ Gibbs remarks: "It must be confessed that the passage on Shakspeare in the chapter on the Stage in the 'Enquiry into Polite Learning,' a work to whose second edition Goldsmith put his name, comes somewhat near to the captiousness of the *Belles Lettres* passages" (*Appendix to the Essays*, I, 408).

efficacy" with which he has used the word *fluctuate*. The manner of these references is unlike Goldsmith, but the fact of their insertion need not argue an opinion contrary to his. Goldsmith's dislike for Armstrong and Blacklock is nowhere definitely stated; and may only be inferred from his neglect of both. Blacklock is not mentioned. Armstrong is thought by Cunningham to be one of the poets censured in the *Enquiry* for using blank verse in trivial poems.⁷ In regard to Thomson the *Belles Lettres* essayist breaks forth in an eulogy which is not in the least like Goldsmith. I shall quote the entire passage not only to show the attitude to Thomson but to illustrate the remarks I have already made on the essayist's style.

Thus in the regions of poetry, all nature, even the passions and affections of the mind, may be personified into picturesque figures for the entertainment of the reader. Ocean smiles or frowns, as the sea is calm or tempestuous, a Triton rules in every angry billow; every mountain has its Nymph; every stream its Naiad; every tree its Hamadryad; and every art its Genius. We cannot, therefore, assent to those who censure Thomson as licentious for using the following figure:

'O vale of bliss! O softly smelling hills!
On which the power of cultivation lies,
And joys to see the wonders of his toil.'

We cannot conceive a more beautiful image than that of the Genius of Agriculture, distinguished by the implements of his art, imbrowned with labour, glowing with health, crowned with a garland of foliage, flowers, and fruit, lying stretched at his ease on the brow of a gentle swelling hill, and contemplating with pleasure the happy effects of his own industry.⁸

It is not probable that Goldsmith the critic should have accorded praise of this kind to a passage from the *Seasons*⁹ however much Goldsmith the poet may have been indebted to *Liberty*. In the *Poetical Scale*¹⁰ Thomson receives a high estimate for Versification (17) and comparatively fair rating for Genius and Judgment, but safer testimony is afforded by the *English Poesy*,¹¹ in which *Palemon and Lavinia* is introduced with this comment: "Mr. Thomson, though in general a verbose and affected poet, has told this story with unusual simplicity.

⁷ III. 5-13.

⁸ I. 372-373.

⁹ The quotation is from *Summer*.

¹⁰ IV. 418.

¹¹ V. 159

It is rather given here for being much esteemed by the public than by the Editor."

Far more decisive, however, is the important difference noted by Cunningham between the *Belles Lettres* essays and the opinions expressed by Goldsmith in regard to blank verse and systems of versification. The essay *On Versification*—the last in the *Belles Lettres* series—is devoted to an exaltation of classical metres and an attack upon modern conceptions of verse. The following comparison of the views advanced in this essay with the opinions of Goldsmith tells its own story. The italics are mine. *Belles Lettres* (p. 382):

Various essays have been made in different countries to compare the characters of ancient and modern versification, and to point out the difference beyond any possibility of mistake. But they have made distinctions, where, in fact, there was no difference, and left the criterion unobserved. *They have transferred the name of rhyme to a regular repetition of the same sound at the end of the line, and set up this vile monotony as the characteristic of modern verse, in contradistinction to the feet of the ancients, which they pretend the poetry of the modern language will not admit.*

Goldsmith, *Enquiry into Polite Learning*, (III. 513):

From a desire in the critic of grafting the spirit of ancient languages upon the English, have proceeded of late several disagreeable instances of pedantry. Among the number, I think we may reckon blank verse. Nothing but the greatest sublimity of subject can render such a measure pleasing; however, we now see it used upon the most trivial occasions . . .

Those who are acquainted with writing, know that our language runs almost naturally into blank verse. The writers of our novels, romances, and all of this class, who have no notion of style, naturally hobble into *this unharmonious measure*. If rhymes, therefore, be more difficult, for that very reason I would have our poets write in rhymes . . . But *rhymes, it will be said*, are a remnant of monkish stupidity, an *innovation upon the poetry of the ancients*. They are but indifferently acquainted with antiquity who make the assertion. Rhymes are probably of older date than either the Greek or Latin spondee . . . In short, this jingle of sounds is *almost natural to mankind*: at least it is so to our language, if we may judge from many *unsuccessful attempts to throw it off*.

On Versification (*Belles Lettres* Series, pp. 383-384):

Now all the feet of the ancient poetry are still found in the versification of living languages: . . . Spenser, Shakespear Milton, Dryden, Pope, and all our poets, abound with dactyls, spondees, trochees, anapests, &c., which they use indiscriminately in all kinds of composition, whether tragic, epic, pastoral, or ode, having in this particular greatly the advantage of the ancients, who were restricted to particular kinds of feet in particular kinds of verse. *If we, then, are confined with the fetters of what is called rhyme, they were restricted to partic-*

ular species of feet; so that the advantages and disadvantages are pretty equally balanced: but indeed the *English are more free* in this particular than any other modern nation. *They not only use blank verse in tragedy and the epic, but even in lyric poetry.* Milton's translation of Horace's ode to Pyrrha is universally known and generally admired, in our opinion much above its merit. There is *an ode extant without rhyme addressed to Evening, by the late Mr. Collins, much more beautiful; and Mr. Warton, with some others, has happily succeeded in divers occasional pieces, that are free of this restraint:* but the number in all of these depends upon the syllables, and not upon the feet, which are unlimited.

Goldsmith, Dedication to *The Traveller* (II. 4):

What criticism have we not heard of late in favour of *blank verse* and *Pindaric odes*, choruses, anapests and iambics, alliterative care and happy negligence! *Every absurdity has now a champion* to defend it; and as he is generally much in the wrong, so he has always much to say; for error is ever talkative.

Goldsmith, Review of Gray's *Odes* (IV. 297):

. . . , several unsuccessful experiments seem to prove that the English cannot have Odes in blank verse.

The essay *On Versification* devotes a page to the matter of the "prejudice of education" which disposes the English to like certain meters and reject others as unsuited to the language.¹² This is surely not a case where "error is talkative." The argument is so sensible that I should like to claim it for Goldsmith if it were not absolutely incompatible with this critic's strongest prejudice, which was that a foreign metre "hurts an English ear."

The difference between the principle and method of the two critics is, I think, epitomized in the final paragraph of the essay *On Versification* and in the conclusion to one of the Chinese Letters.

On Versification (p. 385):

The pause and accent in English poetry vary occasionally, according to the meaning of the words; so that the *hemistich* does not always consist of an equal number of syllables The cadence comprehends that poetical style which animates every line, that propriety which gives strength and expression, that numerosity which renders the verse smooth, flowing, and harmonious, that significancy which marks the passions, and in many cases makes the sound an echo to the sense. The Greek and Latin languages, in being copious and ductile, are susceptible of a vast variety of cadences, which the living languages will not admit; and of these a reader of any ear will judge for himself.

¹² I. 384.

Goldsmith, *Citizen*, Letter XL (III, 154):

Several rules have been drawn up for varying the poetic measure, and critics have elaborately talked of accents and syllables; but good sense and a fine ear, which rules can never teach, are what alone can in such a case determine Changing passions, and numbers changing with those passions, make the whole secret of Western as well as Eastern poetry. In a word, the great faults of the modern professed English poets are, that they seem to want numbers which should vary with the passion, and are more employed in describing to the imagination than striking at the heart.

The quotations show that the writer of the essay *On Versification* advocates the use of blank verse and various classical metres, not only in tragedy but in other forms of verse including lyrics; he considers modern rhyme a "vile monotony," and welcomes as a sign of new freedom the appearance in English of the ode without rhyme. Goldsmith, on the contrary, resents the attempt to graft "the spirit of ancient language upon the English" and considers blank verse one of "several disagreeable instances of pedantry." He thinks this measure should be reserved for sublime subjects, and is confident that "the English cannot have Odes in blank verse." The author of the *Belles Lettres* is interested in a scientific attitude to verse: Goldsmith has faith only in a good ear and poetic emotion.

FURTHER EVIDENCE

Though Cunningham's objections, thus expanded, constitute, in my opinion, a decisive argument against the authenticity of these essays, they do not exhaust the evidence. In fact, so many discrepancies might be remarked between this criticism and Goldsmith's that only the more tangible and definite can be considered.

1. References to Aristophanes and to Sir Philip Sidney in the *Belles Lettres* essays contrast with Goldsmith's estimates. Of the former the author of the *Belles Lettres* speaks with contempt and even horror as one whose "pieces" are "replete with the most extravagant absurdities, virulent slander, impiety, impurities, and low buffoonery."¹³ Goldsmith, on the contrary, considered him the only comic writer extant that might contend with Shakespere in the *vis comica* and had characterized his

¹³ See I. 350-351. Could the author of these passages ever have written the *Reverie at the Boer's Head Tavern* and delighted in the "low" personality of Dame Quickly's ghost?

allusions as "quick" and "delicate."¹⁴ In regard to Sidney the *Belles Lettres* writer is the more favorable of the two critics. He says: "Sir Philip Sydney is said to have miscarried in his essays [of poetry]: but his miscarriage was no more than that of failing in an attempt to induce a new fashion. The failure was not owing to any defect or imperfection in the scheme, but to want of taste, to the irresolution and ignorance of the public." The *Sequel to the Poetical Balance* contains a tribute to Sidney's genius, but says of his style as a poet, "He speaks the most natural things in the world so unnaturally that (to write in his own style) nature disowns them, though they are her own genuine offspring." This accords with the reference to Sidney in the *History of Our Own Language*: "Sir Philip Sidney made the same wrong use of his excellent genius [as Bacon]; and, in his fine defense of poetry, he commits faults against the very rules he is laying down."

2. The *Belles Lettres* essays abound in classical allusions: in these sixty-two pages I count no less than forty-four. In the one hundred and seventy-three pages of Goldsmith's collected reviews there are but fourteen Latin quotations, many of them brief phrases. In the *History of Our Language* including the *Bee* essay on the *Augustan Age* there are two such allusions. The number of classical phrases in the reviews is amazingly large for Goldsmith, though it would probably be a small proportion for the average reviewer of the time.

3. The essay on *Poetry as Distinguished from Other Writing* contains a radically different point of view from Goldsmith's. For example, nothing is said of the relation between the diction of prose and of poetry, which is a favorite theme of Goldsmith's.¹⁵

4. An important piece of evidence which has been overlooked by the editors is that the author of these essays uses consistently the editorial *we*, which Goldsmith never employed except in the reviews. His prefaces, the *Enquiry*, *The Bee*, *History of Our Own Language* are all written in the first person singular. Among the attributions to Goldsmith in the Gibbs

¹⁴ It must be noted, however, that this criticism occurs in the *Sequel to the Poetical Balance* which is not definitely proved to be Goldsmith's although it bears many evidences of his thought and style.

¹⁵ For example, see the *Life of Thomas Parnell*, IV. 173.

Edition the only exception to this personal form is in the *Preface to the Poetical Dictionary* which was probably not written by Goldsmith.

In addition to these definite points of difference which these essays present to the work of Goldsmith they exhibit a marked contrast to the strictly spontaneous quality of Goldsmith's criticism. Such differences of style, however, though no less important, are not so easily subjected to analysis.

THE REAL AUTHOR OF THE BELLES LETTRES ESSAYS.

If these essays, then, were not the work of Goldsmith, it remains to inquire who was the author of them and how they ever came to be ascribed to Goldsmith. The essays have distinction; they were not "hammered out" (Goldsmith's phrase) by any raw apprentice in the magazine shop. They have the professional air, and evince some scholarship and much self-confidence. Furthermore, they are important for their definite point of view. They represent a matured theory and an elaborate form which indicate thought and also practice. I have said that at least one idea in the essays I should be glad to claim for Goldsmith if it could possibly be reconciled with his theory. It is the passage in which this thought occurs which gives the clue to the whole mystery of authorship. I shall have to quote a page and shall italicize the sentences and words to be noted particularly. The quotation is from the last essay, *On Versification*.

It is generally supposed that the genius of the English language will not admit of Greek or Latin measure; but this, we apprehend, is a mistake, owing to the prejudice of education. It is impossible that the same measure, composed of the same times, should have a good effect upon the ear in one language, and a bad effect in another. The truth is we have been accustomed from our infancy to the numbers of English poetry, and the very sound and signification of the words dispose the ear to receive them in a certain manner; so that its disappointment must be attended with a disagreeable sensation [six explanatory lines omitted]. In a word, Latin and Greek have annexed to them the ideas of the ancient measure, from which they are not easily disjoined. But we will venture to say, this difficulty might be surmounted by an effort of attention and a little practice; and in that case we should in time be as well pleased with English as with Latin hexameters.

Sir Philip Sydney is said to have miscarried in his essays; but his miscarriage was no more than that of failing in an attempt to introduce a new fashion. The failure was not owing to any defect or imperfection in the scheme, but to the want

of taste, to the irresolution and ignorance of the public. Without all doubt, the ancient measure, so different from that of modern poetry, must have appeared remarkably uncouth to people in general, who were ignorant of the classics; and *nothing but the countenance and perseverance of the learned could reconcile them to the alteration*. We have seen several late specimens of *English hexameters and sapphics, so happily composed*, that by attaching them to the idea of ancient measure, we found them in all respects as *melodious and agreeable to the ear* as the works of Virgil and Anacreon, or Horace.

This passage reduced to its main ideas gives us this outline:

- (1) English poetry will admit of Greek and Latin feet, because
- (2) a measure cannot be pleasing in one language and displeasing in another.
- (3) Such an idea is a matter of prejudice and may be overcome.
- (4) For example, we can find pleasure in Sidney's verse, and in recent specimens of English hexameters and sapphics.

These ideas are striking enough to stand out against the rather neutral background of mid-eighteenth century criticism. If once seen grouped together they are remembered. Such a reminiscence has led me to an article published in the *Critical Review* of May 1758, and here I find the germ of the essay *On Versification*. It is part of a paragraph on the order of words and the measures suitable for English verse.

Nor, do we believe it impossible to introduce the Greek and Latin measures into English poetry with success: for example, our ears are not offended at Sidney's hexameters; and we have read some English sapphics, which we thought very melodious. We imagine, the uncouthness arises from the novelty; and that the ear would be soon reconciled to the measure; otherwise, we cannot conceive how the same accents should please in one language, and be disagreeable in another. A great deal may be said on this subject.

This is, beyond a doubt, the first bare form of an idea around which, more than four years later, was to be built an elaborate essay. Of course this passage had been forgotten by readers before the *Belles Lettres* series appeared, but it had evidently been kept as a memorandum by the author, who was convinced that "a great deal may be said on this subject."

The book which occasioned this comment was *Sketches: or Essays on various Subjects*. By Launcelot Temple.¹⁶ (Pseudonym for John Armstrong). The reviewer in listing the titles of the Essays of Armstrong—among them *Genius, Taste, and English Verse*—remarks that, "These are very interesting

¹⁶ See *Critical Rev.*, V. 300.

subjects to all those who love the *Belles Lettres*." The review manifests interest throughout all its criticism, which occupies the usual proportion of about one-third of the article. One of Temple's theories to which the reviewer takes exception is his opinion of classical meters in English verse. Although Temple's passage is not quoted in the review it is easily located from the criticism. In the essay of *English Verse* he says:

But it is not only a few obscure pedants who are thus dissatisfied with their mother-tongue, and would be glad for its improvement to torture it from its native shape, some into *Latin* and others into *French*: for attempts of this nature have been made by men of superior note. *Sir Philip Sidney*, who, notwithstanding his affected manner, must be allowed to have possessed a great share of genius would every now and then spur up his gallant *English* into a most unbecoming ridiculous trot after the *Greek* and *Latin* hexameters. It is certainly impossible to introduce the *Greek* and *Latin* measures into English poetry with any success; yet *Sir Philip* was fond of this project, and pursued it with a strange obstinacy. He recommended it to *Spenser*: but *Spenser* had too true an ear to relish such awkward unnatural versification, or countenance it by his example. At least there is nothing remaining of him to show that he ever practiced it. There have been attempts made since to the same purpose by *Milton* and some later authors. But there never was anything seen so ungraceful or so despicably pedantic as all essays of that kind which have hitherto appeared.¹⁷

This expressed the view of Goldsmith, and a page farther on occurs a sentence which seems an echo of the criticism of Gray's *Odes*. Temple says, "But in *English* poetry I question whether it is possible, with any success, to write odes, epistles, elegies, pastorals, or satires, without rhyme."

These opinions of Launcelot Temple which accorded with Goldsmith's were, therefore, in the mind of the author of the *Belles Lettres* series when he was writing his essay *On Versification* and his aim was to show the fallacy of such views. It is not surprising that the *Belles Lettres* essays appear to contradict Goldsmith's opinions "elsewhere expressed."

It remains to discover the identity of the Critical Reviewer. His style suggests the best work of the *Review* before Goldsmith was identified with it. At this time (May 1758) Goldsmith had contributed one article to the *Review* (in November 1757), but he was not again employed by the magazine until his regular engagement in January 1759. He, therefore, is outside of the consideration, in case one might be tempted to prove

¹⁷ John Armstrong *Miscellanies* (1770) II, 158.

that he adopted a strange style and wrote against his own favorite theories. There is one writer, however, who fulfills all the requirements in point of dates and of literary style, and this was Smollett. In 1758 Smollett was writing for the *Critical Review*; moreover in 1761-63 he was editor of the *British Magazine*. The natural conclusion is that he was the critic of authority who wrote the review of Temple, and later expanded it in his treatise on the *Belles Lettres*. This accounts for the announcement in the preface to the volume of the *British Magazine* for 1762 that to the four articles continued through the work there had been "added a fifth on the subject of the *Belles Lettres*, which we flatter ourselves will meet with peculiar approbation." Such self-advertising to one unacquainted with Smollett's editorial methods might appear singular; but, in comparison with the articles written openly in his behalf in the *Critical Review*, this notice of an anonymous work is modesty itself.¹⁸

The ascertained work of Smollett, unlike that of Goldsmith, offers no mass of literary criticism against which as a background one may consider the various theories contained in the essays of the *British Magazine*, but among his scattered editorial comments we have at least one note which expressed the view of the *Belles Lettres* writer. Throughout the essay *On Metaphors* the author deplores the "broken, incongruous metaphors" of Hamlet's soliloquy; Smollett in disparaging the accuracy of Voltaire's translation of the soliloquy ends with, "It must be owned, however, that M. de Voltaire has avoided the confusion of metaphors which is to be found in Shakespere."¹⁹

We can only surmise how the articles written by Smollett came to be regarded as Goldsmith's. Perhaps they were found marked in some files as papers of distinction, and without further question were seized upon by the publishers of the 1801 edition. An examination of the *British Magazine* might bring to light further evidence concerning the facts of the insertion of the essays in the body of Goldsmith's work; but I do not believe we need further proof that they have no right to

¹⁸ See also the "peculiar approbation" of himself expressed in his Preface to the Continuation of his *History of England*.

¹⁹ *The Works of M. de Voltaire. Translated from the French with Notes Historical and Critical.* London. MDCCLXII. Vol. 13, p. 137.

be there, and that their removal from all association with Goldsmith's name would be a very real and definite advantage to his reputation as a critic. Whatever may be the intrinsic value of the *Belles Lettres* essays, they have introduced a discordant element into the criticism attributed to Goldsmith, which otherwise presents a valuable, because a definite and consistent, point of view.

CAROLINE F. TUPPER

XV. LESSING'S SET OF HORSES IDENTIFIED

In the article on the life of Henry Mackenzie in *Lives of Eminent Scotchmen*¹ is contained the statement that he translated, together with two or three other dramatic pieces from the German, Lessing's *Set of Horses*. A search for these translations disclosed that they appeared anonymously in 1792 under the title *Dramatic Pieces from the German*.² The little volume contains a translation of Goethe's *Die Geschwister*, Gesner's *The Conversations of a Father with his Children*, and Emdorff's *Set of Horses*. It is evident that the statement ascribing the *Set of Horses* to Lessing is inaccurate. A colleague,³ who has investigated Mackenzie's life and works, has assured me that Mackenzie frequently makes incorrect statements concerning his own writings so that it is very difficult to ascertain the actual facts concerning them.

If Goedeke⁴ could throw no light on a *Set of Horses* by Lessing, his work is equally silent regarding an eighteenth century German writer by the name of Emdorff. Morgan⁵ gives the name of the author correctly, Cornelius Hermann von Ayrenhoff (1733-1819). He does not penetrate the anonymity of the translator. In this case Mackenzie's writings furnish us with the proof that he was the translator of Ayrenhoff's *Set of Horses*.

On the twenty-first of April, 1788, Mackenzie read his *Account of the German Theatre*⁶ before the Royal Society of

¹ Chambers, Robert; *Lives of Eminent Scotchmen*, London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, 1870, III, 55.

² *Dramatic Pieces from the German*, Edinburgh, and London, 1792. Chambers gives the date of publication as 1791.

³ Thompson, Harold W.; *Henry Mackenzie: His Life and His Works*. Harvard diss. 1915.

⁴ Goedeke, Karl; *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, Dresden, 1916. Band IV, 1ste Abteilung.

⁵ Morgan, B. Q.; *Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation*. *Univ. of Wisconsin studies in language and literature*. No. 16, 1922, p. 35 and p. 626.

⁶ *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, vol. II, papers of the literary class, pp. 154-192. This society was organized in 1783; Benjamin Franklin was one of the nine original honorary foreign members.

Haubart, W. F.; *Reception of Goethe's Faust in England in the First Half of the 19th Century*, New York, 1909, pp. 9-10.

Thompson, Harold W.; *op. cit.*, pp. 90, ff.

Edinburgh. The importance of this paper in arousing the interest of British men of letters in contemporaneous German literature may be seen from Scott's *Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad*.⁷ Mackenzie acknowledges in his *Account* that what he knows of the German theatre, he learned through the imperfect medium of two French collections of translations of German dramas, the *Théâtre allemande*,⁸ a "collection of the most approved theatrical performances by Messrs Friedel and de Bonneville," and another collection by Junker and Liebault.⁹ The *Account* begins with the summary of a "preliminary discourse" which he found in Friedel and de Bonneville, in which a short review of the history of the German drama is given.

After noting that Lessing and Goethe seem to be the authors in these volumes most entitled to notice, he remarks: "There is one little piece, which every reader must applaud, even if his applause has not been anticipated by the judgment of the late King of Prussia, who pronounced it the only very good German comedy. This is the *Attelage de Poste* by Colonel Emdorff in the Imperial service." An outline of the plot follows, after which Mackenzie indulges in praise of it and its execution. It pleased him for the same reason that it had met with Frederick's approbation; it is essentially a French comedy and both men had cultivated their taste by reading French plays.

Mr. W. Dawson Johnson of the American Library in Paris discovered a copy of Friedel and de Bonneville in the Bibliothèque Nationale. According to the biographical material contained in the "preliminary discourse" of this collection,¹⁰ the *Attelage de Poste* was written by "M. Cornelius d'Ayrenhoff, Colonel du Regiment de Kollaredo, infanterie, au service de l'Empereur." Goedeke informs us that Cornelius Hermann von Ayrenhoff was born March 28, 1733, in Vienna, was educated by the Jesuits, and served in the Austrian army, retiring as

⁷ Henderson, T. F.; *Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, London and New York, 1902, IV, 23, ff.

⁸ M. Friedel et Nicolas de Bonneville; *Le Nouveau Theatre Allemande*, 12 vols., Paris, 1782-1785.

⁹ None of the book lists or catalogs accessible to me gives any title by any such translators. It is probable that this is another case of carelessness on the part of Mackenzie.

¹⁰ Mr. Dawson did not give me the page in Friedel et de Bonneville from which this is quoted.

Field Marshall in 1793 and dying in 1819. He was an opponent of the Storm and Stress and failed to see the beauty of Shakespeare's works. He passed favorable judgment on Frederick's *De la littérature allemande*. The *Attelage de Poste* was published in 1769 and entitled *Der Postzug oder die Noblen Passionen*. It seems to have been popular, for a fourth edition appeared as early as 1772, followed by a fifth in 1778.¹¹ Where Mackenzie got the name Emdorff, is a matter on which his works throw no light.

The reading which he did in preparation for the *Account* stirred Mackenzie with the desire to know something about the German drama at first hand. He began to take lessons in German. His teacher was a Dr. Okely who was apparently a student in Edinburgh. The result of these studies was the publication of the *Dramatic Pieces from the German* which included the complete translation of the *Set of Horses*.¹² In the "advertisement," or preface, Mackenzie again ascribed the authorship to Emdorff, just as he had previously done in the *Account*. He tells us a second time that the comedy was a favorite of the King of Prussia and refers us in a foot-note to his *Account*. From the fact that Mackenzie published most of his works anonymously, the reference in the preface to the *Account*, and a comparison of the plot with that of the *Attelage de Poste* in his *Account*, there can be no doubt but that Ayrenhoff was the author of this piece and Mackenzie its translator.

W. C. DECKER

¹¹ Goedeke; *op. cit.*, p. 143.

¹² Chambers, Robert; *op. cit.*, p. 55.

XVI. SCHILLER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD ENGLAND

"Of all the great German writers, Wieland's mind is the most French," remarked Henry Crabb Robinson to Madame de Staël. "I am aware of it," was her reply, "and therefore I do not think much of him. I like a German to be a German."¹ Had these two hero-worshippers become a bit better acquainted with Schiller than they were, it is easily conceivable that they might have made some such observation concerning him, substituting in the foregoing formula "English" for "French"; for, with all his characteristically German idealism, Schiller, whose "love of freedom, reverence for women, enthusiasm for the fine arts" the same Madame de Staël emphasizes, had much in common with the English temperament.

The charge has been brought against Schiller that he did not take the interest in the great contemporary social and political crises that their importance justified. Goethe, too, has appeared, in the eyes of some, singularly indifferent toward the momentous political upheavals through which he lived. That he looked on the battle of Jena only as a most distressing local disturbance which had destroyed his equanimity and might interfere seriously with his personal comfort, was due to a political aloofness that some of his countrymen even yet find it difficult to overlook—and it was just this negative trait that led the greatest Danish and the greatest Italian literary critic of the present day to plunge, in the dark days following August 1914, into a renewed study of Goethe which in both cases resulted in a most valuable book. To no German writer of the eighteenth century should we look for a full understanding and appreciation of a foreign country, since as a nation Germany was still unschooled in politics. In the case of Schiller there is the especial drawback that he left comparatively little in the way of autobiography, memoirs, and impressions. The chief direct source for a knowledge of his general outlook on the world, is his letters, and even in these there are few definite expressions of opinion on England. Nevertheless, it is safe to assert that a brief con-

¹ *Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*, Ed. T. Sadler, Boston 1870, I, 117.

sideration of his life and writings will leave us in no doubt as to what he thought of that country.

If Schiller's mind had not been receptive to English influence, he would have been far behind his time. Admiration of England was undoubtedly in the air, indeed, it frequently reached the pitch of a pronounced Anglomania. For Württemberg there was the unique bond of sympathy with England that the two countries were the only ones enjoying the privileges of a constitution, though that of the German state, to be sure, secured no high degree of freedom to its citizens. Sufficiently well known is Schiller's enthusiastic reaction to English literature and philosophy as presented to him by Professor Abel and others in the *Karlsschule*. Oskar Walzel has indicated clearly and convincingly enough Schiller's heritage from the English and Scotch philosophers of Shaftesbury's school,² though a letter from Schiller to Caroline von Beulwitz³ gives evidence that even as late as 1788 he had no first-hand knowledge of Shaftesbury. As a matter of fact, he knew him chiefly through Garve's translation and explanation of *Principles of Moral Philosophy*, by the Scotchman Adam Ferguson, who, himself, was a disciple of his countryman, Francis Hutcheson, and, consequently, transmitted only indirectly the ideas of Shaftesbury, with the main emphasis on their ethical rather than their aesthetic import. With the teachings of the Scotch philosophers everybody in the *Karlsschule* may be supposed to have had some familiarity, for these teachings were favored by Karl Eugen himself. Schiller's ideal of culture as the complete development of a significant personality under aesthetic influences, whether he was fully aware of it or not, is derived largely from Shaftesbury.

As for the influence of English literature on Schiller, it may not always have been sufficiently emphasized, for the channels of this influence were already opened wide, and Schiller's reaction to it lacks the interest which that of pioneer and discoverer holds. If, however, at the age of twenty-four, he could arrive at an accurate self-analysis, we must believe that he was "formed after English models."⁴ Soon after he expressed this conviction, we find him studying especially French literature

² *Schillers Werke*, Säkularausgabe, I, Einleitung pp. x and xv.

³ Brief an Caroline v. Beulwitz, 27. Nov. 1788.

⁴ Brief an Reinwald, 22. Juli 1883.

"in the hope of establishing a wholesome equilibrium between the extremes of English and French taste."⁶ This English influence was by no means limited to Shakespeare or even to *belles-lettres* in general. Georg Brandes has called Schiller the most historical of German poets. When it is recalled that Müller and Archenholz, along with Schiller himself, were the leading historians of Germany, it is very natural that Schiller's interests in this field should have turned him toward England; and from his letters⁶ we learn that he was an assiduous student of Robertson, Hume, and Camden, and of Gibbon, whom he esteemed highly, but whose style he did not wish to imitate.

All these writers, however, Schiller read in translations. He was not an especially proficient linguist. Of course he knew Latin. As for French, he read it with ease, but spoke it only with difficulty.⁷ Greek he knew only imperfectly, as is evinced by the tone in which he writes to Lotte and Caroline⁸ of a request from his former Greek teacher, Professor Nast, to "undertake with him a German edition of the Greek tragedians." That he was an interested student of English is evident, but it is equally clear that he never actually mastered the language,⁹ although Robinson quotes him as having said he had read Shakespeare in the original.¹⁰ In letters to both Goethe and Körner he is guarded in praising an English version of *Iphigenia* on account of his limited knowledge of the language.¹¹ Yet despite this and other intimations of his deficiency in English, he reached the conclusion, as he wrote Goethe,¹² that he would have done better, if he had based his version of *Macbeth*, from the beginning, on the original instead of on the translations of Eschenburg and Wieland.

⁶ Brief an Dalberg, 24. August 1784.

⁷ An Reinwald, 9. Dec. 1782; an R. 24(?) Feb. 1783; an Körner, 7. Jan. 1788; an K., Neujahr 1789; an Lotte, 25. Feb. 1789; an Körner, 26. März 1789.

⁸ Madame de Staël, *L'Allemagne*, p. 154; Schiller's Brief an Körner, 4. Jan. 1804, in which he speaks of the difficulty he had in conversing with Madame de Staël.

⁹ 15. Nov. 1789.

¹⁰ Cf. C. Sachs, "Schillers Beziehungen zur fr. und engl. Lit." *Archiv für das Studium neu. Spra. und Lit.* XXX.

¹¹ H. C. Robinson, *op. cit.*, I, 137.

¹² Both letters under date of Sept. 12, 1794.

¹³ 2. Feb. 1800.

It was Schiller's lot to come into contact with many admirers of England and with a number of Englishmen. By these contacts his natural predilection for the country was undoubtedly increased. His own father had visited London in 1748, and, if he shared at all the enthusiasm of his fellow-countrymen, from Baron von Pöllnitz on down to Heine and Fontane, for that metropolis, he must have fired his son's youthful imagination with its splendors. The English sympathies of the Karlsschule have already been mentioned. Toward the close of his stay there and during the first years afterwards, Schiller's enthusiasm for England must have reached its height, for that nation came to represent to him, aside from pre-eminence in intellectual culture, the embodiment of his political ideals, since it was the one country in the world where freedom reigned. At the beginning of 1783 Schiller was passing through what was perhaps the greatest crisis of his life, and among the plans now under his consideration is that of going to England,¹³ though how long he expected to stay there, or what he would do, he does not state. Some months later he is actually writing an *Abschiedsbrief*,¹⁴ but at this time his destination is America, where he looks forward to a career as a physician, a professor of philosophy, or even as a politician. At the same time he is eager to get in touch with a certain somewhat mysterious *Vetter aus England*,¹⁵ the German translator of Robertson's American History and of various English books of travel. This relative is temporarily in Swabia, and Schiller plans to meet him on the Swabian border or in Frankfurt, declaring there are a thousand reasons why he should not like to miss him. But all these projects are promptly abandoned when the young dramatist secures the position of *Theaterdichter* in Mannheim.

Shortly after this we find one specific indication that Schiller had given some thought to the British national character. He writes: "Die Engländer werfen sich mit allen Geisteskräften auf einen oft eingeschränkten Teil einer Wissenschaft oder Kunst, und werden in diesem einzig und gross."¹⁶ He recommends this method to his young friend Wilhelm von Wolzogen, warning

¹³ Brief an Henriette v. Wolzogen, 8. Jan. 1783.

¹⁴ An einen Stuttgarter Freund, 19. Juni 1783.

¹⁵ Briefe an Reinwald, 19. Juni 1783, 22. Juli 1783.

¹⁶ Brief an Wilhelm v. Wolzogen, 18. Jan. 1784.

him against the dangers of too great a diversity of interests. From Schiller's reference to this point, we may surmise that he was somewhat familiar with the vast *Englamliteratur* of his day, most of it calculated to leave the impression that England was a veritable Utopia. That the English did not dissipate their efforts over too much territory seems to have struck a number of their German visitors; for instance, J. J. Volkmann, a tourist to England in 1761, and C. A. G. Goede, who made an extensive tour of Great Britain at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In 1785 Schiller became a good friend of Archenholz,¹⁷ who is known now, if at all, as the historian of the Seven Years' War. Since Archenholz was sixteen years older than Schiller, it is natural to suppose that they were drawn together by their especial like-mindedness. One thing, of course, was their common interest in the study of history. Another, doubtless, was their admiration of England. Archenholz was the first person among Schiller's intimate acquaintances who knew the country well. He had lived there from 1769 till 1779, and in 1785 he had published the first comprehensive German work on England. This he continued some years later in twenty volumes of "British Annals," into which, as into the *Minerva*, a political journal under his editorship, some unfavorable opinions on England found their way; but until after the period of his contact with Schiller, his praise of everything British is unmitigated. Perhaps no other German would have been so likely as he to inspire in his friends a high regard for England. It is probably no coincidence that Schiller's "Unüberwindliche Flotte"¹⁸ comes from this Dresden period. While this poem on the Armada was inspired by some similar lines of Louis-Sébastien Mercier, it may unquestionably be taken as representing Schiller's attitude, especially since the German poet, in his rather extravagant eulogy of England, far outdoes his French model. Here Schiller sings to "grossherzige Britannia" and her "freigeboresnes Volk":

Wer hat das hohe Kleinod dir errungen,
das du der Länder Fürstin dich gemacht?
Hast du nicht selbst von stolzen Königen gezwungen,
der Reichsgesetze weisestes erdacht,
das grosse Blatt, das deine Könige zu Bürgern,

¹⁷ Berger, *Schiller*, I, 306; Schiller's Brief an Körner, 20. April 1786.

¹⁸ *Werke*, Stuttgart 1871, IV, 110 ff.

zu Fürsten deine Bürger macht?

.....
Wem dankst du sie—errödet, Völker dieser Erde—
Wem sonst als deinem Geist und deinem Schwerte?

And when the Spanish Fleet seemed about to overcome this stronghold of liberty, God himself intervened:

Soll, sprach er, soll mein Albion vergehen,
erlöschen meiner Helden Stamm,,
der Unterdrückung letzter Felsendamm
zusammenstürzen, die Tyrannenwehre
vernichtet sein von dieser Hemisphäre?
Nie, rief er, soll der Freiheit Paradies,
der Menschenwürde starker Schirm verschwinden!
Gott der allmächtige blies,
Und die Armada flog nach allen Winden.

Another admirer of England whom Schiller knew was the eccentric *Gymnasialrektor* Karl Philipp Moritz, who published an interesting account of his *Reise nach und in England im Jahre 1782*. Although the schoolmaster had condemned *Kabale und Liebe* as "ein Produkt, was unseren Zeiten Schande macht,"¹⁹ its author met him cordially when Götschen brought the two together, and on hearing some scenes from *Don Karlos*, Moritz embraced the poet and assured him of his undying friendship.

In 1788 Sophie von Laroche published a diary of her travels in England. As Schiller had known and admired her since the beginning of his residence in Mannheim, he may be supposed to have lent a ready ear to her praise of the land she had recently (1786) visited. It is probable, too, that both Körner and Knebel imparted some of their enthusiasm for England to Schiller.

That the Lengefeld family drew Schiller closer to England is not to be questioned. Charlotte's Anglomania continued unabated from childhood, when she gave her paper dolls the names of Richardson's heroes and heroines,²⁰ until her declining years, when her interest in Byron was stimulated by Knebel, who writes²¹ to her of his discovery of this genius through his old friend Robinson, now—in 1818—a visitor to Germany after an

¹⁹ Berger, *Schiller*, I, 381, 451.

²⁰ *Charlotte v. Schiller und ihre Freunde*, Stuttgart 1860, I, 34; *Schiller und Lotte* (Fielitz), Stuttgart 1879, Einleitung p. 4.

²¹ *Charlotte v. Schiller und ihre Freunde*, III, 396.

absence of fourteen years. In Schiller's correspondence with both Charlotte and Caroline there are innumerable references to English literature, history and philosophy, and in August 1788 he sends his future mother-in-law a *Holy Bible*, dedicated to the "Förderung der wahren Gottseligkeit—und der englischen Sprache."²² In January 1789 Schiller writes Charlotte that she is in a good way of becoming an out and out "Ossianisches Mädchen."²³ She herself expresses her feelings for England in no indefinite terms; notably in a letter to Schiller's brother-in-law Reinwald,²⁴ whose knowledge of the English language she takes as proof of his fondness for the English people. Her great love of England, she declares, is inborn, and she could almost believe that she has had a previous existence and lived in England, so familiar to her was the language when she undertook to learn it and so great is her love of the nation. Elsewhere²⁵ she voices her especial love of Scotland. It is a significant fact that thirty years later her viewpoint seems unchanged. She then declares that the two countries are more closely related than they themselves realize.²⁶

It was natural that such an ardent admirer of England should be interested in English people, and Charlotte does, in fact, seem to have cultivated all of that nationality who came to Weimar. To discuss this subject fully would take us far afield, but as her friends were, in general, Schiller's as well, it is worth while to mention some of the Britons among them. Possibly on account of the Scotch descent of her mother's family, Frau von Stein seems to have been the patroness of British visitors to Weimar. Through her, Charlotte met Captain Henry Herron, a Scotchman generally admired at the ducal court and in Jena, where, with a compatriot, Lord Inverary, he was residing in the Griesbach house, while attempting to learn German. These two young men were introduced by Knebel to Frau von Stein August 1786, in Kochberg. The following August Herron took his reluctant departure for England, bound ultimately for India, where he seems to have soon vanished without a trace. But

²² Schiller an Lotte, 2. August 1788.

²³ An Lotte, 3. Jan. 1789.

²⁴ 27. August 1790, in *Charlotte v. S. und ihre Freunde*, I, 334.

²⁵ Brief an Schiller, in *Schiller und Lotte*, I, 201.

²⁶ *Charlotte v. S. und ihre Freunde*, I, 123.

during his last six months in Germany, he and Charlotte had come to be the warmest friends and, presumably, lovers. Certain it is that Charlotte never forgot him; in 1804 she was highly gratified to obtain from Knebel, Herron's last letter, and she declared at that time that she would always honor his memory.²⁷ There is abundant proof that this friendship intensified her love for English literature and for Britain.

In 1791 a wealthy English merchant and ship-builder, Charles Gore, and his three daughters settled permanently in Weimar, having previously been there several times.²⁸ Their salon became one of the principal social centers of the little city, and Frau von Stein, her mother, Frau von Schardt, and Charlotte Schiller were among the intimate friends of the family. Emilia Gore and her father were warmly interested in Schiller's work on *Maria Stuart* and gave him valuable assistance on the sources. An earlier British friend of Charlotte was Joseph Hamilton,²⁹ the last prior of the Scotch monastery which was established 1036 in Erfurt. A visit of Charlotte to the monastery in 1788 is recorded,³⁰ and in 1791 Fritz von Stein, whose interest in England took him to that country a few years later, requests Charlotte to obtain for him, if possible, through her "good friend, Father Hamilton," a certain book in the monastery on Scotch family history. Besides the foregoing and a number of Englishmen who made brief visits to Weimar,³¹ Schiller and Lotte had a pleasant acquaintance with Charles James Mellish, Etonian and intimate friend of George Canning and Hookham Frere. It was he who translated *Maria Stuart* into English as Schiller wrote it, starting the drama on its unsuccessful career in England shortly after its appearance in Germany. He was also the first to translate *Hermann und Dorothea* into English, and he would doubtless have completed his translation of *Wallenstein*, if Coleridge had not got ahead of him. When Mellish left Weimar in 1802, Schiller purchased from him the residence now known as the *Schillerhaus*. As for Englishmen of greater distinction,

²⁷ *Charlotte von S. und ihre Freunde*, II, 141 ff.

²⁸ *Schiller und Lotte*, I, 52, footnote, and III, 154, footnote.

²⁹ *Charlotte v. S. und ihre Freunde*, II, 359.

³⁰ *Schiller und Lotte*, I, 117.

³¹ See, for example, Schiller's Brief an Cotta, 28. Nov. 1800; an Körner, 23. Sept. 1801.

Schiller seems to have met only one, Henry Crabb Robinson, and with him he did not become very well acquainted.²²

From Schiller's works, with the exception of a few poems, little light is thrown on his opinion of England. It is extremely doubtful if more than two of the numerous English personages of his creation are even supposed to be endowed consistently with national traits. These two appear in non-historical works. Schiller wrote to Reinwald May 3, 1783, that Lady Milford was becoming as interesting to him as was his "Dulzinea in Stuttgardt." Ferdinand addresses her as the "free-born daughter of the freest people under heaven" and tells her she has need to gird herself in all the pride of her native Britain. She declares her spirit would long since have rebelled against the thralldom in which she was living, could her ambition have submitted to seeing another advanced to her place. These words are not quite true to her character, for it was generosity rather than ambition that reconciled her to a life which must have been most distasteful to her noble nature. The same generosity which prompted her to sell her jewels for the relief of some destitute people whose village had been burned, made her position bearable. She reminds the prince that the happiness of his subjects was the condition of her love. Since this condition is not being fulfilled, she renounces him, enjoining him to bestow his love on his weeping country and to learn from a British princess compassion for his German people.

In the *Geisterseher* there is an Englishman, Lord Seymour, who swears profusely, and this, according to Moritz, Lichtenberg and others, is a British characteristic. But more important is the large element of common sense in his make-up. He is the rationalist whom it is impossible to deceive by the faked appearance of ghosts. The significance of this is somewhat emphasized by the fact that the characters in the story are of several different nationalities, and level-headedness is thus made to appear as the special attribute of the Englishman.

By his hopes for the favorable reception of his works in England, perhaps as much as in any other way, Schiller shows his consciousness of being in sympathy with the English temperament. It was one of the great disappointments of his life

²² H. C. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 120.

that his dramas, especially *Maria Stuart*, were so coolly received there. One of the "thousand reasons" why he wished to meet his *Vetter aus England* in 1783, was the hope that through him he might become known in Drury Lane, for he believed at this time that his works were more in keeping with the tastes of the English than of the Germans.³³ Toward the end of 1789 he writes joyfully to Lotte and Caroline ³⁴that he has read in the *Gentleman's Magazine* a very favorable review of his history of the Netherlands. "In England," he says, "I have long wished to be known, and perhaps a translation of my history will follow this notice." For a year or two about the close of the century, Schiller's efforts seem to be directed very nearly as much toward the English as the German public. In June 1799 he writes Goethe hopefully of his prospects in England.³⁵ He is actively interested in an English translation of *Don Carlos* which is being made by G. H. Nöhden, and in plans of both Nöhden and Mellish to translate *Wallenstein*. He himself, as *Maria Stuart* approaches completion, is working on his translation of *Macbeth* and is planning—inspired in part, perhaps, by his prospects of a following in England—a drama on the pretender Warbeck.

Until about the end of the century, we cannot cite one adverse opinion from Schiller on England. Jacob Minor, to be sure, says of the Stuttgart *Nachrichten zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*,³⁶ of which Schiller is supposed to have been editor in 1781, that the paper cannot suppress its contempt of the fallen British Lion; and another biographer of Schiller, Brahm, discovers that the English are severely ridiculed on account of their boastful bulletins from America.³⁷ These conclusions are based on two passages, one of which requires a somewhat forced construction, if it is to be taken as hostile toward England. Despite the one remaining passage, possibly from Schiller's pen, that does criticize English boastfulness, Professor John A. Walz has reached the plausible conclusion that "the paper cannot be said to have

³³ Briefe an Reinwald, 19. Juni (falsch für Juli) 1783; 22. Juli, 1783.

³⁴ 27. Nov. 1789.

³⁵ 8. Juni 1799.

³⁶ J. Minor, *Schiller*, I, 483.

³⁷ B. Brahm, *Schiller*, I, 169.

an anti-English tendency."³⁸ At the beginning of the new century, however, we do find two poems by Schiller which reflect an unmistakable disapproval of England's foreign policy. One of these is the well-known "Antritt des neuen Jahrhunderts" (1801); the other is the fragment known as "Deutsche Grösse" (1801), which denounces the materialism and imperialism of the British and berates their greediness in accumulating by the ship-load antique works of art—"die Gebeine alter Kunst." A third poem, "An die Freunde" (1803), brings the charge that money is god on the Thames. Bernhard Suphan takes the fragment "Deutsche Grösse," dissociated apparently from everything else except the "Antritt des Jahrhunderts," and reaches therefrom the conclusion that Schiller could have subscribed to Schleiermacher's sweeping denunciation of England made in 1799.³⁹ Of his extreme position Schleiermacher himself writes in 1821:⁴⁰ "It is to be remembered that the severe judgment of the English people was given at a time when it seemed necessary to protest strongly against the prevailing Anglo-mania." With more authority than Suphan has, Franz Muncker takes these poems as indicative of a decided change in their author's attitude.⁴¹ There is no doubt that "Deutsche Grösse" was to have given a scathing denunciation of England in her foreign relations, but may not the very fact that Schiller did not complete the poem be taken, possibly, as showing his realization that he was overstating his convictions? And although the policy of the English government at the time appeared most deplorable to him—as it did to many Englishmen—was he not still at heart, as he had been all his life, an admirer of England? Schiller was not the man to change from staunch partisan to bitter foe. In 1798,⁴² à propos of Erasmus Darwin's writings, he writes Goethe that such play of the imagination

³⁸ Walz, "Three Swabian Journalists, I. Schiller," *Americana Germanica*, IV, 95 ff.

³⁹ B. Suphan, "Deutsche Grösse," *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, Weimar 1902.

⁴⁰ F. Schleiermacher, *On Religion*, Speeches to its Cultivated Despisers. tr. by J. Oman, London 1893, pp. 9-10, 23.

⁴¹ F. Muncker, *Anschaunngen vom englischen Staat und Volk in der deutschen Literatur der letzten vier Jahrhunderte*, München 1918, I, 97.

⁴² 30. Jan.

with conceptions, the realm of allegory, cold intellectuality, and rhymed erudition can appeal only to the English in "ihrer jetzigen Frostigkeit und Gleichgültigkeit." But this is scarcely less complimentary than what he says in the same letter of his own countrymen: "Die Deutschen wollen Empfindungen, und je platter diese sind, desto allgemeiner willkommen." It is too much to expect that Schiller should have been blind to any country's faults, but in the light of the evidence we have, it is reasonable to conclude that he lived and died an admirer of England.

JOHN ALEXANDER KELLY

XVII. WILLIAM BLAKE AND HIS COMPANIONS FROM 1818 TO 1827

Without the last nine years of William Blake's life, and without a few letters, we should have, on one side, his writings; on the other side, the works of his biographers, and between, a great gulf fixed, where the unpremeditated record of his everyday friends and companions ought to be. But these nine years throw a bridge across the gulf, a bizarre bridge, to be sure, the foundations of which, nevertheless, go down to the rock of first-hand evidence. During them he was as companioned as, in the just preceding years, he had been neglected; during them he was known and observed by a variety of men, quack astrologers, young painters, a persistent reporter, a steady-going friend.

The astrologers were a grotesque pair enough. They were R. C. Smith, alias Merlinus Anglicanus Junior, and John Varley, who, not being named Smith, needed no alias. R. C. Smith distributed the *Royal Book of Fate*; John Varley distributed pills. R. C. Smith, with the assistance of the Metropolitan Society of Occult Philosophers, edited a magazine called *Urania*, which, even with this sonorous midwifery, died at birth. John Varley stopped people on the street to predict their future, and set up a record of a few hits and more than fifty per cent of misses. Both, it is clear, were not only astrologers, but unlucky ones.

Being astrologers, they could explain anything. Smith, "several times in company" with Blake, "frequently delighted with his conversation, but also filled with feelings of wonder at his extraordinary faculties," had no trouble in accounting for his "peculiar . . . turn of genius and vivid imagination . . . outré ideas . . . curious intercourse with the invisible world . . . [and] actual conversations with Michael Angelo, Raphael, Milton, Dryden, and the worthies of antiquity." These phenomena were all, he found, due to Blake's nativity; they were "the effects of the Moon in Cancer in the twelfth house (both sign and house being mystical) in trine to Herschell from the mystical sign Pisces, from the house of science, and

from the mundane trine to Saturn in the scientific sign Aquarius, which latter planet is in square to Mercury in Scorpio, and in quintile to the Sun and Jupiter, in the mystical sign Sagittarius."¹

Varley, if more of a man than Smith, was as much a quack. He had a measure of artistic ability; he was "the father of modern water-colours;" he shone pre-eminently in credulity.² He believed in astrology; he believed in his own predictions; "he believed nearly all he heard and all he read;" he believed in the visions of Blake, said a friend, more than did Blake himself.

He had much more to do with Blake than did Smith. He sat beside him, not several times, but night after night. He told Allan Cunningham: "I know much about Blake—I was his companion for nine years. I have sat beside him from ten at night till three in the morning, sometimes slumbering and sometimes waking, but Blake never slept; he sat with a pencil and paper drawing portraits of those whom I most desired to see."³

To Varley, Blake's visions were all as immediately explicable as they were to R. C. Smith, and by the same method. The *Visionary Heads* were endorsed by him with title and hour of creation: "Richard Coeur de Lion, drawn from his spectre. W. Blake *fecit*, Oct. 14, 1819, at quarter past twelve, midnight." "Wat Tyler, by Blake, from his spectre, as in the act of striking the tax-gatherer on the head, drawn Oct. 30, 1819, 1 hour A. M." "The Man who Built the Pyramids, Oct. 18, 1819, fifteen minutes of 2, Cancer ascending." The *Ghost of a Flea*, he wrote,⁴ "agrees in countenance with one class of people under Gemini, which sign is the significator of the Flea—[and an] elegant dancing and fencing sign." Varley explained other visions of Blake by similar hocus-pocus. "Sagittarius crossing Taurus," he muttered. ❧

Almost as far from the earth as R. C. Smith and Varley were a group of young artists who became Blake's disciples in 1824 and 1825. By them he came near being canonized on earth,

¹ In *Urania*, No. 1, London, 1825, p. 70, reprinted by Arthur Symonds, *William Blake*, 1907. p. 339 ff.

² Alfred T. Story, *James Holmes and John Varley*, 1894.

³ Symonds, *op. cit.*, pp. 421 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

and by him some of them came near being carried along in his flights. They were Edward Calvert, Francis Finch, George Richmond, Frederick Tatham, and Samuel Palmer.⁶ To Calvert, come up to London on business and told by John Giles, stockbroker, of "the divine Blake, who has seen God, sir, and talked with angels," he seemed worth neglecting business for. To Finch he appeared "a new kind of man, wholly original, and in all things." To Richmond, who, a boy of sixteen, walked home with him across the fields from Hampstead, it was "as though he had been walking with the prophet Isaiah." To Tatham he was a "great man," with whom no one could converse on any subject without gaining "something quite as new as noble from his eccentric and elastic mind." To Palmer, who at nineteen first visited him in Fountain Court, he appeared "like one of the Antique patriarchs, or a dying Michael Angelo," and his dwelling "the chariot of the sun—as it were an island in the midst of the sea—such a place is it for primitive grandeur." His technique dominated Richmond's *Abel the Shepherd*, Calvert's *Christian Ploughing the Last Furrow of Life*, and, in grotesque absurd imagery, Palmer's *Naomi*.

Calvert, Finch, Richmond, Tatham, and Palmer founded an order—that is, they made themselves into an order—called "The Ancients," and chose him "Master." His two rooms in Fountain Court became for them "The House of the Interpreter." For his doctrine of the visionary life they all, under the influence of youth, of the group, perhaps of slender diet, probably of his sincerity and intensity, had tolerance. Calvert, though least submissive, made only "the most tender allusions" to Blake's visions. "I saw nothing but sanity," he declared, "saw nothing mad in his conduct, actions, or character." Finch, who in Palmer's opinion was in the group the man "without passion or prejudice, with the calmest judgment, with the most equable *balance* of faculties, and those of a very refined order," was of them all "most inclined to believe in

⁶ The lives of Calvert, Finch, and Palmer are detailed in: *A Memoir of Edward Calvert, by his Third Son*, 1893; *Memorials of Francis Oliver Finch*, by Mrs. E. Finch, 1865; *Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer*, by A. H. Palmer, 1892.

Richmond was consulted by Alexander Gilchrist in the preparation of his *Life of William Blake*, 2 Vols., 1863. Tatham left a manuscript *Life of William Blake* printed in *The Letters of William Blake*, edited by A. G. B. Russell, 1906.

Blake's spiritual intercourse." "He was not mad," said Finch, "but perverse and wilful." Richmond said that he had never "known an artist so spiritual, so devoted, so single-minded, or cherishing imagination." Tatham gave many pages of his *Life of Blake* to the defense of Blake's visionary power, as not of the stuff of Cock Lane ghosts, and as justified by its works, "these expressive, these sublime, these awful diagrams of an eternal phantasy." Palmer fell most completely under Blake's influence. His diary told of "visions excess blessed help and inspiration really dreadful gloom beautiful imaginations." Years afterward, when the heady draught of Blake's company had effervesced, and when Palmer looked back on himself as "the positive and eccentric young man who wrote the notes in these pages," he was yet able to write: "I remember William Blake in the quiet consistency of his daily life, as one of the sanest, if not the most thoroughly sane man I have ever known."

On December 10, 1825, Blake took dinner at Mrs. Aders's in Euston Square, and there came under the sharp eye of one not in a mood to canonize him. This was Henry Crabb Robinson,* Macaulay's "inspired idiot." By his own diagnosis that indefatigable reporter had "no imagination, nor any power beyond that of a logical understanding," but with that power he managed to write a detailed daily *Journal* from 1811 to 1867, twenty-eight volumes of *Journals of Tours*, thirty-two of *Letters*, and four of *Reminiscences*, a mountain in which there is many a mouse worth finding. Robinson had his preconceived notion of Blake. Fifteen years before, in 1810, he had amused himself by writing for a German periodical an "account of the insane poet, painter, and engraver, Blake." In 1811 he had heard Southey hold forth on Blake as "a decided madman," the author of that "perfectly mad poem called 'Jerusalem.'" In 1815 Flaxman had told him that Blake had had a "violent dispute with the angels and had driven them away." Robinson said of Blake: "I was aware before of the

* Selections from Robinson's *Diary and Reminiscences* have been printed in: (a) Thomas Sadler, *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*, 2 Vols., 1872; (b) Symons, *op. cit.*, pp. 253 ff.; (c) Edith J. Morley, *Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Lamb, etc.* being Selections from the Remains of Henry Crabb Robinson, 1922.

nature of his impressions." So at Mrs. Aders's it was his object, he said, to draw Blake out, to get from him "an avowal of his *peculiar* sentiments."

It couldn't have been an easy evening for Blake. "If there is anyone here who wishes to say anything," once remarked Rogers, "he had better say it at once, for Crabb Robinson is coming." Before the evening at Mrs. Aders's was over Robinson "took occasion" to inquire into Blake's views on atheism, the visionary life, the impossibility of supposing an immortal's being created, the divinity of Jesus Christ, the difference between good and evil, the question whether there is anything absolutely evil in what men do, the moral character of Dante in writing his vision—was he pure?—the difference between the visions of Dante and of Swedenborg, the poetry of Wordsworth, the ideas of Plato, Bacon, Locke, Newton, and Irving. In this quizzing he was trying, in his own words, with "obvious questions," to connect the "fragmentary sentiments" of Blake, to "reconcile" one with another, to "twist [a] passage into a sense corresponding with Blake's own theories."

It couldn't have been an easy evening for Robinson. The man who planned to reconcile Blake's fragmentary sentiments, to make two and two come out four, had a long row to hoe. Blake had a way with such hecklers. "When opposed by the superstitious, the crafty, or the proud, [he] outraged all commonsense and rationality by the opinions he advanced," said Linnell. On that "very remarkable and interesting evening," of December 10, 1825, Robinson, crafty as he meant to be, found Blake "continually" expressing "unintelligible sentiments." Some of them, Robinson probably thought, outraged all commonsense and rationality. "There is no use in education," Blake hastily broke in on him; "I hold it wrong. It is the great sin." When Robinson asked about the moral character of Dante in writing his Vision—was he pure?—"Pure," said Blake, "Do you think there is any purity in God's eyes? The angels in heaven are no more so than we." Blake "said he had been much pained by reading the introduction to the *Excursion*. It brought on a fit of illness." ("A bowel complaint which nearly killed him," Robinson, reporting more specifically, wrote to Dorothy Wordsworth). "I do not believe that the world is round," he told Robinson. "I believe

it is quite flat." Robinson "objected the circumnavigation," but they were called to dinner at the moment and the reply was forever lost.

When at a later meeting Blake confessed the doctrine that "eine Gemeinschaft der Frauen statt finden sollte," the moral character of Robinson in writing his diary was so pure that at this confession he blushed in German. Blake "asserted that he had committed many murders, that reason is the only evil or sin, and that careless, gay people are better than those who think." Is it not possible that he was being careless and gay at Robinson's expense when he told Mrs. Aders that he and Robinson "were nearly of an opinion?" "Yet," said Robinson, "I have practised no deception intentionally."

For all that Robinson came to Mrs. Aders's on the tenth of December with such preconceived notions that I cannot subscribe to Mr. Keynes's characterization of him as "an unprejudiced observer"⁷ of Blake, for all that it is hard to read between the lines of a dialogue between a meteor and a pedestrian reported in the diary of the pedestrian, I would not willingly part with Robinson's diary. He practiced no deception intentionally; his diary is worth ten times its length in second-hand biography, and gives the most extensive first-hand report in existence of Blake's manner and words.

On December tenth, despite the outrageous and inconsistent answers he got, Robinson's fresh impressions of Blake were favorable: "He has a most interesting appearance," he reported. "He is now old—pale with a Socratic countenance, and an expression of great sweetness, but bordering on weakness—except when his features are animated by expression, and then he has an air of inspiration about him." "The tone and manner are incommunicable. There is a natural sweetness and gentility about Blake which are delightful. And when he is not referring to his Visions, he talks sensibly and acutely." He summarized Blake's effect on him that night by saying: "I feel great admiration and respect for him—he is certainly a most amiable man—a good creature"

One week after December tenth Robinson made in the morning "a short call," on Blake in Fountain Court in the

⁷ Geoffrey Keynes, *Bibliography of William Blake*, Grolier Club, N. Y., 1921. p. 335.

Strand. The room which had seemed to Palmer "an island in the midst of the sea—such a place is it for primitive grandeur"—seemed to Robinson "squalid," but in spite of the "dirt," he "might say filth," Robinson felt attracted by "an air of natural gentility diffused over" Blake and "a good expression of countenance" in Mrs. Blake, and decided that he would "have a pleasure in calling on and conversing with these worthy people." Robinson at the same time gave up the effort to understand Blake. "I fear I shall not make any progress in ascertaining his opinions and feelings—that there being really no system or connection in his mind, all his future conversation will be but varieties of wildness and incongruity." Sure enough, in later visits, he heard "the same half crazy crotchets the eternal repetition of what must in time become tiresome a repetition of his former talk The same round of extravagant and mad doctrines his wild rambling way of talk." Robinson was accordingly not "anxious to be frequent" in his visits to Blake.

But, carrying out his resolution, made at their first meeting, to set down without method all he could "recollect of the conversation of this remarkable man," Robinson left a series of specific reports of remarks by Blake. Blake, he said, "spoke of his paintings as being what he had seen in his visions. And when he said *my visions* it was in the ordinary unemphatic tone in which we speak of trivial matters that everyone understands and cares nothing about. In the same tone he said repeatedly, the 'Spirit told me.' "

Robinson took occasion to say, "You use the same word as Socrates used. What resemblance do you suppose is there between your spirit and the spirit of Socrates?" "The same as between our countenances." Blake paused, reported Robinson, "and added—'I was Socrates.' And then, as if correcting himself, 'A sort of brother. I must have had conversations with him. So I had with Jesus Christ. I have an obscure recollection of having been with both of them.' He spoke with seeming complacency of himself—said he acted by command. The spirit said to him 'Blake, be an artist and nothing else.' In this there is felicity. His eye glistened while he spoke of the joy of devoting himself solely to divine art. 'Art is inspiration. When Michael Angelo or Raphael or Mr. Flaxman does any

of his fine things, he does them in the spirit. I should be sorry if I had any earthly fame, for whatever natural glory a man has is so much detracted from his spiritual glory. I wish to do nothing for profit. I wish to live for art. I want nothing whatever. I am quite happy.’ Though he spoke of his happiness, he spoke of past sufferings, and of sufferings as necessary. ‘There is suffering in heaven, for where there is the capacity of enjoyment, there is the capacity of pain.’ ”

While Robinson was being defeated in his effort to make two and two of Blake’s ideas come out four, John Linnell in simple friendship was visiting with Blake the galleries and theatres of London, was seeing to it above all, that the rent of the House of the Interpreter could be paid. Here, at last, after the stars of the astrologers, the clouds of the Ancients, the mists raised by Crabb Robinson’s purposes, we touch solid earth. Linnell was attracted to Blake from his first sight of him in 1818, visited with him the Spring Gardens Exhibition, the British Gallery, the Water Colour Exhibition, Somerset House, the British Museum, Hendon, Drury Lane; opened his house at Hampstead to Blake’s visits; in fact introduced him to Varley, to the young artists who became his disciples, and to older ones who became his patrons; commissioned him to engrave a second set of his illustrations to *Job*; suggested and financed the illustrations to Dante, which brought Blake a moderate steady income almost on demand, tried to arrange for Blake’s removal from Fountain Court when that neighborhood seemed unhealthy for him, and after Blake’s death befriended Mrs. Blake.* Not by what he said about him, but by what he did with him and for him, Linnell was Blake’s stoutest champion. The solid earth here was the solid earth of friendly artistic fellowship.

Linnell was an independent, self-supporting artist, ten years older than Richmond, Palmer, and the rest. He had “resources within himself,” and being “confessedly out of touch with the peculiar sentiment which was the bond of union” of the Ancients, seldom attended their monthly meetings, “when at the platonic feast of reason and flow of soul only real Greeks from Hackney and Lisson Grove were admitted.” Calvert was one

* Alfred T. Story, *Life of John Linnell*, 1892.

day at Linnell's house and was describing one of his landscape drawings. "These are God's fields," said he, in a low, solemn voice to Linnell's daughters. "This is God's brook, these are God's trees, and these are God's sheep and lambs." "Then why," asked Linnell, who was sitting near, "then why don't you mark them with a big G?"

To Linnell, Blake's *Visionary Heads* were entertaining, not astrological. Cassibelane, the British Chief, he said, was fit for the head man at Howell and James's.

"I soon encountered Blake's peculiarities," Linnell wrote, "and was sometimes taken aback by the boldness of his assertions. I never saw anything the least like madness. I never opposed him spitefully, as many did. But being really anxious to fathom, if possible, the amount of truth that there might be in his most startling assertions, I generally met with a sufficiently rational explanation in the most really friendly and conciliatory tone." Again Linnell said: "There is one thing I must mention; I never in all my conversation with him could for a moment feel that there was the least justice in calling him insane; he could always explain his paradoxes satisfactorily when he pleased" Still again he wrote: "Blake was very unreserved in his narration to me of all his thoughts and actions . . . he was a hearty laugh at absurdities."

This unassuming practical friend, who bears reassuring testimony, based on nine years of "unreserved" companionship, to Blake's essential humanity and reasonableness, is to be counted in the filling out of the picture. I prefer his Blake to a Blake born under the sign Cancer, or a Blake who was a prophet Isaiah, or a dying Michael Angelo, or even a Blake who was a match for a heckling and platitudinous reporter. But I do not pretend that his testimony answers the Lady-or-the-Tiger riddle of Blake's sanity or insanity.

There was something of Blake in what each of his companions from 1818 to 1827 saw in him. He was the painter of *Visionary Heads* who brought rich grist to Smith and Varley's mill of satirology. He was the new kind of man, wholly original and in all things, who was a sort of prophet, and a dying Michael Angelo, an interpreter of art and life, to the Ancients. He was the good creature, old, pale, with a Socratic countenance, a natural sweetness and gentility, an air of inspiration about him

when his features were animated, with whom it gave Robinson pleasure to converse. He was the unreserved companion and the hearty laughter at absurdities who threaded London's galleries and Hampstead's paths with Linnell.

"There is no doubt," said Wordsworth, who heard of Blake from the already convinced Crabb Robinson, "this poor man was mad, but there is something in the madness of this man which interests me more than the sanity of Lord Byron and Walter Scott."⁹ It is possible, in Wordsworth's mood, to drop the riddle, and to be glad that English literature has, as well as its *Rasselas*, its *Hamlet*, as well as its Alexander Pope, its William Blake, who carried his jug of porter through the Strand, fearing "nothing so much as being rich, lest he should lose his spiritual riches."

HAROLD BRUCE

⁹ Sadler, *op. cit.* I, 385.

XVIII. THE SOURCES OF VICTOR HUGO'S *QUATREVINGT-TREIZE*¹

Probably none of Victor Hugo's works has sources more complicated than *Quatrevingt-treize*. Accordingly, in order so far as possible to avoid confusion, the following paper has been divided into three parts, of graduated complexity. In the first part, a study is made of minor details in *Quatrevingt-treize* which Hugo borrowed from Blanc, Duchemin-Descepeaux, Lamartine, Garat, Du Rosel, the official *Moniteur*, as well as from other sources. The second part is devoted to the principal characters in *Quatrevingt-treize*, Marat, Robespierre, Danton; Cimourdain, Lantenac, Gauvain; *l'Iménus* and Michelle Fléchard. An attempt is made to discover the origins of the

¹ This is the first of a series of articles on the sources of *Quatrevingt-treize*. It is intended to supplement the admirable work of M. Paul Berret. (See *Revue Universitaire*, I, no. 2, XXIII^e année (February 15, 1914), pp. 136-145). M. Berret had the good fortune to visit Victor Hugo's library at Hauteville-House, Guernesey, before it had been disturbed. He published a list of some forty works on the French Revolution possessed by Victor Hugo before 1870, (*ibid.*, pp. 139-140), and described the author's method of taking notes as follows: "Certains passages sont encadrés au crayon; une fiche, verso blanc d'une enveloppe ou de brouillon de vers, indique ou résume les autres."

"Ce que Victor Hugo paraît avoir surtout en vue, ce sont ou des résumés caractéristiques de situation ou des détails pittoresques."

In a few instances, M. Berret has indicated passages which Hugo imitated. Other passages not noted by M. Berret form the basis of my own observations.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to M. Escholier, of the Musée Victor Hugo, at Paris, who first directed my attention to the connection between *Quatrevingt-treize* and Lamartine's *Histoire des Girondins*, as well as to the fact that the name Gauvain was the family name of Juliette Drouet; to M. Gustave Simon, legatee of Victor Hugo, who supplied valuable information regarding the literary tastes of Victor Hugo, as well as of Hugo's wife; and to Professors E. P. Dargan and T. P. Cross, of the University of Chicago.

I have been unable to find the parallels between *Quatrevingt-treize* and Chateaubriand's *De la Vendée* to which Professor Gilbert Chinard alluded at the meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, December 28, 1923. (See *Œuvres complètes de Chateaubriand*, Paris, Garnier, IX, 617-654). As for the materials taken from the *Mémoires* of Victor Hugo's father, to which Professor Chinard also referred, see notes 149, 160, 162. It will be observed that these materials are all contained in the first chapter of *Victor Hugo Raconté par un Témoin de sa Vie*, which at the outset follows faithfully the *Mémoires* of General Hugo, language and all.

principal elements of these characters, and to demonstrate, to some extent, how these elements are welded together. The third part deals with the general plan of *Quatrevingt-treize*.

I

(a) LOUIS BLANC¹

One of the most convincing instances of Hugo's indebtedness to Blanc is furnished by the third book of *Quatrevingt-treize*, which is devoted to "La Convention." Here Hugo gives a dramatic description of the balloting which resulted in the death sentence of Louis XVI. As the following comparison indicates, Hugo seems to have derived from Blanc the erroneous notion that the first seven representatives from la Haute-Garonne voted for the death penalty successively, and without comment.

Victor Hugo²

On se montrait l'angle où siégeaient, se touchant le coude, les sept représentants de la Haute-Garonne qui, appelés les premiers à prononcer leur verdict sur Louis XVI, avaient ainsi répondu l'un après l'autre: Mailhe: la mort. —Delmas: la mort. —Projean: la mort. —Calès: —la mort. —Ayrat: la mort. —Julien: la mort. —Desacy: la mort.

Louis Blanc³

Le département de la Haute-Garonne ayant été appelé le premier, conformément à l'usage qui, dans les appels nominaux, assignait à chaque département à son tour la priorité de vote, Jean Mailhe s'avança. La salle était faiblement éclairée, le silence profond. Mailhe dit: "La mort." Delmas vint ensuite, et dit: "La mort." Julien: "La mort." Calès: "La mort." Ayrat: "La mort." Desacy: "La mort."

According to the *Moniteur*, there was no such succession of monosyllabic votes for death. Mailhe, the first on the roll call, appealed for a reprieve, in a speech of nine lines. Perès, the fourth in order, voted "pour la réclusion jusqu'à la paix, et pour le bannissement à cette époque." The next representative, Julien, voted for death, in a speech ten lines long. After Julien came Calès, although Hugo's order is Calès, Ayrat,

¹ *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, by Louis Blanc, Paris (1872).

² *Quatrevingt-treize*, Oeuvres complètes de Victor Hugo, éd. définitive, Paris (Hetzl), p. 224.

³ Louis Blanc, *op. cit.*, II, 118.

Julien. Desacy, the seventh speaker on Hugo's list, voted for death with respite.⁵

That Hugo should follow Blanc in attributing to Mailhe a simple and unequivocal vote for death is especially remarkable in view of the animated discussion to which the speech of Mailhe gave rise. According to the *Moniteur*,⁶ Garrau, as well as other members of the Convention, were actually puzzled by the remarks of Mailhe, and doubted whether he had voted for the death penalty or not.

When the president came to read the *proces-verbal*, he stated that Mailhe was counted "parmi ceux qui ont opiné pour la mort pure et simple."⁷ As a matter of fact, however, a check of the votes shows that neither Mailhe nor the other representatives who, following his example, questioned the advisability of an immediate execution, were counted as favoring the death sentence.⁸

⁵ *Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur*, Paris (1847), XV, 184. The *Moniteur* omits, however, the names of two representatives from la Haute-Garonne. See the editor's note concerning the omission of the names of Estadens and Ayral from the official list. Estadens voted for "la réclusion et le bannissement à la paix;" Ayral for death.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XV, 228. To quote the words of Garrau: "Avant que le résultat de l'appel soit prononcé, je demande qu'on définisse d'une manière bien précise la nature et le terme des suffrages; des membres viennent de demander à Mailhe si son voeu contenait une réserve, ou s'il avait donné un suffrage pur et simple; il a répondu qu'il n'y avait mis aucune restriction. Je demande que Mailhe explique lui-même un voeu qui paraît avoir été suivi de plusieurs membres de cette assemblée, et dont il est important de connaître la nature."

To this challenge, Mailhe replied as follows: "Au point où en sont les choses, il ne m'est possible que de répéter le voeu que j'ai émis hier; je le répéterai donc sans en changer, non pas un mot, mais une seule lettre. Je prie les citoyens mes collègues, qui m'ont entendu, d'attester si ce que je vais répéter, est ce que j'ai prononcé hier.

"Par une conséquence naturelle du voeu que j'ai déjà émis sur la première question, je vote pour la mort de Louis: je fais une seule observation: si la mort est le résultat de la délibération, je pense qu'il est convenable à la dignité de l'assemblée d'examiner s'il est politique et utile de presser ou de retarder l'exécution; je reviens à la première question, et je vote la mort."

As a matter of fact, the language of the speech was somewhat changed, despite the promise of Mailhe not to alter so much as a letter of it.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XV, 235.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XV, 236

The speeches of Mailhe and of Julien would hardly harmonize with the following passage in *Quatrevingt-treize*, which was almost certainly inspired by Blanc:

Victor Hugo⁹

Éternelle répercussion qui emplit toute l'histoire, et qui, depuis que la justice humaine existe, a toujours mis l'écho du sépulcre sur le mur du tribunal.

Louis Blanc¹⁰

Avec le bruit sourd et monotone de la hache qui tombe, se relève, et retombe, ce mot "la mort" avait déjà retenti quatorze fois . . .

If Hugo follows Blanc in ignoring speeches made by certain representatives in the Convention, he seems to follow him with equal fidelity in reporting the speeches of others. The remark which Hugo attributes to Manuel: *Un roi mort n'est pas un homme de moins* is taken verbatim from Blanc. Hugo describes Zangiacomi as the man who said: *La détention. Gardons Capet vivant comme épouvantail*. He thus merely abridges the speech as recorded by Blanc: "La détention pendant la guerre et le bannissement à la paix, pour que la honteuse existence de Louis serve d'épouvantail à tous ses pareils." He reports the speech of Paganel as follows: *La mort. Un roi n'est utile que par sa mort*. He thus alters only slightly the phraseology found in Blanc's *Histoire*: "Les rois ne peuvent pas être utiles que par leur mort."¹¹

⁹ *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 224.

¹⁰ *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, II, 118. The possibility of a common source seems slight. M. Paul Berret testifies that Hugo possessed a copy of Blanc's *Histoire de la Révolution Française* (*op. cit.*, p. 140), and that he made constant use of it (*ibid.*, p. 141).

¹¹ In the following references, *Quatrevingt-treize* will be indicated by the word Hugo, and the *Histoire de la Révolution Française* by the word Blanc.

For the speech of Manuel, see Hugo, p. 217; Blanc, II, 86. For the remarks of Zangiacomi, see Hugo, p. 225; Blanc, II, 119. For the observations of Paganel, see Hugo, p. 224; Blanc, *l.c.* Note also the following comparisons; Chaillon qui avait dit: *Qu'il vive. Je ne veux pas faire un mort dont Rome fera un saint*. (Hugo, pp. 225-226). Chaillon: "Je vote pour la reclusion. Je m'oppose à la mort de Louis, précisément parce que Rome la voudrait pour le béatifier." (Blanc, *l.c.*) Albouys, qui avait dit: *Le bannissement. Que ce spectre vivant aille errer autour des trônes*. (Hugo, p. 225). Albouys: "Qu'il reste enfermé jusqu'à ce que nous n'ayons plus rien à craindre, et qu'ensuite il aille errer autour des trônes." (Blanc, *l.c.*) Millaud, qui avait dit: *Aujourd'hui, si la mort n'existait pas, il faudrait l'inventer*. (Hugo, p. 224). Milhau: "Des législateurs philanthropes ne souillent pas le code . . . par l'établissement de la peine de mort; mais pour un tyran . . . si elle n'existait pas, il faudrait

Hugo takes apparently from Blanc certain other details relating to the death-sentence of Louis XVI. For instance, he borrows Blanc's account of the dramatic appearance of Duchâtel in the assembly hall. Duchâtel was dying, but had himself carried to the ballot-office on his death-bed, in order that he might vote for the pardon of Louis.¹² From Blanc Hugo draws also his story of the weary deputy who was overcome by sleep. Awakened by the door-keeper, he voted: "Death!" and fell asleep again.¹³

l'inventer." (Blanc, *l.c.*) Goupilleau, qui avait crié: *L'échafaud tout de suite. La lenteur aggrave la mort.* (Hugo, p. 224). Goupilleau: "La mort, et sans délai. Autrement, Louis la subirait autant de fois que le bruit des verrous de sa prison viendrait frapper son oreille. Or, vous n'avez pas le droit d'aggraver son supplice." (Blanc, *l.c.*) Sieyès, qui avait eu cette concision funèbre: *La mort.* (Hugo, p. 225). Beaucoup ne dirent qu'un mot, un seul, le mot funèbre; et de ce nombre fut Sieyès. (Blanc, *l.c.*) Augustin-Bon Robespierre, qui, après son frère, s'était écrié: *Je ne connais point l'humanité qui égorge les peuples et qui pardonne aux despotes. La mort! Demander un sursis, c'est substituer à l'appel au peuple un appel aux tyrans.* (Hugo, *l.c.*) Robespierre: "Je n'ai jamais su décomposer mon existence politique pour trouver en moi deux qualités disparates, celle de juge et celle d'homme d'État . . . Je suis inflexible pour les oppresseurs parce que je suis compatissant pour les opprimés. Je ne connais point l'humanité qui égorge les peuples et qui pardonne aux despotes. Le sentiment qui m'a porté, mais en vain, à demander, dans l'Assemblée Constituante, l'abolition de la peine de mort, est le même qui me force aujourd'hui à demander qu'on l'applique au tyran de ma patrie et à la royauté elle-même en sa personne. Je hote pour la mort" (Blanc, *l.c.*). Robespierre's speech is reported by other historians known to Hugo, however.

¹² " . . . les spectateurs se racontaient les uns aux autres . . . Duchâtel le député des Deux-Sèvres, qui se fit apporter sur son lit, et, mourant, vota la vie, ce qui fit rire Marat . . . " (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 226). " . . . après le dépouillement du scrutin, lorsqu'on vit entrer dans la salle une espèce de spectre. C'était Duchâtel, le député des Deux-Sèvres, qui, malade en vêtement de nuit, et la tête enveloppée de linges, se faisait porter jusqu'au bureau pour y jeter dans le plateau de la pitié le poids de son vote." (Blanc, *op. cit.*, II, 120). Cf. *Moniteur cit.*, XV, 228, where Duchâtel is described as "malade et la tête enveloppée."

¹³ " . . . et l'on cherchait des yeux le représentant, oublié par l'histoire aujourd'hui, qui, après cette séance de trente-sept heures, tombé de lassitude de sommeil sur son banc, et réveillé par l'huissier quand ce fut son tour de voter, entr'ouvrit les yeux, dit: *La mort!* et se rendormit. (*Quatrevingt-treize*, *l.c.*) La lassitude était telle, que ça et là on voyait des députés endormis sur leurs bancs, Il fallut en réveiller quelques-uns, quand ce fut leur tour de voter." (Blanc, *op. cit.*, II, 119). Frequently, as here, Hugo attributes to a single individual the actions or words of a group. His purpose is apparently to heighten the relief.

Occasionally, Hugo goes to Blanc for literary phrases—especially for antitheses. For instance, in defending the assignat, Blanc declares that, after all, it “a fait la Révolution et sauvé la France.” Hugo echoes that it “sauva la France.” Blanc glorifies the assignat by calling it a “revolutionary lever” which was effective as long as the law respecting maximum prices was in force. Adopting Blanc’s phraseology, Hugo writes: “. . . l’assignat était le levier, le maximum était le point d’appui.”¹⁴

More often, Hugo is content to borrow picturesque details from Blanc, and to invent his own phraseology. The changes of style which he introduces are made principally in the direction of brevity and of striking contrasts.¹⁵ Thus he draws from Blanc the story of the inspection of Beaumarchais’ house by the revolutionists. A woman in the invading party, it appears, plucked a flower in Beaumarchais’ garden, and was slapped by the indignant marauders.¹⁶ He probably borrows also from Blanc his description of the famine of 1792-93; how the shortage of fuel was so great that people sawed up the wood of their beds, in the streets; how the fountains froze, and water cost ten sous a pail; how wood sold for four hundred francs a cord.¹⁷ Blanc is the source, in part, of his description of the

¹⁴ “Il [l’assignat] est absous, puisque, associé à l’enthousiasme républicain, il a fait la Révolution et sauvé la France . . . Un levier révolutionnaire, voilà ce que les hommes de la Révolution voient dans l’assignat . . . Tant qu’à la loi du *Maximum* fut en vigueur, l’assignat se maintint . . .” (Blanc, *op. cit.*, II, 628-629)

¹⁵ “. . . l’assignat était le levier, le maximum était le point d’appui. Cet empirisme sauva la France” (*Quatre-vingt-treize*, p. 144).

¹⁶ Note the following typical abbreviation. Blanc reports the words of Isnard as follows: “*On cherchera sur les rives de la Seine où Paris a existé*” (*Op. cit.*, II, 212). Hugo abridges this speech to: “*Paris sera détruit*” (*Quatre-vingt-treize*, p. 215).

¹⁷ “*Mais pas un binet de perdu! Une femme, au jardin, a cueilli une giroflée: elle l’a payée de vingt soufflets, on voulait la baigner dans le bassin des peupliers*” (Letter of Beaumarchais to his daughter, quoted by Blanc, *op. cit.*, II, 9). Du reste, très peu de vols . . . Dans une visite domiciliaire que fit la section Antoine chez Beaumarchais, une femme cueillit dans le jardin une fleur; le peuple la souffleta” (*Quatre-vingt-treize*, p. 145).

¹⁸ “La ration de pain n’était que d’une once, alors, la corde de bois se vendait quatre cents livres; les fontaines ayant gelé, l’eau se payait jusqu’à vingt sous la voie, et, dans les rues, devenues le théâtre de scènes les plus tragiques, on avait vu des pères de famille scier leur bois de lit pour faire cuire les aliments de

Revolutionary bread lines, especially of the long files of women who waited patiently before the bakers' shops, hours before daybreak.¹⁸ Again Hugo obtains from Blanc details concerning the Revolutionary clubs. Thus he is able to describe the menace caused by the *club des Noirs*, the *club des Fédérés*, the *club des Dames*, the *club des Jacobins*, and the *club des Cordeliers*. Thus also he learns that the *club des Impartiaux* had as a charter member Clermont-Tonnerre; that in 1790 it was called the *Club Monarchique*. This club he confuses with the "Cercle Social ou Assemblée Fédérative des Amis de la Vérité," founded October 1, 1790, under the guidance of Claude Fauchet, and mentioned by Blanc.¹⁹

(b) DUCHEMIN-DESCEPEAUX²⁰

A large number of the Vendéan proper names found in *Quatrevingt-treize* are taken from Duchemin-Descepeaux. Ex-

leurs enfants. Eh bien, dans cette agonie de tout un peuple, pas un murmure ne s'était fait entendre" (Blanc, *op. cit.*, II, 638; cf. *ibid.*, II, 436).

"Le bois coûtait quatre cents francs, argent, la corde; on voyait dans les rues des gens scier leur bois de lit; l'hiver, les fontaines étaient gelées; l'eau coûtait vingt sous la voie; tout le monde se faisait porteur d'eau . . . Aucune défaillance dans ce peuple. La sombre joie d'en avoir fini avec les trônes" (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 145).

¹⁸ "L'extrême difficulté d'avoir du pain donna naissance à ce que le peuple désigna, depuis, sous le nom de *queues*: longues files de femmes, rangées deux à deux à la porte des boulangers, avant même que le jour ait paru" (Blanc, *op. cit.*, II, 435). "On faisait queue aux portes des marchands . . . Les femmes dans cette misère étaient vaillantes et douces. Elles passaient les nuits à attendre leur tour d'entrer chez le boulanger" (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 144).

¹⁹ "Vers la fin d'octobre 1790, le *Club des Impartiaux*, qu'on avait cru mort, ressuscita tout à coup sous le nom de *Club Monarchique*, et avec une organisation plus complète, avec des moyens d'action plus puissants. Cette fois, c'était Clermont-Tonnerre qui figurait sur le premier plan" (Blanc, *op. cit.*, p. 464). LE CLUB SOCIAL OU ASSEMBLÉE FÉDÉRATIVE DES AMIS DE LA VÉRITÉ fut inauguré le 1^{er} octobre 1790, au cirque du Palais-Royal . . . c'était Claude Fauchet qui devait présider (Blanc, *op. cit.*, p. 463). The other clubs mentioned above are cited by Blanc, *ibid.* Cf. Hugo's language: ". . . club des Impartiaux, qui date le Clermont-Tonnerre et qui a été le club monarchique de 1790, cercle social imaginé par le prêtre Claude Fauchet . . ." (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 176). Other clubs are mentioned on the same page).

²⁰ J. Duchemin-Descepeaux, *Lettres sur l'origine de la Chouannerie et sur les Chouans du Bas-Maine*, Paris (1825).

amples are *Planchenault, dit Coeur-de-Roi*;²² *Bénédictité*;²¹ *Gaulier, dit Grand-Pierre*;²³ and Jean Chouan himself.²⁴

Hugo draws from Duchemin-Descepeaux also the names of most of the Chouan camps referred to in *Quatrevingt-treize*: *le camp de la Vache-Noire, le camp Vert, le camp de l'Avoine, le camp des Fourmis*, etc. Duchemin-Descepeaux describes also the following places, which are referred to in *Quatrevingt-treize*: *le Grand-Bordage*, rendezvous of Jambe-d'argent, and *le Haut-des-Prés*.²⁵

The information concerning the Bois de Misdon which Hugo borrows from Duchemin-Descepeaux may be summarized as follows: At one end of the forest was a glade called la Place Royale. At the other end was the bivouac of the Chouans, known as la Grande Ville. The inhabitants of la Grande Ville moved underground, through secret galleries. These hidden passages were supported within by woodwork, and concealed without by dry ferns, moss and leaves. The earth from the excavations was carefully thrown into pools or streams, in order to leave no trace. The men subsisted in caverns, which had a capacity of perhaps six persons. Sympathizers from among the

²² Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, I, 329. See *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 86.

²³ Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, I, 360: "... Bouvier (*Benedicite*). Hugo writes: "... Bénédictité, qui est le chef des Douze ... Il dit son *Benedicite* pendant qu'il fait arquebuser les gens" (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 90).

²⁴ Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, II, 144. Cf. *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 91.

²⁵ Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, I, 59, and repeatedly elsewhere; "... Jean Cottureau, dit Jean Chouan ... " Cf. *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 87: "... Jean Chouan, qui est à mes yeux leur vrai chef."

²⁶ "... les Chouans de tous les cantons, lorsqu'ils se fixèrent des endroits de rendez-vous, leur donnèrent des noms de convention, connus d'eux seuls. Ils appelaient ces endroits des *camps*, quoiqu'ils n'y fissent aucune espèce d'établissement ni de séjour. Il y avait le camp de la Vache-Noire, le camp Vert, le camp de l'Avoine, le camp des Fourmis, etc., etc." (Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, I, 336, n. 1). The author informs us that the rendez-vous of Jambe-d'argent was le Haut-des-Prés (*Ibid.*, I, 361). He observes that the real name of Jambe-d'argent was Jean Treton. (*Ibid.*, I, 165). Le Grand-Bordage, to which Hugo alludes, is mentioned *ibid.*, I, 336.

Hugo writes: "Tu iras au camp de la Vache-Noire qui est sur une hauteur au milieu du bois de la Charnie, puis au camp de l'Avoine, puis au camp Vert, puis au camp des Fourmis. Tu iras au Grand-Bordage, qu'on appelle aussi le Haut-des-Prés, et qui est habité par une veuve dont Treton, dit l'Anglais, a épousé la fille" (*Quatrevingt-treize*, pp. 91-92).

native population brought food. The principal handicap was the lack of ventilation.²⁶

In order to break the monotony of their underground existence, the Chouans resorted to rather dangerous stratagems at times. One of their leaders, Denys dit *Tranche montagne*, slipped away to the theater at Laval, disguised as a woman.²⁷ When at a loss for other expedients, Jean Chouan would make his followers pray, hours at a time. "Il nous faisait *chapeletter* tout le jour durant," an eyewitness reported to Duchemin-Descepeaux.²⁸

Hugo was indebted to Duchemin-Descepeaux for a considerable number of miscellaneous details regarding the Chouans. Thus he learns of the expert use of the *ferte*, or long pole, by

²⁶ "La clairière nommée la Grand'ville fut le lieu qu'on choisit . . . Des excavations furent pratiquées à l'entour de cet endroit, et l'on redoubla de précautions, pour que l'œil le plus exercé ne pût en deviner l'entrée. L'ouverture n'avait que la largeur nécessaire au passage d'un homme . . . Des morceaux de bois soutenaient cette espèce de voûte dont on garnissait le fond avec des fougères, de la mousse et des feuilles sèches. La terre qu'on en tirait pouvant donner des indices, elle était emportée bien loin, et afin de ne laisser aucune trace du travail, on la jetait d'ordinaire dans les mares ou dans les ruisseaux. Plusieurs de ces trous pouvaient contenir jusqu'à six hommes. La plus grande difficulté était d'y ménager un courant d'air" (Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, I, 216-217).

Hugo writes: "Habituellement le couvercle fait de mousse et de branches était si artistement façonné, qu'impossible à distinguer du dehors dans l'herbe, il était très facile à ouvrir et à fermer du dedans. Ces repaires étaient creusés avec soin. On allait jeter à quelque étang voisin la terre qu'on ôtait du puits, La paroi intérieure et le sol étaient tapissés de fougère et de mousse . . . On était bien là, à cela près qu'on était sans jour, sans feu, sans pain et sans air" (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 258). On the same page Hugo notes: "On apportait à manger aux hommes enfouis. Il y en eut qui, oubliés, moururent de faim." Cf. Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, I, 64, for the supplies brought by the peasants, and *ibid.*, I, 25, for the death of a Chouan in an *émousse*.

²⁷ " . . . le jeune Denys dit *Tranche-montagne* . . . s'habillait en femme pour aller à la comédie à Laval . . . " (Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, II, 143). "Denys, dit *Tranche-Montagne*, se déguisait en femme pour aller à la comédie à Laval . . . " (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 259).

²⁸ "Dans ces instans fâcheux, Jean Chouan occupait sa troupe à de longues prières, et en cela encore il donnait l'exemple. Il nous faisait *chapeletter* tout le jour durant, m'ont dit ces braves gens, et cela nous ôtait les mauvaises pensées" (Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, I, 218). "Ou bien ils priaient pour tuer le temps. *Tout le jour*, dit Bourdoiseau, *Jean Chouan nous faisait chapeletter*" (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 259).

Miélette;²⁹ of the reluctance of blood-thirsty Mousqueton to spare his enemies;³⁰ of the fact that the wives of the Chouans were permitted to follow their husbands to camp.³¹

Hugo may also have drawn from Duchemin-Descepeaux his information regarding the Chouan practice of using pregnant women as spies.³²

He was probably indebted to a number of authors for his data regarding the system of secret intelligence which prevailed among the Chouans. He possibly had in mind the *Lettres sur l'origine de la Chouannerie*, however, when he wrote the following lines: "Ces belligérants souterrains étaient admirablement renseignés. Rien de plus rapide que leurs communications, rien de plus mystérieux."³³ Duchemin-Descepeaux was somewhat more specific when he wrote: "Bientôt les Chouans

²⁹ "Tu iras ensuite au bois de Rougefeu où est Miélette qui saute par-dessus les ravins en s'arc-boutant sur une longue perche" (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 87).

Duchemin-Descepeaux relates how Miélette, with only a *ferle*, attacked a sentinel and knocked him down. He also broke open a door with the *ferle*. (*Op. cit.*, I, 133). *Ibid.*, I, 271, there is mention of Rougefeu: . . . à l'endroit appelé *Rougefeu*. Miélette, however, lived at la Baconnière (*ibid.*, I, 125, n. 1).

³⁰ Mousqueton was reluctant to spare his enemies. Jambe-d'argent remonstrated with him, but he "répondit que ce n'était pas le temps d'avoir des scrupules, qu'il en prenait le péché sur sa conscience . . ." (Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, II, 62-63). " . . . tu y trouveras un homme cagneux qui est surnommé Mousqueton, et qui ne fait miséricorde à personne" (*Quatrevingt-treize*, pp. 86-87).

³¹ "A son retour de prison . . . il [René] abandonna sa maison, emmena avec lui sa femme, qui était grosse, et vint se joindre à la troupe des Chouans" (Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, I, 268). " . . . quelques-uns ayant leur femme à côté d'eux; car souvent les paysannes suivaient les paysans . . ." (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 296).

³² " . . . en Vendée, les femmes grosses servaient d'espions" (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 296). The use of women soldiers by the Chouan leaders was a well-established fact. Numerous historians make reference to this practice. Blanc in particular names two heroines who enlisted in the Vendéan army. One of these, Mme de la Rochefoucauld, who, the historian notes, reduced her age three years on enlisting, was captured by the republicans, and sent to the scaffold. The other heroine, Marie-Antoinette-Pétrouille Adams, met death before the firing squad. (Blanc, *op. cit.*, II, 191).

Regarding the use of women as spies, Duchemin-Descepeaux writes: " . . . les patriotes avaient imaginé dans ce temps, pour faire l'espionnage avec moins de danger, d'y employer des femmes enceintes, ou du moins qui feignaient de l'être" (*Op. cit.*, I, 372, n. 1).

³³ *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 260.

eurent dans chaque paroisse des gens avec qui ils s'entendirent, des moyens de correspondance convenus, et des asiles sûrs pour leurs messages."³⁴

(c) ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE³⁵

Among the details which Hugo may have taken from Lamartine is the story of Guadet's visit to the Tuileries, and of the kiss which he bestowed upon the sleeping Dauphin.³⁶

It is possible, also, that Hugo's description of the gallant fight made by *la Claymore* was modeled to some extent on a passage in the *Histoire des Girondins* concerning the sinking of *le Vengeur*. Three enemy vessels surround *le Vengeur*. *La Claymore* is surrounded by eight. The crew of *le Vengeur* nails its colors to the broken fragment of a mast, and goes down, fighting to the last, and crying: "Vive la République!" Captain Boisberthelot of *la Claymore* orders the white flag of the Bourbons nailed to the main mast, and the crew goes down, fighting to the last, and crying: "Vive le roi!" Supplying the usual antithesis, Hugo has the enemy crew answer: "Vive la République!"³⁷

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, 349-350.

³⁵ *Histoire des Girondins*, Oeuvres complètes de Lamartine, Paris (1891-1893).

³⁶ "... le fatal Guadet, auquel une unit, aux Tuileries la reine avait montré le dauphin endormi; Guadet baisa le front de l'enfant et fit tomber la tête du père . . ." (*Quarrevingt-treize*, p. 214).

"Quand Guadet voulut se retirer, la reine lui demanda s'il ne désirait pas voir le Dauphin; et, prenant elle-même un flambeau sur la cheminée, elle le conduisit dans un cabinet où le jeune prince était couché. L'enfant dormait. . . Il [Guadet] écarta de la main les cheveux qui couvrirent le visage du Dauphin, et l'embrassa sur le front sans le réveiller" (Lamartine, *op. cit.*, II, 257).

³⁷ "Le vaisseau *le Vengeur*, entouré par trois vaisseaux ennemis, combattait encore, son capitaine coupé en deux, ses officiers mutilés, ses marins décimés par la mitraille, ses mâts écroulés, ses voiles en cendres. . . L'équipage . . . cloua le pavillon sur le tronçon d'un mât, refusa toute composition, et attendit que la vague qui remplissait la cale de minute en minute le fît sombrer sous son feu. A mesure que le vaisseau se submerge étage par étage, l'intrépide équipage lâche la bordée de tous les canons de la batterie que la mer allait recouvrir. Cette batterie éteinte, l'équipage remonte à la batterie supérieure et la décharge sur l'ennemi. Enfin, quand les lames balayent déjà le pont, la dernière bordée éclate encore au niveau de la mer, et l'équipage s'enfonce avec le vaisseau aux cris de: "Vive la République!" (Lamartine, *op. cit.*, VI, 247).

"Les huit bâtiments formaient maintenant un demi-cercle dont les Minquiers faisaient la corde. *La Claymore*, enfermée dans ce demi-cercle, et d'ail-

(d) GARAT²⁸

In the opening paragraph of Book II of *Quatrevingt-treize*, Hugo refers to a dramatic episode in Garat's *Mémoires*. According to Hugo's version, Garat took Clavière to a place of safety in the rue de Beaune, stopped his carriage on the Pont-Royal in order to listen to the tocsin, and then returned to a well-known cabaret in the rue du Paon, in order to obtain information. Garat states that he took Clavière in his own carriage to the rue des St. Pères; and that, on his return, he stopped his vehicle for a few moments on the "pont ci-devant Royal."²⁹

leurs garrottée par ses propres ancres, était adossée à l'écueil, c'est-à-dire au naufrage . . .

" . . . C'était le capitaine Boisberthelot qui prenait la parole.

"—Marins du roi, cria-t-il, clouez le pavillon blanc au grand mât. Nous allons voir se lever notre dernier soleil.

"Et un coup de canon partit de la corvette.

"—Vive le roi! cria l'équipage.

"Alors on entendit au fond de l'horizon un autre cri, immense, lointain, confus, distinct pourtant:

"—Vive la République!" (*Quatrevingt-treize*, pp. 67, 72).

After the sinking of *la Claymore* (*ibid.*, p. 74), the vast tableau of the ocean unfolds itself, in contrast with the tiny boat in which Lantenac has taken refuge. Several times previously, Hugo had described the gradual sinking of a boat, and the final tableau, where only the sea was visible. Note in *l'Homme qui rit* (*éd. définitive*, I, 211-212) the description of the sinking of the doctor. The bust, then the head, then an arm holding a gourd, finally only the gourd are visible. In the closing scene of *les Travaillleurs de la mer*, Gilliat is gradually covered by the water, while a ship disappears on the horizon. "Il n'y eut plus rien que la mer." (*Édition définitive*, II, 344). Cf. the description of the gradual disappearance of a man in the quicksands (*les Misérables*, *éd. définitive*, V, 213-215).

²⁸ D. J. Garat, *Mémoires sur la Révolution*, Paris, l'an III de la République.

²⁹ "Cependant, tout-à-coup, un aide-de-camp de Bournonville entre précipitamment dans le cabinet de Lebrun, nous assure que le tocsin sonne dans plusieurs sections, nous apprend que Bournonville est sorti de l'hôtel de la guerre, où il pouvoit courir trop de risques, et nous invite tous, mais sur-tout Clavière, à chercher un lieu de sûreté. Lebrun se détermina à l'instant à rester chez lui, Clavière à aller demander un lit à un de ses amis dans un autre quartier que le sien: il n'avait pas sa voiture; je le pris dans la mienne; je le conduisis de la rue Cerutti à la rue des St.-Pères, au faubourg Germain A mon retour chez moi j'ordonnai à la voiture d'aller lentement pour mieux écouter et pour mieux regarder: j'arrêtai même quelques minutes sur le pont ci-devant Royal, sur le Carrousel, à l'entrée de la place ci-devant Vendôme" (Garat, *op. cit.*, p. 93). Cf. *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 163.

The cabaret, or café, to which Hugo refers was apparently the café Corazza, where, according to Adolphe Schmidt, the fall of the Girondists and the supre-

The principal discrepancy between the two accounts is noted by Hugo himself, in the following manner: "C'était là [a cabaret in the rue du Paon] que Garat, bien qu'il n'en convienne pas dans ses *Mémoires*, était venu aux renseignements . . . "40

(e) LE MONITEUR⁴¹

Hugo's citations from *le Moniteur* are frequently inexact. The following passage from *Quatrevingt-treize*, in which he refers to *le Moniteur*, is an illustration of the inaccuracy of his quotations from that journal:

Barère était en train de lire un rapport; il s'agissait de la Vendée. Neuf cents hommes du Morbihan étaient partis avec du canon pour secourir Nantes. Redon était menacé par les paysans. Paimbœuf était attaqué. Une station navale croisait à Maindrin pour empêcher les descentes. Depuis Ingrande jusqu'à Maure, toute la rive gauche de la Loire était hérissée de batteries royalistes. Trois mille paysans étaient maîtres de Pornic. Ils criaient: *Vivent les Anglais!* Une lettre de Santerre à la Convention, que Barère lisait, se terminait ainsi: "Sept mille paysans ont attaqué Vannes. Nous les avons repoussés, et ils ont laissé dans nos mains quatre canons . . . " —Et combien de prisonniers? interrompit une voix.

Barère continua . . . —Post-scriptum de la lettre: "Nous n'avons pas fait de prisonniers, parce que nous n'en faisons plus."⁴²

Let us turn now to the version found in *le Moniteur*:

Barère: Les citoyens qui ont apporté les nouvelles de la Vendée prient la Convention de les entendre.

L'un d'eux: . . . L'armée de Charette est en pleine déroute et dispersée en petits corps; Boin est à nous. Nous n'avons pas fait de prisonniers, parce que nous n'en faisons plus. Depuis huit jours les restes des brigands ne se nourrissent que de navets; ils sont atteints d'une fièvre et d'une toux qui les conduisent au tombeau; neuf cents ont été fusillés à Nantes, et leurs corps jetés dans la Loire.⁴³

macy of the Mountaineers was plotted. (Adolphe Schmidt, *Paris pendant la Révolution*, tr. by Paul Viollet, Paris (1880), I, 122). Hugo says (*l.c.*): "C'était là qu'avait été échangé un baiser fameux entre la Montagne et la Gironde." Garat's account of the café Corazza follows: ". . . mais au café Corazza conféroient presque journellement ceux qui préparoient de loin, qui arrangeoient la révolte pour l'organiser dans des formes qui ressembleroient à l'insurrection du 10 août. Gusman, Défieux, Proli, Chabot, Collot, étoient les plus assidus à ces conférences, et Collot, Chabot, Proli, Défieux, Gusman, ont été les principaux auteurs de la révolte du 31 mai et du 2 juin" (Garat, *op. cit.*, p. 103). Passage cited also by Adolphe Schmidt, *l.c.*

⁴⁰ *Quatrevingt-treize*, *l.c.*

⁴¹ *Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur*, Paris (1847).

⁴² *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 241.

⁴³ *Moniteur cit.*, XIX, 81.

It will be observed that Hugo has entirely rearranged the scene. In order to give greater relief to the figure of Barère, he puts into his mouth a speech which properly belongs to a less important person. To this speech he adds details taken here and there, and the result is quite different from anything found in *le Moniteur*. In *le Moniteur* the statement that the republican forces had ceased to take prisoners is placed in the middle of a paragraph. Hugo removes the statement from its inconspicuous position, and places it in a "post-scriptum," which he invents.

Similarly, in another passage in *Quatrevingt-treize* intended to illustrate the intemperate language which characterized the sessions of the Convention, Hugo seems to have arranged his materials *ad libitum*:

Les menaces volaient et se croisaient dans la discussion comme les flammèches dans l'incendie.—PÉTITION: Robespierre, venez au fait—ROBESPIERRE: Le fait, c'est vous Pétion. J'y viendrai, et vous le verrez.—UNE VOIX: Mort à Marat!—MARAT: Le jour où Marat mourra, il n'y aura plus de Paris, et le jour où Paris périra, il n'y aura plus de république . . . Une fois pourtant, dans le tumulte du 11 avril 1793, le président fit arrêter un interrupteur des tribunes.⁴⁴

Here it is difficult to identify with certainty the speeches quoted by Hugo, but the following comparisons are suggested.

There was a verbal tilt between Robespierre and Pétion which is thus recorded in *le Moniteur*:

ROBESPIERRE: Réponds aux faits. (On applaudit dans une partie de la salle.)

PÉTION: C'est toi que je poursuivrai. (Murmures d'un grand nombre de membres).⁴⁵

Pétion seems to have got the better of the argument. Apparently Hugo has reversed the rôles of the two speakers, in accordance with his well-known principle of giving the greatest possible prominence to his principal characters.

On another occasion, Marat's voice was drowned by the tumult. Several voices were heard to cry:—"A bas, à bas Marat!"⁴⁶

It is possible that Hugo reduced the number of voices to one, in pursuance of his principle of concentration, and changed the words "A bas Marat!" to "Mort à Marat!"

⁴⁴ *Quatrevingt-treize*, pp. 232-233.

⁴⁵ *Moniteur cit.*, XVI, 125.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, XVI, 57.

As for the retort which Hugo attributes to Marat, it is to be noted that in the stormy session of April 11, 1793, referred to by Hugo, the president stated that if a successful attack was made upon the national representative government, Paris would fall. As quoted in *le Moniteur*, his exact words were: "Bientôt on chercherait sur les rives de la Seine si Paris a existé . . ." ⁴⁷

Hugo may have put the language of the president of the Convention into Marat's mouth, and reversed the order of events. At all events, he makes the fall of Paris precede the destruction of the republic, whereas the president of the Convention had declared that the fall of the republican government would result in the destruction of Paris.

The arrest of a persistent disturber of the Convention, referred to by Hugo, is related in *le Moniteur*. ⁴⁸

In one instance, Hugo has followed *le Moniteur* with fair accuracy. Here, however, he does not refer to *le Moniteur*, but to the *Archives de la marine*. ⁴⁹ The passage concerned is a description of the republican fleet sighted by *la Claymore*, in one of the opening scenes of *Quatrevingt-treize*.

Note the following comparisons:

<i>Quatrevingt-treize</i> . ⁵⁰	<i>Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur</i> . ⁵¹
. . . c'est le vaisseau <i>la Côte-d'Or</i> .	<i>Les États de Bourgogne</i> , aujourd'hui
—Qu'ils ont débaptisé, dit le capitaine. C'était autrefois les <i>États-de-Bourgogne</i> . Un navire neuf. Cent vingt-huit canons.	<i>la Côte-d'Or</i> , 118 canons, neuf, en armement.
—C'est <i>l'Expérimentée</i> .	<i>L'Expérimentée</i> , 50 canons, en armement.
—Frégate de premier rang. Cinquante-deux canons. Elle était en armement à Brest il y a deux mois.	(All vessels listed in this passage are in the port of Brest).
— <i>La Dryade</i> .	<i>Frégates bonnes, en armement ou armées, portant 40 canons de 18 liv.</i>
—Frégate de premier rang. Quarante canons de dix-huit . . .	. . . <i>la Driade</i> . . .
—Quelle est la première à partir du vaisseau?	<i>Idem, portant 32 canons de 12 liv. de balles.</i>

⁴⁷ *Moniteur cit.*, XVI, 480.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, XVI, 122.

⁴⁹ *Quatrevingt-treize*, pp. 63, 64.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Moniteur cit.*, XV, 762.

- La Résolue*. . . . *la Résolue* . . .
 —Trente-deux pièces de dix-huit.
 Et la seconde?
 —*Le Richemont*. . . . *la Richemont* . . .
 —Même force. Après?
 —*L'Athée*. . . . *l'Athée* . . .
 —Drôle de nom pour aller en mer.
 Après?
 —*La Calypso*. . . . *la Calypso* . . .
 —Après?
 —*La Preneuse*. . . . *la Preneuse* . . .
 —Cinq frégates de trente-deux
 chacune.

(f) DU ROSEL⁵²

In *Quatrevingt-treize*, Hugo refers to Du Rosel's text-book on marine tactics. Many of the nautical terms which appear in the novel are taken apparently from this source.⁵³

II

In the first part of this paper, it has been seen that Hugo draws numerous minor details from Blanc, Duchemin-Descepeaux, Lamartine, Garat, the official *Moniteur*, and perhaps from Du Rosel. From these sources, we have found, he takes not only historical incidents of the picturesque sort, but also bits of phraseology as well.

It is now our task to study the principal characters in *Quatrevingt-treize*, Marat, Robespierre, Danton; Cimourdain, Lantenac, Gauvain; *l'Imâmus* and Michelle Flécharde. As a starting point for such a study, a summary of the plot of *Quatrevingt-treize* is essential.

The old marquis de Lantenac, leader of the Vendéan forces, is an entirely fictitious character. Opposed to him is another fictitious character, his nephew, the 'ci-devant vicomte de Gauvain.' In solemn conclave with Marat and Danton, Robespierre accuses Gauvain of excessive clemency. He therefore

⁵² P. C. Du Rosel, *Instruction abrégée et méthodique concernant l'art de manœuvrer et de servir le canon nautique, ou Exercice de combat à l'usage des corsaires de la République française* . . . par le citoyen P. C. Durosel. Paris (1793).

⁵³ Hugo's reference to Du Rosel is found in *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 49. Nautical terms abound, *ibid.*, pp. 65-67. I have given the little volume by Durosel only a cursory examination, and hope to make a more detailed study of it later. It is my impression that the famous episode in *Quatrevingt-treize* (pp. 39-55) where a loose cannon plays havoc with *la Claymore* may have been suggested by Du Rosel, who furnishes specific rules for preventing just such a disaster.

sends Cimourdain, once the preceptor of Gauvain, and always the personification of inexorable justice, to supervise the conduct of his former pupil. Cimourdain and Gauvain wage war so successfully that Lantenac is finally surrounded in the burning tower of La Tourgue, together with the handful of faithful soldiers who remain to him. Lantenac escapes by a secret passage, but returns to save the lives of the three children of Michelle Flécharde, who have been kept as hostages. Arrested by Cimourdain the inflexible, Lantenac awaits execution on the morrow. After an inner struggle Gauvain, touched by his uncle's humanity, decides to let him escape, and takes his place in prison. Gauvain is executed, being sentenced by Cimourdain, who shoots himself.

(a) MARAT

Hugo's portrait of Marat is taken freely from Lamartine's *Histoire des Girondins*.⁵⁴ Let us note the following comparisons:

<i>Quatrevingt-treize</i> ⁵⁵	<i>Histoire des Girondins</i> ⁵⁶
Le petit (Marat) était un homme jaune qui, assis, semblait difforme; il avait la tête renversée en arrière, ... une bouche énorme et terrible. les yeux injectés de sang, des plaques livides sur le visage,	. . . Petit, maigre, osseux . . . Il portait la tête haute et un peu pen- chée à gauche, comme dans le défi. la bouche immense et ricaneuse ⁵⁷ Sa bouche, largement fendue comme pour lancer l'injure, avait le pli habit- uel du dédain. ⁵⁸ Ses yeux, quoique proéminents et pleins d'insolence, paraissaient souf- frir de l'éblouissement du grand jour. ⁵⁹ la peau livide. ⁶⁰ Des taches de bile et de sang marqu- aient sa peau. ⁶¹

⁵⁴ " . . . dans cette même *Histoire des Girondins* une fiche déchirée, qui porte sur un des côtés ces deux vers:

Immobile à jamais sous le ciel étoilé
Des familiarités d'oiseau vite envolé,

marque, au IV^e tome, la page 275 où l'on trouve ce portrait en pied de Marat: 'Le costume débraillé de Marat contrastait également avec le costume décent de Robespierre, etc.' " (Paul Berret, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-142).

⁵⁵ *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 164.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁵⁷ *Histoire des Girondins*, III, 296.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* V, 68.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* III, 296.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.* V, 68

Un mouchoir noué sur ses cheveux gras et plats, Il avait un pantalon à pied, ⁶³ de larges souliers, pas de front,	Les cheveux gras entourés d'un mou- choir sale. ⁶³ un pantalon d'étoffe grossière et taché de boue. ⁶⁴ Des souliers sans boucles, ⁶⁵ le front fuyant ⁶⁶
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Hugo's account of Marat's faithful porter, Laurent Basse, is apparently taken also from the *Histoire des Girondins*, as the following comparisons would indicate:

*Quatrevingt-treize*⁶⁷

A la porte et dehors se tenait le chien de garde de Marat, ce Laurent Basse, commissionnaire du numéro 18 de la rue des Cordeliers, qui, le 13 juillet, environ quinze jours après ce 28 juin, devait asséner un coup de chaise sur la tête de la femme nommée Charlotte Corday . . .

Laurent Basse était le porteur d'épreuves de l'*Ami du peuple*.

*Histoire des Girondins*⁶⁸

Un commissionnaire, nommé Laurent Basse, faisait les messages et les travaux du dehors.
Le commissionnaire Laurent s'arme d'une chaise, lui assène un coup mal assuré sur la tête . . . ⁶⁹

. . . cet homme de peine s'occupait dans l'antichambre aux travaux manuels nécessités par l'envoi des feuilles et des affiches de l'*ami du peuple*.⁷⁰

A description of the bill of fare enjoyed by the royal family during their imprisonment at the Temple is found in Blanc's *Histoire de la Révolution Française*. Hugo put some of Blanc's words into the mouth of Marat.⁷¹

⁶³ *Ibid.* III, 296.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* V, 68. Note also the description of Marat's headgear given by Blanc: " . . il portait autour de la tête un madras rouge et sale, d'où des cheveux gras s'échappaient par mèches, et un mouchoir à peine attaché entourait son cou" (Blanc, *op. cit.*, II, 56).

⁶⁵ Lamartine, *op. cit.*, III, 297.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* V, 68.

⁶⁸ *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 165.

⁶⁹ *Histoire des Girondins*, V, 65.

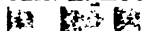
⁷⁰ *Ibid.* V, 69.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* V, 65,

⁷² "Marat poursuivait:

—Je sais ce que vous dites, Robespierre, comme je sais ce qui se passait à la tour du Temple quand on y engraisait Louis XVI, si bien que, seulement dans le mois de septembre, le loup, la louve et les louveteaux ont mangé quatrevingt-six paniers de pêches" (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 180).

" . . au Temple . . dans le mois de septembre, on y mangea quatrevingt-six paniers de pêches . . ." (L. Blanc, *op. cit.*, II, 89, 90).



He also borrows from Blanc, apparently, the words of Marat, "Je suis l'œil du peuple."⁷²

(b) ROBESPIERRE

Hugo's portrait of Robespierre, like that of Marat, seems to have been taken freely from the *Histoire des Girondins*.

Quatrevingt-treize.⁷³

. . . pâle, jeune, grave, avec les lèvres minces et le regard froid. .

Il était poudré, ganté, brossé, boutonné.

Il avait une culotte de nankin, des bas blancs, des souliers à boucles d'argent. Son habit bleu-clair ne faisait pas un pli.

. . une haute cravate, un jabot plissé . . .

. . . Il avait dans la joue un tic nerveux qui devait le gêner pour sourire.

Histoire des Girondins.⁷⁴

. . . ses lèvres minces, . . . son teint d'un jaune livide, comme celui d'un malade ou d'un homme consumé de veilles et de méditations.

Une chevelure poudrée à blanc et relevée en ailes sur les tempes, un habit bleuclair boutonné sur les hanches . . .⁷⁵

une culotte courte de couleur jaune,⁷⁶ des bas blancs,⁷⁷

des souliers à boucles d'argent,⁷⁸

. . un habit bleu-clair boutonné sur les hanches,⁷⁹

ouvert sur la poitrine pour laisser éclater un gilet blanc.⁸⁰

Les traits et l'expression de son visage trahissaient la tension perpétuelle d'un esprit qui s'efforce. Ces traits se détendaient et se déridaient jusqu'à la gaieté dans l'intérieur, à table . . .⁸¹

Hugo seems to have obtained also from Lamartine certain details concerning Robespierre's visits to the Duplay home, his betrothal to Éléonore Duplay, and the receptions given to

⁷² "Je suis l'œil énorme du peuple, et, du fond de ma cave, je regarde" (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 181).

"Il [Marat] ajoutait: ". . . je me dois au peuple, dont je suis l'œil" (L. Blanc, *op. cit.*, II, 183).

⁷³ *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 164.

⁷⁴ *Histoire des Girondins*, I, 43.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* III, p. 259.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

such guests as Lebas and David. These materials he puts into the mouth of Marat.⁸²

Another detail concerning Robespierre's life which he put into the mouth of Marat is borrowed from Garat's *Mémoires*. Hugo represents Marat as accusing Robespierre of saying: "*Je suis las de la révolution.*"⁸³ The text in Garat's *Mémoires* is "*Je suis BIEN LAS DE LA REVOLUTION.*"⁸⁴

(c) DANTON

In describing the physical appearance of Danton, Lamartine resorted to an antithesis which Hugo readily adapted to *Quatre-vingt-treize*. Lamartine wrote: "Il s'admirait comme un géant au milieu de ces nains du peuple."⁸⁵ Hugo, contrasting Danton and Marat, wrote: "Les deux autres hommes étaient, l'un une espèce de géant, l'autre une espèce de nain."⁸⁶

Note also the following comparisons:

Quatre-vingt-treize ⁸⁷

. . . il y avait de la crinière dans sa
perruque.
. . . un poing de portefaix . . .

Histoire des Girondins.⁸⁸

. . . sa chevelure semblable à une
crinière . . .
son geste gigantesque . . .

Danton's speech in *Quatre-vingt-treize* summarizing the military situation has certain features in common with a chapter in Blanc's *Histoire de la Révolution* dealing with the same subject. The resemblance is rather general, however.⁸⁹

⁸² "Je sais ce qu'on dit à votre table les jours où Lebas invite David à venir manger la cuisine faite par sa promise, Élisabeth Duplay, votre future belle-sœur, Robespierre" (*Quatre-vingt-treize*, p. 181).

"Un très-petit nombre d'amis de Robespierre et de Duplay étaient admis, tour à tour, dans cette intimité . . . tous les soirs Lebas, Saint-Just, David, Couthon, Buonarotti . . . Là, on s'entretenait de la Révolution" (Lamartine, *op. cit.*, III, 260).

"De toutes les sœurs d'Éléonore, celle que Robespierre affectionnait le plus était Élisabeth, la plus jeune des trois, que son compatriote et son collègue Lebas recherchait en mariage et qu'il épousa bientôt après" (*Ibid.* III, 257).

⁸³ *Quatre-vingt-treize*, p. 182.

⁸⁴ Garat, *op. cit.*, p. 57. Cf. Lamartine, *op. cit.*, III, 345, where Lamartine quotes Garat.

⁸⁵ Lamartine, *op. cit.*, VI, 221.

⁸⁶ *Quatre-vingt-treize*, p. 164.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 164.

⁸⁸ Lamartine, *op. cit.*, II, 170.

⁸⁹ *Quatre-vingt-treize*, pp. 171-173.

(d) CIMOURDAIN

The sources for the character of Cimourdain are quite complicated. He is represented as a combination of elements from the characters of Jacques Roux,⁹⁰ the anarchist, Saint-Just, the Revolutionary leader, and Jean Valjean and Javert, characters in *les Misérables*.

For his materials relating to Jacques Roux, Hugo has drawn apparently from Blanc and Mortimer-Ternaux;⁹¹ for Saint-Just, he seems to rely largely on Lamartine and Blanc.

Like Jacques Roux, Cimourdain is a former priest.⁹² Both are leaders of the party of the Évêché, a party more extreme than the extremists,⁹³ which was an object of dread to the Convention. Jacques Roux, by his violence, acquires a following in the famous section of the Gravilliers, which had furnished 30,000 Jacobin soldiers.⁹⁴ Cimourdain is likewise very popular in "les quartiers sombres de Paris."⁹⁵ Like Jacques Roux, Cimourdain is little known to the public. "Personne aujourd'hui ne sait son nom. L'histoire a de ces inconnus terribles."⁹⁶

Here the resemblance between Cimourdain and Jacques Roux may be said to cease. Jacques Roux is merely an anarchist.

⁹⁰ See Saint-René Taillandier, on *Quatrevingt-treize*, in *Revue des deux mondes*, IIIe Période, II (1874), p. 123.

⁹¹ M. Mortimer-Ternaux, *Histoire de la Terreur 1792-1794*, third edition, Paris (1868-1881). Hugo seems to have used the first edition, publication of which was begun in 1862. See Paul Berret, *op. cit.*, p. 139. (Letter from Paul Meurice to Victor Hugo, dated June 23, 1863.) ". . . Le livre de *Mortimer-Ternaux* est fait dans un esprit libéral." (Note 1. Il s'agit de l'*Histoire de la Terreur*. Victor Hugo dans sa lettre de 31 mai 1863 avait demandé à P. Meurice: "Qu'est-ce que l'ouvrage *Mortimer-Ternaux*?").

⁹² *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 149. Cf. L. Blanc, *op. cit.*, II, 251.

⁹³ "La réunion, dite l'Évêché, parce qu'elle tenait ses séances dans une salle du vieux palais épiscopal, était plutôt une complication d'hommes qu'une réunion . . . Cimourdain s'était rallié à ce groupe. Ce groupe réagissait contre les réacteurs" (*Quatrevingt-treize*, pp. 154-155).

"Mais, depuis que les réunions de l'Évêché avaient acquis de l'importance, il s'était formé un parti qu'on désigna sous le nom d'*Enragés*: les *Enragés*, à la tête desquels figuraient Varlet, Leclerc et Jacques Roux, ne manquèrent pas de s'élever bruyamment contre la Constitution de 1793" (L. Blanc, *op. cit.*, II, 251).

⁹⁴ Mortimer-Ternaux, *op. cit.*, VIII, 316.

⁹⁵ *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 152.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 157.

After leading a riot against the grocers,⁹⁷ he is guilty also of assembling a threatening mob at Port Saint-Nicolas and at Grenouillère to demand reductions in the price of cargoes of soap, which are being discharged there.⁹⁸ Cimourdain plays in this instance a rôle diametrically opposite to that of Jacques Roux. By a word, he prevents the pillage of a boat laden with soap which has arrived at Port Saint Nicolas.⁹⁹ Jacques Roux is subservient to Marat, whom he desires to imitate, and is easily crushed by Robespierre, who denounces him to the Jacobins for dealings with the Austrians.¹⁰⁰ Cimourdain, on the other hand, has sufficient moral force to cause Marat to blanch with fear before him,¹⁰¹ and Robespierre's respect for him is so great that he places him in charge of the Vendéan expedition.¹⁰²

Cimourdain owes his popularity not to rabid utterance, like Jacques Roux, but to a certain courage. He has saved the life of a man by sucking the poison from an infected tumor. Some one says: "Si vous faisiez cela au roi, vous seriez évêque." "Je ne le ferais pas au roi," answers Cimourdain to the delight of the people.¹⁰³

Jacques Roux is nearly illiterate. In a letter to Danton, dated August 18, 1792, he writes *trumphe, intriguants, précédante, aborhait, mourai, défendeur*, etc.¹⁰⁴ Cimourdain, on the other hand, is well educated. He speaks "espagnol à Gusman, italien à Pio, anglais à Arthur, flamand à Pereyra, allemand à l'autrichien Proly, bâtard d'un prince."¹⁰⁵

Hugo's Cimourdain thus moves on a higher plane than Jacques Roux. The superior moral fibre of Cimourdain is due chiefly to the addition of three strains: one, from the character of Saint-Just; another, from that of Javert, the police-spy; the third, from that of Jean Valjean.

⁹⁷ Mortimer-Ternaux, *op. cit.*, VI, 54.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* VIII, 318.

⁹⁹ *Quatrevingt-treize*, pp. 152-153.

¹⁰⁰ Mortimer-Ternaux, *op. cit.*, VIII, 320.

¹⁰¹ *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 189.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* p. 199.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 152.

¹⁰⁴ Mortimer-Ternaux, *op. cit.*, III, 420.

¹⁰⁵ *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 156.

From Saint-Just, as conceived by Lamartine, Hugo has derived the moral rigidity which characterizes Cimourdain. Lamartine's Saint-Just is "immobile à la tribune, froid comme une idée, . . . le calme de la conviction absolue répandue sur ses traits . . ." ¹⁰⁶ Cimourdain has "la certitude aveugle" which makes him act "inexorablement." ¹⁰⁷ Saint-Just's passion "avait, pour ainsi dire, pétrifié ses entrailles." ¹⁰⁸ Similarly Cimourdain's logic "ne s'attendrit pas." ¹⁰⁹

Both Saint-Just and Cimourdain seemed distracted and detached from their fellows. Saint-Just was impersonal as a voice; Cimourdain listened only to an inner voice. ¹¹⁰

Lamartine and Hugo resort alike to geometrical comparisons to illustrate the unbending character of their heroes. Lamartine says of Saint-Just: "Sa logique avait contracté l'impassibilité d'une géométrie . . ." ¹¹¹ Hugo says of Cimourdain: "En révolution rien de redoutable comme la ligne droite." ¹¹² Saint-Just, according to Lamartine, "n'avait ni regards, ni oreilles, ni cœur pour tout ce qui lui paraissait faire obstacle . . . Tout ce qui se rencontrait entre ce but et lui disparaissait ou devait disparaître." ¹¹³ Cimourdain was like the arrow "qui ne voit que le but et qui y va." ¹¹⁴

Both Saint-Just and Cimourdain had passed through the stormy years of the Revolution without modifying their convictions. Saint-Just, according to Lamartine, had been unshaken by "Rois, trônes, sang, femmes, enfants, peuples." ¹¹⁵ Cimourdain had been unmoved by "89, la chute de la Bastille, la fin du supplice des peuples; 90, le 19 juin, la fin de la féodalité;

¹⁰⁶ Lamartine, *op. cit.*, III, 433.

¹⁰⁷ *Quatrevingt-treize*, pp. 154, 150.

¹⁰⁸ Lamartine, *op. cit.*, III, 433.

¹⁰⁹ *Quatrevingt-treize*, pp. 150-151.

¹¹⁰ Lamartine says that Saint-Just, after speaking at the Convention, appeared "silencieux et impalpable, non comme un homme, mais comme une voix" (*Op. cit.*, III, 434). Cimourdain "était de ces hommes qui ont en eux une voix, et qui l'écotent. Ces hommes-là semblent distraits; point; ils sont attentifs" (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 153).

¹¹¹ Lamartine, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

¹¹² *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 154.

¹¹³ Lamartine, *op. cit.*, III, 433.

¹¹⁴ *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 154.

¹¹⁵ Lamartine, *l. c.*

91, Varennes, la fin de la royauté; 92, l'avènement de la république."¹¹⁶

Blended with these characteristics of Saint-Just are certain elements taken from the character of Javert, who was blind to everything but the law. In the concluding chapters of *Quatre-vingt-treize*, when the crowd stands aside, in awe, at the "vision" of Lantenac rescuing the children from the burning tower of la Tourgue, Cimourdain, the legal-minded, arrests him without compunction.¹¹⁷ In the same way, when the crowd in the courtroom withdraws respectfully before the "vision" of Jean Valjean rescuing the innocent Champmathieu, Javert arrests him unhesitatingly, even brutally. Later Cimourdain commits suicide, because of a conflict between duty to state and devotion to his pupil Gauvain.¹¹⁸ Javert also commits suicide, when Jean Valjean saves his life, being overpowered by the conflict between duty to state and duty to benefactor.

The character of Cimourdain is further modified—even mellowed—by the addition of elements from the character of Jean Valjean. The one weakness in the armor of Cimourdain is his paternal tenderness for his pupil Gauvain, which recalls Jean Valjean's tenderness for Cosette, or perhaps Jacques Collin's devotion to Lucien de Rubempré, as described in Balzac's *les Splendeurs et les Misères des Courtisanes*.¹¹⁹ Both Cimourdain and Jean Valjean risk their lives to save a fellow man. Cimourdain saves a man's life by sucking the poison from an infected tumor, while Jean Valjean, by a superhuman effort, rescues poor Fauchelevent.

(e) LANTENAC

The aged marquis de Lantenac, leader of the Vendéan forces, was, as has already been observed, a wholly fictitious character.

¹¹⁶ *Quatre-vingt-treize*, p. 151. Hugo's picture of Saint-Just in the following passage is taken apparently from Blanc: "De l'autre côté, Antoine-Louis-Léon Florelle de Saint-Just, pale, front bas, profil correct, œil mystérieux, tristesse profonde, vingt-trois ans; . . ." (*Quatre-vingt-treize*, p. 216).

" . . . et, au-dessous de tous ceux-là, dans une sphère à part, un pâle, un beau jeune homme de vingt-trois ans, au front bas, . . . au regard fixe, à la physionomie pensive et morne" (Blanc, *op. cit.*, II, 40).

¹¹⁷ *Quatre-vingt-treize*, p. 493.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 570.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 158.

He was intended to personify the old *régime*, and may have been created as an antithesis to the youthful marquis de Montauran, leader of the Vendéan forces in Balzac's *les Chouans*.¹²⁰ Montauran, because of his susceptibility, imperils the cause of the Chouans by falling in love with the police-spy and former mistress of Danton, Mlle de Verneuil. Lantenac is all the more unswerving in his discipline because he is reacting against his youthful follies, when he had been an *homme à femmes*.

The details of Lantenac's character are taken from passages in Blanc's *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, in Michelet's *Histoire de la Révolution*, in the *Lettres sur les Chouans* of Duchemin-Descepeaux, as well as in Hugo's own *Hernani* and *les Misérables*.

As a disciplinarian, Lantenac is apparently patterned somewhat on Dumouriez, once the hero of Valmy, later the hireling of Great Britain. Dumouriez, in order to quell a mutiny of volunteer troops, was said to have pointed to his artillery, and cried: "Vous autres, car je ne peux vous appeler ni citoyens, ni soldats, ni mes enfants, vous voyez derrière vous cette artillerie, derrière vous cette cavalerie? . . . Eh bien, je vous fais tailler en pièces à la moindre mutinerie . . ." ¹²¹ Lantenac told the Vendéans: "*Si une moitié de vous se révoltait, je la ferais fusiller par l'autre, et je défendrais la place avec le reste.*" In both cases, such sternness resulted in popularity among the troops.¹²² Blanc writes: "Dumouriez . . . avait d'ailleurs ce regard audacieux, ce geste décisif, cette parole ferme et vive, qui plaisent tant aux Français."¹²³ Hugo's commentary on Lantenac's speech is: "Ces choses-là font qu'on adore un chef."¹²⁴

The speeches of Lantenac in the third book of *Quatrevingt-treize*¹²⁵ are largely based on materials borrowed from Duchemin-Descepeaux. For instance, Hugo obtains apparently from this

¹²⁰ M. Gustave Simon denies all influence of Balzac on Hugo, here or elsewhere. He says that Mme Victor Hugo was an admirer of Balzac, and wrote an essay on him.

¹²¹ Blanc, *op. cit.*, II, 34.

¹²² *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 368.

¹²³ Blanc, l. c.

¹²⁴ *Quatrevingt-treize*, l. c.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 75-95: HALMALO.

source his knowledge of the sewing which royalist ladies, imprisoned in the Temple, did for the Vendéan troops.¹²⁶ The speech in which Lantenac tells Halmalo to find a Chouan who lives in an *émousse*, or mutilated tree, is doubtless based on the passage in the *Lettres sur les Chouans* describing the use of *émousses* by the Chouans as hiding places.¹²⁷

In the attack upon the cantonment of Parné, according to Duchemin-Descepeaux, the Chouans blackened their faces in order to escape detection. Lantenac refers to the cantonment of Parné as the place where men with blackened faces are to be found.¹²⁸

Duchemin-Descepeaux speaks of the lack of organization and of equipment in the republican army. Provided a soldier had a blue coat, a cocked hat, and displayed the tricolor, the rest of his uniform did not matter. As a consequence, republican officers frequently could not distinguish their own men. Lantenac suggests to Halmalo that because of this state of affairs he can easily disguise himself and spy on the republican camp.¹²⁹

There is possibly a resemblance also between the following two scenes. In one, Lantenac is hiding, and listening to the

¹²⁶ " . . . les dames royalistes, dont plusieurs aussi avaient été détenues, se mirent à broder des rubans blancs et des *cœurs de Jésus* pour les envoyer aux vainqueurs . . . " (Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.* I, 318.)

Lantenac says: "—Voici mon nœud de commandement . . . La fleur de lys a été brodée par Madame Royale dans la prison du Temple" (*Quatre-vingt-treize*, p. 86).

¹²⁷ " . . . quelques-uns même avaient su y arranger une retraite. Dans le canton que j'habite, on découvrit, il y a quelque temps, dans un de ces arbres, le squelette d'un Chouan qui était venu mourir là" (Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, I, 25).

Lantenac says: "—A la troisième fois tu verras un homme sortir de terre. Halmalo answers: —D'un trou des arbres. Je sais" (*Quatre-vingt-treize*, p. 86).

¹²⁸ "Les dispositions pour l'attaque du cantonnement de Parné furent faites avec prudence et habileté . . . Ceux-ci eurent soin de se travestir et de se barbouiller le visage, pour ne pas être reconnus des habitants, dont les dénominations eussent pu compromettre leurs familles" (Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, II, 74).

"Tu iras au cantonnement de Parné où sont les hommes aux visages noircis" (*Quatre-vingt-treize*, p. 91).

¹²⁹ "A cette époque, il y avait un tel défaut d'organisation et un tel dénuement dans l'habillement des troupes, qu'il suffisait d'un habit bleu et d'un chapeau à trois cornes avec la cocarde tricolore pour être en tenue militaire. Les officiers et les soldats . . . ne pouvaient plus distinguer ceux qui faisaient

tocsin which is being rung everywhere, in order to effect his capture. In the other, Coquereau, with only five men left, is hiding in a barn, under the hay. For two days, he has had nothing to eat or drink, and listens to the tocsin ringing throughout the region.¹³⁰

Certain other features of the character of Lantenac are possibly taken from Balzac's *les Chouans* (1829), a novel dealing with the Vendéan uprisings of 1799-1800.¹³¹ In one of the opening scenes of *Quatrevingt-treize*, we find Lantenac deserting the doomed ship *la Claymore*, and being rowed ashore by the sailor Halmalo. The latter, whose brother has been executed by order of the marquis, is bent upon revenge. After a futile discussion, the marquis finally resorts to the religious argument as a means of self-protection. "Où est le prêtre?" he demands. As Halmalo has no satisfactory reply to this question, Lantenac drives home his argument. Halmalo, he says, by taking his

partie du corps où ils servaient . . . " (Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, II, 136).

Lantenac says: "—Tu te déguiseras. . . . Ces républicains sont si bêtes, qu'avec un habit bleu, un chapeau à trois cornes et une cocarde tricolore on passe partout. Il n'y a plus de régiments, il n'y a plus d'uniformes, les corps n'ont pas de numéros; chacun met la guenille qu'il veut" (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 91).

¹³⁰ "On sonnait le tocsin, on le sonnait frénétiquement, on le sonnait partout, dans tous les clochers, dans toutes les paroisses, dans tous les villages . . . " (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 103).

"De toutes parts on sonnait le tocsin, on battait la générale, et les gardes-nationales se rassemblaient" (Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, I, 242).

¹³¹ For the historical element of *les Chouans*, see Léon Séché, *la Genèse des romans de Balzac* (I. *les Chouans*) in *Annales romantiques*, II (1905). Séché says (p. 161) that Balzac, in his first letter to the baron de Pommereul (cited *ibid.*, p. 154) spoke of entertaining the project of treating a historical event of 1798. The 1829 edition of the novel has the subtitle: "Ou la Bretagne en 1800." The definitive edition has the subtitle: "Ou la Bretagne en 1799." The action of *les Chouans* apparently begins just before the return of Napoléon I^{er} from Egypt. (Cf. *les Chouans*, Calmann Lévy edition, pp. 16, 25, 54.) It should be noted that Balzac's pretensions to veracity in *les Chouans* were a literary fiction, so that resemblances of that novel to *Quatrevingt-treize* are never to be explained on the ground of a common historical source. See Léon Séché, *op. cit.*, p. 157: "Les personnages du roman des *Chouans* me semblent donc être sortis tout armés, ou peu s'en faut, du cerveau bouillant de Balzac."

life without granting an opportunity for confession, would be destroying two souls, that of the marquis, and his own.¹²²

For this episode, it is possible that Hugo consulted directly the original speeches in Sir Walter Scott's account of the death of Porteous.¹²³ He may also have had in mind the execution of Galope-Chopine, as related in *les Chouans*.¹²⁴ Barbette, the wife of Galope-Chopine, has unwittingly betrayed the marquis de Montauran to the republican *Bleus*. Marche-à-Terre and Pille-Miche, a self-appointed tribunal, order Galope-Chopine to bring his cleaver. Pillo-Miche declares: "Tu es jugé."

Galope-Chopine resorts to every kind of pretext in order to save his life. All his appeals fall on deaf ears, except one, which finds a response in the profound religious sentiment of the Chouans. He asks: "Me laisserez-vous partir sans confession? Vous avez le droit de prendre ma vie, mais non celui de me faire perdre la bienheureuse éternité."

Marche-à-Terre, glancing at Pille-Miche, can only reply, "C'est juste."

Pille-Miche accordingly orders Galope-Chopine to confess all his sins, promising to repeat his confession to a priest. Execution is performed with a cleaver.¹²⁵

¹²² —Où est le prêtre?

Le matelot le regarda.

—Oui, le prêtre. J'ai donné un prêtre à ton frère. Tu me dois un prêtre.

—Je n'en ai pas, dit le matelot.

Et il continua:

—Est-ce qu'on a des prêtres en pleine mer?

On entendit les détonations convulsives du combat de plus en plus lointain.

—Ceux qui meurent là-bas ont le leur, dit le vieillard.

—C'est vrai, murmura le matelot. Ils ont monsieur l'aumônier.

Le vieillard poursuivit:

—Tu perds ton âme, ce qui est grave.

Le matelot baissa la tête, pensif. (*Quatre-vingt-treize*, p. 78.)

¹²³ *Heart of Midlothian*, Harper and Brothers ed., pp. 62, 66. (See André Le Breton, *Balsac*, Paris (1905), p. 88, note 1.) The appeal made in behalf of Porteous ran thus: "let him make his peace with God, if he can; we will not kill both his soul and body," and "Do not destroy soul and body; give time for preparation."

¹²⁴ *Les Chouans*, ed. cit., pp. 260, 273, 274.

¹²⁵ See E. P. Dargan, "Balazac and Cooper: *Les Chouans*" (*Mod. Philol.*, XIII, 208): "it [the scene in *les Chouans*] resembles more closely the family judgment-scene in *The Prairie*, where the squatter condemns and prepares to execute his brother-in-law for murdering his son." On p. 209, Professor

In *Quatrevingt-treize* the *dénouement* is altogether different, Lantenac's personality completely dominating the vindictive Halmalo.

—Et en perdant mon âme, reprit le vieillard, tu perds la tienne . . . Tu crois en Dieu, n'est-ce pas? Eh bien, tu sais que Dieu souffre en ce moment; Dieu souffre dans son fils très chrétien le roi de France qui est enfant comme l'enfant Jésus et qui est en prison dans la tour du Temple. Dieu souffre dans son église de Bretagne; Dieu souffre dans ses cathédrales insultées, dans ses évangiles déchirés, dans ses maisons de prière violées; Dieu souffre dans ses prêtres assassinés . . . Dans cette lutte des impies contre les prêtres, dans cette lutte des régicides contre le roi, dans cette lutte de Satan contre Dieu, tu es pour Satan . . . Tu ôtes à Dieu sa dernière ressource. Parce que je ne serai point là, moi qui représente le roi, les hameaux vont continuer de brûler, les familles de pleurer . . . la Bretagne de souffrir, et le roi d'être en détresse . . . ¹²⁶

The scene ends with Halmalo begging for mercy from the marquis, who grants his petition.

It is possible that the cringing Galope-Chopine is transformed into the majestic Lantenac by the addition of features from another character in *les Chouans*, Abbé Gudin, who rebukes his nephew for joining the republican forces, synonymous to his mind with Satan's minions:

—Eh! malheureux, tu perds ton âme! dit l'oncle en essayant de réveiller chez son neveu les sentiments religieux, si puissants dans le cœur des Bretons."¹²⁷

Some of the details of Lantenac's speech suggest also the style of Michelet's *Histoire de la Révolution Française*. Note the following comparisons:

<i>Quatrevingt-treize</i> ¹²⁸	<i>Histoire de la Révolution Française</i> ¹²⁹
Dieu souffre dans son fils très chrétien le roi de France qui est enfant comme l'enfant Jésus et qui est en prison dans la tour du Temple . . .	"Hélas! le pauvre roi au Temple! . . . Hélas! ils l'ont souffleté, comme Notre-Seigneur Jésus Christ!"

Dargan refers to Balzac's *El Verdugo*, where a brother and son is required to execute his whole family. It may be noted in passing that Galope-Chopine repeatedly declares that he is innocent of any treachery to the "Gars," or chief. Jean Chouan was nicknamed *le gas menieux* = "le garçon menteur." See Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, I, 74.

¹²⁶ *Quatrevingt-treize*, pp. 78-80.

¹²⁷ *Les Chouans*, p. 46.

¹²⁸ *Quatrevingt-Treize*, p. 79.

¹²⁹ Michelet, *op. cit.*, V, 196.

In one respect, Lantenac resembles Hernani. He reveals his identity to the *Caimand* who, he declares, can rise from poverty to riches by claiming the 60,000 franc reward which is set upon the head of the chief of the rebellion. The *Caimand* refuses to betray him. Hernani, with a great prize on his head, reveals his identity to the servants of Ruy Gomez. He makes a spectacular effort to tempt them to betray him for the sake of the reward, but they remain silent.¹⁴⁰

In the *dénouement* of *Quatre-vingt-treize*, Lantenac seems to be a reflection of Jean Valjean. He has escaped from the château de la Tourgue through a secret passage, guarded by a turning stone.¹⁴¹ He is so confident of his safety that he has written on the door of the passage his farewell greeting: *Au revoir, monsieur le vicomte*. Yet he delivers himself up in order to rescue René-Jean, Gros-Alain and Georgette, who are imprisoned in the burning tower. As he descends the ladder

¹⁴⁰ "—Mais . . . vous savez qu'un homme qui me livrerait gagnerait soixante mille francs?"

—Je le sais . . .

—Vous savez que soixante mille francs, c'est une fortune?

—Oui.

—Et que quelqu'un qui me livrerait ferait sa fortune?

—Eh bien, après?

—Sa fortune!" (*Quatre-vingt-treize*, p. 111).

HERNANI, *aux valets*.

. . . —Non, je me nomme Hernani.

.

Vous voyez cette tête?

Elle vaut assez d'or pour payer votre fête.

Aux valets.

Je vous la donne à tous. Vous serez bien payés!

.

HERNANI, *aux valets*.

Hernani! mille carolus d'or!

DON RUY GOMEZ.

C'est le démon.

HERNANI, *à un jeune homme*.

Viens, toi; tu gagneras la somme.

Riche alors, de valet tu redeviendras homme (*Hernani*, Act III, Sc. iii).

¹⁴¹ This secret passage resembles somewhat the one described in *les Chouans* (p. 183) which is guarded by an iron plate, operated by a spring.

for the last time, the crowd involuntarily recoils before him, as before a supernatural "vision."¹⁴²

In *les Misérables*, Jean Valjean has only to remain at home in order to be a free man. He prefers to surrender himself, in order to save the innocent Champmathieu. So profound is the impression made upon the court room by this "vision" that everybody present seems dazed.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Ceux qui étaient sur l'échelle se précipitèrent en bas, tous les assistants tressaillirent, il se fit autour de cet homme qui arrivait d'en haut un recul d'horreur sacrée comme autour d'une vision. (*Quatrevingt-treize*, pp. 492-493.)

¹⁴³ "Jean Valjean . . . se dirigea vers la porte de la sortie. Pas une voix ne s'éleva, pas un bras ne s'étendit pour l'empêcher. Tous s'écartèrent. Il avait en ce moment ce je ne sais quoi de divin qui fait que les multitudes reculent et se rangent devant un homme" (*Les Misérables*, definitive ed., I, 496).

The majestic look of Jean Valjean, which causes the crowd to stand aside, is borrowed in turn from the character of the Bishop of Digne. M. Myriel had once mounted the scaffold to comfort a man who was to be executed. "Quand il descendit de l'échafaud, il avait quelque chose dans son regard qui fit ranger le peuple." (*Ibid.* I, 30.) The model for this episode is John, vii, 32-46, where the Pharisees and chief priests send officers to arrest Jesus. The officers are so impressed by his divinity that they merely stand aside and allow him to pass. The episode is not in the life of Mgr de Miollis, the original of M. Myriel. (See Edmond Biré, *Histoire et Littérature*, Paris (1895), *Monsieur de Miollis et les Misérables de Victor Hugo*, pp. 273 and 275.) Biré here follows the biography of Mgr Ricard for the facts concerning the bishop of Digne. See also Victor Hugo, *les Misérables*, éd. de l'Imprimerie Nationale, Librairie Ollendorff, Paris (1909-10), II, 594-600.

For other similitudes between M. Myriel and Christ, see *les Misérables*, I, 20, 21, where the bishop arrives at Senes on the "monture qui était celle de Jésus-Christ"; *ibid.*, p. 22, where he is compared to Christ for his simplicity of eloquence; *ibid.*, p. 56, where a senator calls him a "Jésus," etc.

The self-surrender of Jean Valjean seems to be modeled on a passage in Balzac's *les Splendeurs et les Misères des Courtisanes* even more than upon the life of M. Myriel. In *les Splendeurs et les Misères*, one of the most important figures is the shifty Jacques Collin, called Trompe-la-Mort, whose criminal career is redeemed only by his personal devotion to Lucien de Rubempré. Jacques Collin, under arrest, proves difficult to identify because of his admirable disguise as a Spanish monk. It happens that some of his former fellow-prisoners in the Toulon penitentiary (1810-15) are confined in the house of correction, not far away. They are summoned by Camusot, the prosecuting attorney, together with Bibi-Lupin, formerly one of their number, but now risen to the rank of *chef de la sûreté*. Bibi-Lupin, who is one of the models for Javert, recognizes Jacques Collin by a scar on his left arm, as well as by his voice. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 303, 327.)

In *les Misérables*, Jean Valjean is a glorified Jacques Collin, redeemed through his paternal solicitude for Cosette, as well as through the hallowed

(f) GAUVAIN

Gauvain, as is well known, was the family name of Juliette Drouet, the actress, who was the mistress of Victor Hugo.¹⁴⁴ In creating the character of Gauvain, Hugo has combined details taken from the lives of the Vendéan leaders Pimousse and Jean Chouan; of General Joseph-Léopold-Sigisbert Hugo; and of Jean Valjean.

Pimousse, it seems, was confronted by a force of sixty republican troops. He ordered his followers—six in number—to hide themselves at intervals of about twenty paces in the bushes. Then, waiting until the republican troops were not more than ten paces distant, he cried: "Garde à vous, soldats du Roi! cent hommes sur la droite, cent hommes sur la gauche, et le centre en avant!" The Chouans fired simultaneously, and issued from various hiding places, fixing their bayonets. The republicans, believing themselves outnumbered, fled precipitately.¹⁴⁵

In *Quatrevingt-treize*, Gauvain and his nineteen men are confronted by a Vendéan force of 5000. Borrowing a trick from Jean Chouan, Gauvain has ordered his men to wrap their

memory of the Bishop of Digne. In order to establish the innocence of Champ-mathieu, he deliberately invites Cocheville, Brevet and Chenildieu, former fellow-prisoners in the penitentiary of Toulon (1796-1815) to identify him. So completely is he metamorphosed as M. Madeleine, however, that they fail to recognize him. Thereupon, turning the tables, he proves his acquaintance with the convicts through his familiarity with scars and other distinguishing marks concealed under their clothing (*Op. cit.*, I, 494-495). For further identification of Jacques Collin, or Vautrin, with Jean Valjean, see A. Le Breton, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

¹⁴⁴ See A. F. Davidson, *Victor Hugo, His Life and Work*, London (1912), p. 300, note 1: Gauvain is the most attractive character in the story, and it may be remembered that Mme. Drouet's rightful name was Juliette Gauvain, born at Fougères in 1806. (Cf. Henry Wellington Wack, *The Romance of Victor Hugo*, New York (1905), p. 71.)

For Fougères as the birthplace of Juliette, see Louis Guimbaud, *Victor Hugo et Juliette Drouet*, Paris (1914), p. 2. He gives her rightful name as Julienne-Joséphine Gauvain.

The fact that Juliette Drouet was born at Fougères may be regarded as significant. The tower of la Tourgue, about which the principal action of *Quatrevingt-treize* centers, was situated on the edge of the forest of Fougères (*Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 335). The name Tourgue, as Hugo explains, was a peasant abbreviation for *Tour-Gauvain* (*Ibid.*, p. 340).

¹⁴⁵ Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, I, 245.

guns with straw, so that they will make less noise.¹⁴⁶ He now orders the removal of the straw, preparatory to combat. The Vendéans begin firing on his handful of men. Waiting until there is a momentary lull, so that his voice can be heard by the enemy, he cries: "Deux cents hommes par la droite, deux cents hommes par la gauche, tout le reste sur le centre!"¹⁴⁷

The twelve riflemen in Gauvain's company fire simultaneously, and the seven drummers beat a charge. Fixing their bayonets, Gauvain's seventeen men rush upon the 5000 Chouans, who flee precipitately.

An incident in Gauvain's career which is founded, apparently, upon an event in the life of Victor Hugo's father is the struggle between Gauvain and Danse-à-l'Ombre. The latter, though severely wounded, is valiently covering the retreat of the Vendéan army. He treacherously fires his pistol at Gauvain's heart, at the same time aiming a blow of the sabre at Gauvain's neck. Gauvain is rescued by Cimourdain, who is on horseback. The horse receives the pistol shot, while Cimourdain is wounded by the sabre thrust.¹⁴⁸

Victor Hugo's father was rescued by a Black Hussar, at the rout of Montaignu: "Il eut deux chevaux tués sous lui, et, incapable de faire un pas, il allait être tué, sans un officier des hussards noirs qui le sauva au péril de sa vie en le hissant sur un de ses chevaux."¹⁴⁹

The origin of Gauvain's inner debate, in which he was torn between the opposing forces of duty to humanity and duty to the Revolution, was noted by Saint-René Taillandier as early

¹⁴⁶ "Il [Jean Chouan] prescrivit aussi d'entourer les fusils de liens de paille pour qu'ils ne fissent pas tant de bruit, s'ils s'entrechoquaient dans l'obscurité" (Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, I, 296).

¹⁴⁷ *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 304.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

¹⁴⁹ *Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie*, pp. 5-6. Cf. *Mémoires du Général Hugo*, Paris (1823), I, 17, 18: "J'eus deux chevaux tués sous moi . . . et je ne m'en serais jamais tiré, ne pouvant marcher qu'à l'aide de béquilles, sans le généreux dévouement d'un officier des hussards noirs, nommé Guzman, . . . qui m'ayant reconnu me fit mettre sur un de ses chevaux et ne me quitta plus que je n'eusse rejoint ma brigade."

as 1874.¹⁵⁰ Hugo's pattern here was the well-known chapter of *les Misérables* entitled *Une temple sous un crâne*.¹⁵¹

(g) L'IMÂNUS

The true name of l'Imânus was Gouge-le-Bruant.¹⁵² Possibly a connection exists between Gouge-le-Bruant and the place-name Soulgé-le-Bruant, mentioned by Duchemin-Descepeaux.¹⁵³ One of the nicknames of Gouge-le-Bruant was *Brise-Bleu*, "à cause de ses carnages de patriotes." Duchemin-Descepeaux mentions *Brise-bleu*, along with *Frappe-à-mort*, *Sabre-tout*, *Sans-quartier*, and *le Vengeur* as persons who "n'auront pas toujours épargné leur ennemi vaincu."¹⁵⁴ The second nickname of Gouge-le-Bruant was l'Imânus. According to Hugo's explanation, "Imânus, dérivé d'immanis, est un vieux mot bas-normand qui exprime la laideur surhumaine, et quasi divine, dans l'épouvante, le démon, le satyre, l'ogre."¹⁵⁵ This etymology of the word is taken from the *Dictionnaire franco-normand* of Georges Métivier.¹⁵⁶

Some of the characteristics of l'Imânus are perhaps taken from the descriptions of Jambe-d'argent and of Jean Chouan, given by Duchemin-Descepeaux. L'Imânus, using his last sigh to spread the flames which were lighted to destroy La Tourgue and its luckless prisoners, recalls Jambe-d'argent setting fire to a church, at the risk of his life, in order to destroy

¹⁵⁰ See Saint-René Taillandier, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

¹⁵¹ Cf. *les Misérables*, I, 394-421, and *Quatrevingt-treize*, pp. 495-519. Like M. Myriel, Jean Valjean is patterned somewhat upon Christ. Here the model is the scene in Gethsemane, Matthew, xxvi, 39-42. See *les Misérables*, I, 421: "Dix-huit ans avant cet homme infortuné, l'être mystérieux, en qui se résument toutes les saintetés et toutes les souffrances de l'humanité, avait aussi lui, pendant que les oliviers frémissaient au vent farouche de l'infini, longtemps écarté de la main l'effrayant calice qui lui apparaissait ruisselant d'ombre et débordant de ténèbres dans des profondeurs pleines d'étoiles."

¹⁵² *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 293.

¹⁵³ Cf. Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, I, 359.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 203.

¹⁵⁵ *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 293.

¹⁵⁶ The dictionary was published by Williams and Norgate, Edinburgh (1870). See Louis Havet in *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, VIII, 1 (1874), p. 222. Imânus is discussed in the dictionary on page 297. According to Havet " . . . on voit là que imânus signifie en patois local un homme d'une laideur extrême; on trouve déjà l'étymologie suspecte qui rattache imânus au latin immanis."

the republicans who had taken refuge there.¹⁵⁷ The characteristic alarm cry of Jean Chouan, *A moi les Mainiaux!* is put into the mouth of *l'Imânu* by Victor Hugo.¹⁵⁸

(h) MICHELLE FLÉCHARD.

The cognomen Fléchard is possibly suggested by a place-name. At all events, Duchemin-Descepeaux mentions a village called Saint-Georges-le-Fléchard.¹⁵⁹

Michelle Fléchard's three children, René-Jean, Gros-Alain and Georgette are rescued in the Bois de la Saudraie by republican soldiers, just as Victor Hugo's father, Joseph-Léopold-Sigisbert Hugo, rescued a Breton child, five months of age.¹⁶⁰ Michelle Fléchard refuses to eat the regimental bread offered her by the soldiers, giving all to her children. "C'est qu'elle est mère," explains the sergeant. The Breton child rescued by General Hugo had been deserted by its nurse, "car ce ne pouvait être sa mère."¹⁶¹

After Michelle Fléchard has been shot and left for dead, the children are adopted by the invincible *bataillon de Paris*. In *Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie* we are told of the shooting of a Vendéan uncle, and of the rescue of his nephew by General Hugo. The young Vendéan, Jean Prin, later became a valued republican soldier.¹⁶²

There is one important difference, however, between the narrative of the execution of the uncle, as related by Hugo's biographer, and that of Michelle Fléchard. In *Quatrevingt-treize*, it is a question of the execution of Breton by Breton, not of Breton by republican soldiers. The idea of fratricide, and of vengeance through the intermediary of orphaned children, lacking in history, is found in Balzac's *les Chouans*. Barquette, incensed at the execution of her husband Galope-Chopine at

¹⁵⁷ Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, II, 62. Cf. *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 465.

¹⁵⁸ Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, I, 170. Cf. *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 438.

¹⁵⁹ Duchemin-Descepeaux, *op. cit.*, I, 343.

¹⁶⁰ *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 18. Cf. *Victor Hugo raconté*, p. 6. See also *Mémoires du Général Hugo*, I, 28: "Une nourrice, car ce ne pouvait être sa mère, . . ."

¹⁶¹ *Victor Hugo raconté*, l. c.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* See also the *Mémoires du Général Hugo*, I, 35, describing the rescue of "un jeune vendéen de neuf à dix ans, nommé Jean Prin, dont on fusilla l'oncle: enfant que . . . j'ai réussi à conserver près de moi jusqu'en 1800, époque où je le plaçai avantageusement." Cf. *Quatrevingt-treize*, p. 283.

the hands of his comrades-at-arms, makes her son swear vengeance:

—Ote ton sabot, dit la mère à son fils. Mets ton pied là dedans. Souviens-toi toujours, s'écria-t-elle d'un son de voix lugubre, du soulier de ton père, et ne t'en mets jamais au pied, sans te rappeler celui qui était plein du sang versé par les *chuins*, et tue les *chuins*.¹⁶³

Barbette then delivers the child into the hands of Hulot, leader of the republican forces, with the request that he make of him a *Bleu*.¹⁶⁴ The boy is actually employed as a spy in the republican service.¹⁶⁵

III

The general plan of the novel remains to be discussed.

Quatre-vingt-treize, on which Hugo had begun work as early as 1866,¹⁶⁶ was planned originally as the third novel of a series. In the preface of *l'Homme qui rit*, he writes: "le vrai titre de ce livre serait *l'Aristocratie*. Un autre livre, qui suivra, pourra être intitulé *la Monarchie*. Et ces deux livres, s'il est donné à l'auteur d'achever ce travail, en précéderont et en amèneront un autre qui sera intitulé: *Quatre-vingt-treize*."¹⁶⁷

Already the novels *Notre-Dame de Paris*, *les Misérables*, and *les Travailleurs de la mer* had been intended as a sort of trilogy,¹⁶⁸ and had contained within themselves smaller trilogies. Hugo writes in the preface of *les Travailleurs de la mer*:

La religion, la société, la nature; telles sont les trois luttes de l'homme. Ces trois luttes sont en même temps ses trois besoins; il faut qu'il croie, de là le temple; il faut qu'il crée, de là la cité; il faut qu'il vive, de là la charrue et le navire. Mais ces trois solutions contiennent trois guerres. La mystérieuse difficulté de la vie sort de toutes les trois. L'homme a affaire à l'obstacle sous la forme superstition, sous la forme préjugé, et sous la forme élément. Un triple anankè pèse sur nous, l'anankè des dogmes, l'anankè des lois, l'anankè des choses. Dans *Notre-Dame de Paris*, l'auteur a dénoncé le premier; dans *les Misérables*, il a signalé le second; dans ce livre, il indique le troisième.¹⁶⁹

The pervading idea of a trilogy affects Hugo's conception of his characters, also. In *l'Homme qui rit*, he describes a police

¹⁶³ *Les Chouans*, p. 277.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 292, 293.

¹⁶⁶ See Victor Hugo's letter to Henri de Pène, dated February 27, 1866, in his *Correspondance* (1836-1882), Paris (1898), p. 286.

¹⁶⁷ *L'homme qui rit*, éd. définitive, I, 1-2.

¹⁶⁸ *Les travailleurs de la mer*, p. 3.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

officer, Renè d'Argenson, who, according to Saint-Simon, "avait sur son visage les trois juges d'enfer mêlés."¹⁷⁰ He says that at Bishopsgate, London, there were "trois juges d'enfer" sitting in judgment.¹⁷¹

Thus the way was paved for the chapter in *Quatrevingt-treize* entitled "Minos, Éaque et Rhadamante,"¹⁷² meaning Robespierre, Danton and Marat. Another model was Act IV, "Marat, Danton, Robespierre."¹⁷³

The debate between the three Revolutionary leaders at the cabaret of the rue du Paon¹⁷⁴ was also modeled to some extent on the dispute between Robespierre and Danton described by Lamartine.¹⁷⁵

Forming another trio in *Quatrevingt-treize* are Lantenac, symbolizing the old *régime*; Cimourdain, the personification of inexorable justice; and Gauvain, representing justice tempered with mercy.

To summarize: Among the principal authors who influenced Hugo in the composition of *Quatrevingt-treize* were Louis Blanc, Duchemin-Descepeaux, Lamartine, Garat, Du Rosel, Michelet, and probably Balzac and Ponsard. He also consulted the official *Moniteur*, and repeated scenes from his own works, such as *l'Homme qui rit*, *les Travailleurs de la mer*, *Hernani*, and especially *les Misérables*.

In *Quatrevingt-treize*, Hugo borrowed materials on a large scale, his preference inclining, however, to picturesque details, rather than to arid historical data. In developing his characters, he followed the principles of concentration already forecast in the *Préface de Cromwell*. His interest was always in giants—or in pygmies. To heighten relief, he therefore unhesitatingly attributed to his principal characters features which belong properly to minor figures. Examples are his allowing to Barère the words of a subordinate character; the inversion of the rôles of Pétion and of Robespierre, to the advantage of the latter; the inversion of the rôles of Marat and

¹⁷⁰ *L'homme qui rit*, II, 122.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Quatrevingt-treize*, pp. 163-166.

¹⁷³ *Charlotte Corday*, Oeuvres complètes de F. Ponsard, Michel Lévy frères, Paris (1865), pp. 319-334. Cf. Saint-René Taillandier, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁴ *Quatrevingt-treize*, pp. 167-187.

¹⁷⁵ Lamartine, *op. cit.*, VI, 170-171.

of the president of the Assembly, to the advantage of Marat; while the long tirade of Danton, summarizing the military situation in France, is very possibly drawn from a chapter by Louis Blanc.

The principal characters of the novel, Cimourdain, Lantenac and Gauvain, are all of composite origin. Cimourdain represents a fusion of elements from the characters of Jacques Roux, the anarchist, of Saint-Just, of Jean Valjean and Javert, prominent figures in *les Misérables*. Lantenac is possibly created as a deliberate antithesis to the marquis de Montauran, aristocratic leader of the Vendéans in Balzac's *les Chouans*. He is patterned somewhat on Dumouriez, on Hernani, on Jean Valjean, and less certainly on Galope-Chopine of *les Chouans*. Some of his speeches are drawn almost verbatim from Duchemin-Descepeaux and from Michelet. Gauvain, with the family name of Juliette Drouet, combines elements from the characters of Pimousse and Jean Chouan, as described by Duchemin-Descepeaux, of Jean Valjean, and of General Sigisbert Hugo, father of Victor Hugo. The name *Imânus* is taken from the Franco-Norman dictionary of Georges Métivier. The real name of l'Imânus is Gouge-le-Bruant, which suggests the place-name Soulgé-le-Bruant, mentioned by Duchemin-Descepeaux. The other nickname of l'Imânus, *Brise-Bleu*, is undoubtedly taken from the *Lettres sur les Chouans*. L'Imânus has characteristics of Jean Chouan, and probably also of Jambe-d'argent, as described by Duchemin-Descepeaux. The name of Michelle Fléchard suggests the place-name Saint-Georges-le-Fléchard, mentioned by Duchemin-Descepeaux. Her three children are perhaps modeled on a young Vendéan, Jean Prin, rescued by Hugo's father, and adopted by the Bleus, as were the children of Michelle Fléchard. The revenge of the children against their own army is possibly suggested by a passage in *les Chouans*.

The general conception of *Quatrevingt-treize* is that of a trilogy. It is the third novel of a series. The characters themselves form trios, as Robespierre, Danton, Marat; Cimourdain, Lantenac, Gauvain; the three children. Hugo is aided somewhat by a famous scene in the *Charlotte Corday* of Ponsard, where the trio Marat, Danton and Robespierre meet in solemn conclave.

OLIN H. MOORE

XIX. NOTES ON GILBERT IMLAY, EARLY AMERICAN WRITER

In Mary Wollstonecraft's *Letters from Sweden, Norway and Denmark* (London, 1796) is a passage connecting two other interesting people, and not hitherto noticed so far as I find. It reads:

This house [where she was living in Altona, a suburb of Hamburg] was particularly recommended to me by an acquaintance of your's, the author of the *American Farmer's Letters*. I generally dine in company with him, and the gentlemen whom I have already mentioned is often diverted by our declamations against commerce, when we compare notes respecting the characteristics of the hamburgers.¹

The passage indicates not only that Mary Wollstonecraft had met in her travels the French-American Crèvecoeur, the Hector St. John of the *Letters of an American Farmer* (1782), but that Crèvecoeur and Gilbert Imlay had an acquaintanceship not hitherto suspected. This and other matters concerning Imlay seem to warrant some further notes on his life and works.

I. IMLAY AND CRÈVECOEUR

Crèvecoeur had gone to Altona early in 1795, after an apparently continuous residence in Paris from 1791.² To Hamburg

¹ The "gentleman already mentioned" was a French refugee, "a president of one of the ci-devant parliaments" of France, who was then keeping "an ordinary in the french style" in Altona, his wife assisting, as their only means of livelihood. The passage quoted above and these references are on p. 254 of the *Letters*. Mary Wollstonecraft goes on to quote Crèvecoeur of the "Farmer's Letters" as follows: "Why, madam," said he to me one day, "you will not meet a man who has a calf to his leg; body and soul are equally shrivelled up by a thirst of gain. There is nothing generous even in their youthful passions; profit is their only stimulus, and calculations the sole employment of their faculties; unless we except some gross animal gratifications which, snatched at spare moments, tend still more to debase the character, because, though touched by his tricking wand, they have all the arts without the wit of the wing-footed god."

Mary was in greater sympathy with this sentiment, because, as shown by several of her letters, she had begun to attribute Imlay's growing coldness to his absorption in business. In quoting the *Letters* I have followed Mary Wollstonecraft's spelling.

² *St. Jean de Crèvecoeur*, by Julia Post Mitchell, pp. 284-9. Hamburg, which had been a Danish city until 1768, had begun its great commercial development

and Altona, as Mary Wollstonecraft notes, many French *émigrés* had previously gone. Among these was Crèvecoeur's son Alexandre, who had reached Hamburg as early as October 1793, had been fortunate in finding a business opportunity, and had now been joined by his father. Thus the latter was able to assist Mary Wollstonecraft on her arrival about Sept. 25, as he had just assisted Mme. La Fayette on her way to her husband in the Austrian prison of Olmütz.³

When Imlay and Crèvecoeur first became acquainted is not easily determined. It may have been in America, where Crèvecoeur lived from about 1760 to the fall of 1780, a naturalized citizen of Orange County, New York, after 1766.⁴ Returning to France in 1780 he was again in New York city as French consul from 1783 to 1790, when he finally left America. Whether, therefore, Imlay went abroad in 1791 or 1792, as has usually been supposed, or in 1786 as recently shown by Professor R. L. Rusk to be more likely, he may have known Crèvecoeur in this country.⁵ On the other hand the meeting

in 1783 when it began trade with America. In 1795, after the French occupation of Holland and the Prussian peace of April 5, its commerce was further enlarged by Dutch and French trade.

³ Of Mme. La Fayette Mary Wollstonecraft writes: "Madame La Fayette left Altona the day I arrived, to endeavour at Vienna to obtain the enlargement of her husband, or permission to share his prison. She lived in a lodging up two pair of stairs, without a servant, her two daughters cheerfully assisting." Mme. La Fayette was not to succeed in her primary purpose, even with the assistance of America. La Fayette was not freed until the peace of Campo Formio, Oct. 17, 1797, when Napoleon asked for his release.

Mme. La Fayette had set out from Dunkerque Sept. 5 on a small American ship, and reached Hamburg on Sept. 13, according to Robert de Crèvecoeur, *Saint John de Crèvecoeur sa vie et ses ouvrages*, p. 208. Mary Wollstonecraft wrote Imlay from Hamburg Sept. 25 (*Love Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft* by Ingpen, p. 149), but may have reached that place some few days earlier.

⁴ Mitchell, p. 18.

⁵ This paper was completed in the summer of 1922 and the Secretary of the Mod. Lang. Ass'n notified that it would be offered for the December meeting. Only when the program of the Central Division appeared was it known to me that Professor R. L. Rusk of Indiana University had also been working on Imlay. Immediate correspondence with him showed that probably our papers were on sufficiently different lines, so that both might reasonably be printed. That proved true on seeing Professor Rusk's paper which has appeared in the *Indiana University Studies* vol. x, under the title "The Adventures of Gilbert Imlay." I am especially indebted to that paper for certain details in the life

and acquaintanceship may have been in Paris, where Imlay was from the last part of 1792 to August 1793. Imlay's presence in Paris at least in the fall of 1792 is known from his having presented, at that time, to the Comité de Salut public a *Mémoire* on the possible taking of Louisiana from Spain. This *Mémoire* is indorsed with the date "1792" and the added "Cn. Otto" as the one who received it.⁶ The indorsement "Cn. Otto," or Citoyen Otto, can scarcely be other than Louis Otto, Crève-cœur's son-in-law, who was in the Office for Foreign Affairs after his return from America late in 1792.⁷ Thus Imlay may have met Crève-cœur at this time, if he had not known him before.

Even more certain is acquaintance of the two men through another relationship between them and other friends in Paris. It has not been noticed that Crève-cœur was well acquainted with Thomas Paine, whom he had doubtless met in America. The friendship is attested by his biographer and descendant Robert de Crève-cœur (*Crève-cœur sa vie*, p. 191) in connection with Paine's imprisonment in the Luxembourg the last of December 1793 and part of 1794. During this perilous time Crève-cœur, who had previously known Paine well, assisted him materially through Girard, secretary to Mme. D'Houdetot. The passage, which bears evidence in the writing of later prejudice against Paine, reads as follows:

Ce malheureux dévore les faibles ressources de Crève-cœur. C'est 25, puis 50 livres par mois qu'il faut payer pour lui; on lui donne des vêtements, des draps, des couvertures, de l'argent, et encore il est mécontent. Cet homme si peu reconnaissant, dont son bienfaiteur ne parle qu'avec un dégoût mal déguisé, ne serait-ce pas Thomas Paine, ce quaker anglais, américanisé puis francisé, ce conventionnel jadis populaire qui expiait en prison ses liaisons avec les brissotins, ce "Tyrtée de bas étage," habitué à chercher l'inspiration dans sa

of Imlay, and for them have given proper credit to Professor Rusk. Where, however, we had hit upon the same facts, it has seemed better to leave them in this paper as they were first presented.

⁶ *Amer. Hist. Rev.* iii, 491-4. This document will be discussed later, but it may be noted here that Townsend (*Kentuckians in History and Literature*) places it in 1793. Rusk shows that 1793 is correct (p. 19, footnote 68), and that fits somewhat better with Otto's being in the French Foreign Office, since he did not reach France until December, 1792.

⁷ *Saint John de Crève-cœur sa vie et ses ouvrages*, p. 173.

bouteille d'eau-de-vie? Crèveœur l'avait beaucoup connu autrefois; peut-être l'avait-il vu plus intimement depuis ces dernières années.⁸

Paine had become a member of the French Convention in September 1792 and soon after, to secure greater privacy from persistent suitors, had leased the mansion formerly owned by Mme. de Pompadour at No. 63 Faubourg St. Denis. Here often gathered in the evening, says Conway, such friends as "the Brissots, Nicholas Bonneville, Joel Barlow, Captain Imlay, Mary Wollstonecraft, the Rolands,"⁹ and here not unlikely Crèveœur must sometimes have come. Here, too, if Crèveœur and Paine were as intimate as the former's biographer implies, must have occurred meeting and acquaintance with Imlay, in case they had not met before.

Further proof of intimate acquaintance between Crèveœur and Imlay may be indicated by another incident. In the autumn of 1793 Crèveœur sent his sons to Havre, hoping to get them to America for greater safety. There they stayed at the home of an American merchant while waiting to leave France.¹⁰ In October Alexandre went to Hamburg as already indicated, but his brother Louis did not succeed in getting away, and in February 1794 returned to Paris. The reason given for this return is that the American merchant had left Havre. Now it is a curious coincidence if nothing more, that Imlay had gone to Havre to engage in business in August 1793, and that in February or March he made a journey to Paris.¹¹ Besides, at this latter time Imlay needed his house for Mary Wollstonecraft, who reached Havre in February, and gave birth to their daughter in May. The most reasonable explana-

⁸ This passage and this interesting relationship were missed by Miss Mitchell in her excellent Columbia dissertation on Crèveœur, and by Moncure Conway in his *Life of Paine*.

⁹ *Life of Thomas Paine* ii, 66. Living with Paine in what appears to have been a joint house-keeping arrangement were a young English friend by the name of Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Christie, Mr. Choppin, M. Laborde, and probably the American Mr. Shapworth. Earlier Paine had lived at White's Hotel, and he still kept an office there.

¹⁰ *Crèveœur sa vie*, p. 177.

¹¹ Pennell, *Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin*, p. 134, gives February for this journey; Ingpen, *Love Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft*, p. 35, gives March, which apparently corresponds with the dates of letters. The discrepancy is unimportant from our point of view.

tion of these coincidences, especially considering Mary Wollstonecraft's reference in her *Letters from Sweden*, is that Imlay was the American merchant of Havre, with whom Crèvecoeur's sons tarried, owing to a friendship of their father's already established.

At least enough evidence has been brought forward to show sufficient occasions for an acquaintanceship between Imlay and Crèvecoeur, perhaps in America, and if not, certainly in France. Mary Wollstonecraft's mention of the fact needs no confirmation, but the casual character of the reference would seem to show her previous knowledge of the relationship, and perhaps suggest that the assistance now afforded her by Crèvecoeur had been previously arranged by Imlay. At any rate the casual allusion in the *Letters from Sweden* opens something of a new chapter in the literary relations of the three countries, America, France, and England.

Some literary relationship between Imlay and Crèvecoeur would seem to be indicated by certain likenesses between the *Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America* (1792) and the *Letters from an American Farmer* ten years earlier. Both are in the form of letters to an English correspondent, who has usually been believed fictitious in the earlier case, and is pretty certainly so in the later.¹² Both books are full of praise for the new country, and in general represent it to Englishmen in a most favorable light. One might find minor similarities more or less significant. Crèvecoeur writes twelve, Imlay eleven letters. Letter IX in each case deals with slavery, and each author opposes it vigorously. Such resemblances, while not predicated acquaintance of the authors, are for other reasons significant of the hitherto disregarded relations of these two interesting men.

¹² Contrary to this usual belief, Miss Mitchell thinks the "Mr. F. B." of Crèvecoeur's *Letters* was William Seton, as first proposed by Mme. de Barberey in *Elizabeth Seton* i, 61; see Miss Mitchell's discussion on p. 90 of *St. Jean de Crèvecoeur*. The French edition of 1784, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, bears the addition to the title "écrites à W. S., écuyer," and this is extended in the edition of 1787 to "écrites à W. S.—on, Esq." Crèvecoeur's friend William Seton was in England between 1770 to 1781, the period covered by the letters of the first edition. For Imlay's evident imitation, the fact of a real correspondent is unimportant.

II. IMLAY AND MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT

Some further light may now be thrown on the relationships of these two people. For Imlay the fullest account is in J. W. Townsend's *Kentuckians in History and Literature* (1907),¹³ but even to this sketch important additions and corrections may be made. Briefly, Gilbert Imlay was the son of Peter and grandson of Robert Imlay, of whom the latter died in Upper Freehold, New Jersey, in 1750. Gilbert Imlay was probably born in 1754, if he was the Gilbert Imlay who died at St. Brelade, island of Jersey, in 1828. As Richard Garnett pointed out in the *Athenæum* of Aug. 15, 1903, a Gilbert Imlay died in that place in the above year and is recorded in the parish register as having been 74 years of age.¹⁴ This would carry us back to 1754 as the probable year of his birth, and is not at variance with the mention of him in the will of his grandmother Alice Imlay June 7, 1761, and the provision that Gilbert's older brother Robert should receive part of her bequest at the age of ten years.¹⁵

Gilbert Imlay was a soldier in the Revolutionary war, and a first lieutenant belonging to Forman's Additional Continental Regiment of New Jersey in January 1777.¹⁶ He still held that

¹³ Townsend's later *Kentucky in American Letters* (1913) adds nothing regarding Imlay to his previous book.

¹⁴ Garnett's interest in the matter was due to his having written the article on Imlay for the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* In the *Athenæum* article he gives the epitaph, which has since disappeared according to Professor Rusk's informant, as "Here was interred (sic) the perishable remains of Gilbert Imlay, Esq., who was born Feb. 8, 1758, and expired on the 20 Novr., 1828." The parish register statement, as reproduced by Professor Rusk, reads: "M. Gilbert Imlay fut enterré le vingt quatrième jour de Novembre mil cent vingt huit, Agé de 74 ans."

In his article on Imlay in the *DNB*, Garnett had suggested Imlay's probable return to America in later life, but Townsend, who had failed to notice the *Athenæum* reference, states that examination of New York and Philadelphia papers, the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *Notes and Queries*, between 1795 and 1830 had developed no note of Imlay's death. Such investigation tends to confirm the idea that it was the American Gilbert Imlay who died at St. Brelade.

¹⁵ Noted by Rusk in correction of Townsend, who had wrongly supposed the name of Gilbert's grandmother was Mary, and that, "dying in 1754, she had referred to him in her will."

¹⁶ Heitman's *Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army* (Apr. 1775—Dec. 1783). Imlay is also called "Lieutenant, Militia" in Stryker's *Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War*, but is not mentioned by Ellis in his *History of Monmouth County, N. J.* (1885),

position on May 19 when he signed a petition concerning certain prisoners, as shown by the military records of New Jersey.¹⁷ He does not appear in the record of Forman's regiment in July 1778. This may mean, Professor Rusk points out, that Imlay may have been wounded in the battle of Monmouth, fought near his home June 28, 1778, and so absent from his command.¹⁸ No further record of Imlay's Revolutionary experiences has been found, but he called himself "Captain" on the title-page of his *Topographical Description*, London 1792, and he was so called in correspondence and court records by his ex-soldier neighbors in Kentucky.¹⁹

In 1784 Imlay was in Kentucky, laying out lands in the new country under George May of Louisville. On the title-page of his *Topographical Description* he appears as "Commissioner for laying out Land in the Back Settlements." By what authority he used the title is not clear, but George May had been appointed surveyor in Jefferson Co., Kentucky, as early as 1781. The next year May opened offices at Cox's Station for Jefferson, and at Lexington for Fayette County,²⁰ in both of which counties Imlay later operated. In February 1784 the notorious Gen. Jas. Wilkinson appeared at Lexington, Fayette Co., at the head of a trading company recently formed in Philadelphia,²¹ and before the end of the year Imlay and Wilkinson were

although Imlay was born and reared in that county. Col. David Forman, under whom Imlay served, rose to be Brigadier General in the Continental Army after the reorganization of the New Jersey forces in 1778.

¹⁷ This record was furnished me by the Adjutant General of New Jersey, who added that no further record of Imlay's connection with the New Jersey forces in the Revolutionary War was known.

¹⁸ *Adventures of Gilbert Imlay*, footnote 7.

¹⁹ For the latter part of the sentence see *Adventures of Gilbert Imlay*, footnote 6. One can not help having a suspicion, however, that Imlay's promotion to a captaincy may have been self-determined.

²⁰ H. Marshall, *History of Kentucky* i, 122, 149. May is said to have been appointed surveyor in May 1780 when Jefferson Co., one of the three original counties of Kentucky, was formed. He reached Kentucky from Virginia in November, 1782, according to L. Collins, *History of Kentucky* ii, 368. Cox's Station, as it is now spelled, is now in Nelson, not Jefferson Co. With May was associated Col. Thomas Marshall, father of John Marshall later Chief Justice of the United States. Col. Marshall was appointed surveyor of Fayette Co. Nov. 1, 1780—See Beveridge, *John Marshall* I, 11, 96n., 117n., 169-70.

²¹ Marshall as above, i, 163. W. R. Shepherd, "Wilkinson and the Beginning of the Spanish Conspiracy," *Amer. Hist. Rev.* ix, 490, says the year was 1783.

in some way associated. Imlay's affairs had become involved and in September Wilkinson wrote a letter to Matthew Irvine of New York, to whom Imlay owed money, saying that the latter needed time to obtain land "titles sufficient to take up his bonds."²³ Imlay was apparently connected with one of the companies of land speculators which, according to Marshall, had exchanged "accumulations of paper money or bills of credit on Virginia for land warrants, and who had their agents in Kentucky for the purpose of realizing them by location."²²

Imlay continued his land speculations for several years. During 1785-86 patents were issued to him for thousands of acres in Fayette and Jefferson counties, and for other thousands in partnership with Gen. Henry (Light Horse Harry) Lee of Virginia, or with Col. John Holder of Kentucky. In the latter year, however, these operations were apparently closed by Imlay's selling all his holdings to Wilkinson and Lee, and by giving power of attorney to sell his New Jersey property.²⁴ Again he disappears, except as he may have been writing his *Topographical Description* and perhaps his novel *The Emigrants*. Professor Rusk seems to show that he left America, and thinks all his writing was done abroad, presumably in England. At least Professor Rusk has given conclusive evidence that Imlay's Kentucky creditors would have been glad to find him in this country.

Meanwhile, in 1787, Wilkinson had begun his conspiracy to separate Kentucky and the Southwest from the United States. In that year he became a paid agent of Spain through her officials in Louisiana, with which province he proposed to unite the disaffected western country.²⁵ In the same year

²³ The letter is in the Emmett Collection in the New York Public Library, and is published by Townsend. Imlay may have gone to Kentucky with Wilkinson.

²² *Marshall* i, 163.

²⁴ Townsend, p. 15. Gen. Henry Lee had settled Lee's Station, Mason Co. Kentucky, in 1785, according to Collins (*Hist. of Kent.* ii, 20) who also says Gen. Lee was a surveyor. Ordinary biographies of Lee do not note this residence in Kentucky, but there was ample time for it between his resignation from the army on account of ill-health, after the surrender of Yorktown, and his marriage in Virginia in 1786.

²⁵ At the close of the Revolutionary War Kentucky felt that Virginia was not doing enough to protect the western territory from the Indians, or to give it

there was submitted to the French minister at Washington a *Mémoire* on France's retaking Louisiana by the help of settlers in Kentucky and the Southwest.²⁶ Two years later the British government instructed the Canadian governor that it was desirable to keep the western country separate from the United States, and in close contact with Great Britain. There is no proof of Imlay's connection with either of these moves, but such a possibility is suggested by his earlier connection with Wilkinson, and especially by his having presented to the French government in 1792 a *Mémoire* embodying essentially the same plan as that placed before the French minister in Washington in 1787.

The next certainty regarding Imlay is the publication of his *Topographical Description* in London early in 1792, since it was reviewed in both the *Monthly Review* and *British Critic* in July. Imlay was clearly in London early in the year, as he is said to have first offered the Letters of which the book consists to the *Morning Chronicle*. The book's glowing picture of America was apparently designed to encourage settlement, perhaps further speculative designs, and at least to show Englishmen the value of the country for trade. England, too, was not without interest in the matter, as already indicated. Besides, the Spanish American Miranda in 1790 had pointed out to Pitt that the Spanish colonies were "ripe for revolt,"²⁷

proper local government. Between 1784 and 1790 Kentuckians held nine conventions, demanding separation from Virginia and even from the United States. Later Kentucky resented the delay in admitting her to the union as a state, and especially the plan of Secretary Jay to surrender to Spain for twenty-five years the navigation rights on the lower Mississippi.

²⁶ Lord Dorchester, governor of Canada, sent a copy to England; F. J. Turner, *Amer. Hist. Rev.* iii, 651. In *Report of Amer. Hist. Ass'n* (1896) i, 932, George Rogers Clark, conqueror of the Illinois country, is suggested as the probable author of the *Mémoire*, since Clark then felt his services had not been properly appreciated or paid for. Brissot, in his *Nouveau Voyage* Letter xlv, *New Travels* p. 479-80, says of the possibility of the western country breaking off from the rest of the United States: "and this probability of a rupture, they say, is strengthened by some endeavours of the English in Canada to attach the Western settlers to the English government." This he presumably learned in his travels of 1788.

²⁷ Turner, "Diplomatic Contest for the Mississippi Valley," *Atlantic Monthly* xciii, 684.

and the Lords of Trade had declared it to be for England's interest,

To prevent Vermont and Kentuck and all the Settlements now forming in the Interior parts of the Continent of North America from becoming dependent on the Government of the United States, or of any other power, and to preserve them on the contrary in a State of Independence, and to induce them to form Treaties of Commerce and Friendship with Great Britain.²⁸

Not impossibly Imlay was connected with this scheme, since he seems to have been without property at this time, but clearly with some resources. If he were in some sense an agent of the conspirators in America, or a free lance in these schemes, it might account for his writing his first book, his going to Europe, and his comparatively easy life in London and Paris. There is no evidence of his being engaged in business in Europe until later.

In any case, new interest in the Louisiana project found Imlay actively engaged. In 1792 France sent two different missions to England, proposing an alliance in attacking Spain's possessions in America. While England was not to be drawn into an alliance, activities continued in France and were renewed in America. Miranda, who had fought with the French in the American Revolution, had gone to Paris in April with letters to prominent Girondists regarding some of his schemes. Dumouriez, then Secretary of Foreign Affairs, was in favor of Miranda's Spanish scheme in the summer of 1792.²⁹ Brissot, who had visited America in 1788 and had published his *Nouveau Voyage dans les États-Unis*³⁰ in 1791, was interested in a similar purpose. Whether Imlay knew of the English negotiations, or was acquainted with Miranda, he went over to Paris sometime in 1792 and was soon associated with Brissot and the Girondist group.

Under these favorable circumstances Imlay presented to the French Government two proposals regarding an attack on

²⁸ Turner, "Policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley," *Amer. Hist. Rev.* x, 256, the quotation from a letter of Stephen Cottrell to W. W. Grenville (*Amer. Hist. Rev.* viii, 88 ff.).

²⁹ Turner, *Atlantic Monthly* article, p. 685.

³⁰ An English translation, *New Travels in the United States*, was published in London late in 1792, since it was not reviewed in the *Monthly Rev.* until Jan. 1793.

Louisiana, both endorsed "1792." One, called *Observations du Cap. Imlay, traduites de l'Anglois*,³¹ begins by a reference to the "war in which France was making such generous efforts against the tyrants of Europe," and would seem to refer to the war against Austria and Prussia, begun by the declaration against Austria on April 20. There was as yet no war against Spain, but France remembered Floridablanca's negotiations with the *émigrés* and his urging of the European powers to war on behalf of monarchy, so that French leaders were ready for a move against their former ally. Imlay especially mentions the value to France of the lower Mississippi, from which privateers might be sent to prey upon enemy commerce. He also proposed that the plan should be executed by citizens of the United States, and suggested that it would thus draw the latter country into the war. He gave it as his opinion, that the United States ought to aid France in her generous efforts for universal liberty against universal despotism.

The second proposal of Imlay is a more elaborate *Mémoire sur la Louisiane, présenté au Comité de Salut public par un Citoyen Américain*.³² Its authorship is clear from its beginning "Le Capitaine Imlay," and its use of the same name more than once. This *Mémoire* agrees with Imlay's *Observations* in emphasizing Louisiana's strategic importance to France and her West India possessions, and goes on to appraise its value, outline the importance to Americans of relief from the tyranny of Spain, and estimate the expense of the venture. It suggests that if the Committee still thinks the expense too considerable, a commission in blank with instructions upon the general object in view should be given Minister Genet, who could then find disaffected settlers of the southwest American country ready to be employed in the undertaking. It is this document, already referred to above, that was endorsed "1792 Cn. Otto." This endorsement dates it as not earlier than December 1792, since in that month Crèveœur's son-in-law Louis Otto returned from America and was soon employed in the Foreign Office.³³

³¹ *Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Espagne*, vol. 634, fol. 202; reprinted in *Report of Amer. Hist. Ass'n* (1896) i, 953 ff.

³² *Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Louisiane et Florides, 1792 à 1803*, vol. 7, doct. 1; reprinted in *Amer. Hist. Rev.* iii, 491-4.

³³ *Crèveœur sa vie* p. 173; Mitchell, p. 284.

Such a date is confirmed by the reference to Genet as Minister to the United States, an appointment which was made in December.³⁴

Imlay may have made both these proposals on his own initiative, but there may also have been some new relation to American affairs. Late in 1792 Gen. George R. Clark and Dr. James O'Fallon, a Revolutionary veteran and later Clark's brother-in-law, were planning an attack on Louisiana under the French flag. In furtherance of the plan O'Fallon wrote Paine, whom he had known in America, presenting an outline of their scheme, and Paine, answering on Feb. 17, 1793, implied that it had been transmitted to the French government. This is probably the anonymous *Plan for a Revolution in Louisiana* which precedes Imlay's *Observations* in the Spanish volume of the French Foreign Archives.³⁵

Two other references to Imlay in the French Archives show his continued activity in the Louisiana matter. On March 26,

³⁴ The Committee to which Imlay refers is one clearly in prospect, though apparently not appointed until 1793. See later reference to it.

³⁵ *Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Espagne*, vol. 634, fol. 201. Turner, "Origin of Genet's Projected Attack on Louisiana and the Floridas," *Amer. Hist. Rev.* iii, 660. This *Plan*, as Professor Turner points out, refers to having tried to interest the "ancien Government" in the venture, that is the government before the Revolution, and says it is the fruit of research extending over five years. Five years would carry back to 1787 or 1788 when Wilkinson and Clark were interested in some such project, so that this *Plan* may have reference to the one proposed to the French minister in Washington in 1787, perhaps by Clark as already noted. The author refers to Gen. Wilkinson, Tardiveau (brother of the commander at Kaskaskia), and Brakenridge (perhaps John Breckenridge who is said to have moved to Lexington, Kentucky, in 1793, but may have been there earlier)—all of Kentucky—and Love of Cumberland. Paine's answer to O'Fallon was carried to America by Minister Genet, showing interesting relation of the Americans in Paris to the scheme. On learning of Genet's appointment, too, Clark at once wrote to him; see the *Clark-Genet correspondence* in *Report of Amer. Hist. Ass'n* (1896) i, 967 ff. Genet's instructions were made out Dec. 10, 1792, supplemented Jan. 17, 1793, and he sailed the last week in February, reaching Charleston after much delay on April 8. France declared war on Spain in March. Washington's *Proclamation of Neutrality*, Apr. 22, 1793, put an end to the project so far as Americans were concerned. Collins (*Hist. of Kent.* ii, 140) says: "When Genet, the French minister, undertook to raise and organize a force in Kentucky for a secret expedition against the Spanish possessions on the Mississippi, George Rogers Clark accepted a commission as major general in the armies of France to conduct the enterprise. But, before the project was put in execution, a counter revolution occurred in France, Genet was recalled, and Clark's commission annulled."

1793, Brissot gave to someone unnamed a letter introducing "Le Capitaine Imlay Américain de L'État de Kentucky" as recommended by "Cooper de Manchester," that is the Englishman Dr. Thomas Cooper of Manchester, then in Paris, and a citizen of France by action of the Convention in the preceding September. Imlay is recommended as one "very proper to give information on the manner of executing the plan,"³⁶ that is the plan of taking Louisiana. Nearly two months later, May 22, Pierre Lyonnet wrote M. Otto, Crèveœur's son-in-law, from Lyons regarding his perplexity about the Louisiana expedition, but adding Captain Imlay had written him apprising him that there had been no change in the situation, and that he [Imlay] did not despair of the issue.³⁷ But Imlay's proposals were to have no effect. His associations were with the Girondists then in power, and they were soon to lose control of the government. On June second they were detained at their lodgings, on the thirteenth imprisoned, on July twenty-eighth declared traitors. It is not unlikely Imlay's leaving Paris for Havre in August, and the sailing for America, in the same

³⁶ *Amer. Hist. Rev.* iii, 503, as reprinted from the Archives.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 505. The project was actively pressed during these months. Late in 1792 a Committee was suggested for the expedition, to be headed by the Americans Joel Barlow and Stephen Sayre and the Frenchmen Beaupoil and Lyonnet, that is presumably Pierre Lyonnet and perhaps Martial-Louis de Beaupoil de Sainte Aulaire. Toward spring (the endorsement is "vers Mars 1793") Pierre Lyonnet presented *Considérations sur la Louisiane*, and followed them by additional *Considérations*. These references and documents are reprinted in the *Amer. Hist. Rev.* iii, 494-503. On March 4 Sayre, Pereyrat, and Beaupoil made similar proposals (*Report of Amer. Hist. Ass'n*, 1896, i, 954-7). Even as late in the year as Nov. 23 Joel Barlow and a certain M. Leavenworth offered a plan for taking Louisiana without expense to France (sans couter rien à la nation), as indicated by the document reprinted in *Amer. Hist. Rev.* iii, 508. It is worth noting that this plan provides for free navigation of the Mississippi, doubtless intended to placate the citizens of the United States.

Joel Barlow had gone to Paris in May 1788 as agent for the unfortunate Scioto Land Co. Going to London he joined the Society for Constitutional Information to which Paine and several Americans belonged, and wrote the Address of that Society to the French National Assembly. In September he was made a citizen of France by the Convention, and went to Paris in November to escape arrest in England. In March 1793 he was planning to return to America when a Col. Hitchborne, as his biographer Todd tells us, (p. 111) made him "an advantageous offer." Whether this had anything to do with Louisiana I do not know, for he was to be engaged in business for the next three years, but at least the Louisiana matter was one of his ventures.

month, of Dr. Thomas Cooper who had recommended him to Brissot, were connected with the fall of the Girondists.

The story of Imlay's connection with the Louisiana scheme has been given at some length, because it reveals him as a much more important man in the Paris of 1792-93 than has usually been supposed. His close connection with some of the Girondist leaders, with whom her friends Paine, Joel Barlow and Helen Maria Williams were also strong sympathizers, explains more fully Mary Wollstonecraft's almost immediate interest in Imlay and her early union with him.³⁸ She had reached Paris in December 1792, and had at once renewed her acquaintance with Paine and the Christies, then living together as we have seen. She must have met Imlay soon after her arrival in Paris, since her union with him occurred in "about four months" as Godwin tells us.³⁹

Mary Wollstonecraft's London acquaintance with Thomas Paine is vouched for by Godwin's Diary⁴⁰ and the biographical sketch of Paine by Rickman.⁴¹ She had probably first met him at the home of Johnson, the radical London publisher, who had befriended her when she first went to London in the fall of 1788, a woman of thirty years. There, too, she first met Godwin, as doubtless other radicals whom she knew—the poet Blake, the artist Fuseli, the novelist Holcroft and others. Paine had gone to Paris in September, narrowly escaping arrest on the night of the 13th when, again at Johnson's, Blake persuaded him to flee at once.⁴² In August Paine had been made a citizen of France, and before the end of the next month he was sitting in the Convention as representative for Calais. Not unnaturally, on going to Paris, Mary Wollstone-

³⁸ Except for the reference to Imlay's *Mémoire*, which they wrongly refer to 1793, biographers of Imlay and Mary Wollstonecraft have wholly missed these important relations, as they had that of Imlay to Crèvecoeur. For Mary's acquaintance with Barlow, see Godwin's Diary entry late in 1792: "Tea at Barlow's with Jardine, Stuart, Wollstencraft [so he always spelled the name in these early years], and Holcroft."—Kegan Paul's *Godwin* i, 71.

³⁹ *Memoirs* p. 103. This and the previous page also tell of her renewing acquaintance with Helen Maria Williams, Paine, and the Christies.

⁴⁰ Kegan Paul's *Life of Godwin* i, 70.

⁴¹ Conway's *Life of Paine* i, 321.

⁴² "You must not go home, or you will be a dead man," said Blake, and hurried him off to Dover by a roundabout way.—Gilchrist's *Life of Blake* p. 94. At Dover Paine escaped the English officers by about twenty minutes.

craft sought out this popular man and her friends the Christies.

To the same company of English sympathizers with the Revolution belonged Mary's friend Helen Maria Williams, who had gone to reside in Paris in 1790,⁴³ an older sister having married a French Protestant clergyman. She was intimate with Mme. Roland and the Girondist coterie, and belongs here also because of an imputed union with Imlay.⁴⁴ This, if a fact, must have been before her union and later marriage with John Hurford Stone in 1794.⁴⁵ Of Mary's other friends Godwin adds the perhaps too general statement: "It is almost unnecessary to mention that she was personally acquainted with the majority of the leaders in the French Revolution." Her friends seem mainly to have been among the Girondists.

Godwin tells us that Mary Wollstonecraft at first disliked Imlay, and "for some time she shunned all occasions of meeting him." Yet he adds her dislike "speedily gave way" to a different feeling.⁴⁶ The speed is indicated by their union being virtually accomplished at the middle of April 1793, a little less than four months after Mary reached Paris.⁴⁷ Contributing to it seems to have been the expense of living in Paris, considerably greater than she had expected. Again the difficulty of getting a passport for Switzerland, where she thought of going for economy, had been increased by the declaration of war against England and Holland Feb. 1, 1793. The Christies

⁴³ The *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* says 1888, but Godwin's Diary shows he was a frequent visitor at her house during that year and the next, for it records having had "tea with Holcroft at Miss Williams's" Nov. 17, 1789 (Kegan Paul's *Godwin* i, 63). The *Gent. Mag.* (xcviii, i, 373) says she visited Paris in 1888, which probably accounts for the error.

⁴⁴ The *DNB.* refers to it without citing any authority, as Ingpen also. Godwin makes no reference to anything of the sort.

⁴⁵ It is worth noting that Wordsworth, on going to France in Nov. 1790, had taken a letter to Miss Williams, then supposed to be at Orleans whither he was going. He visited her in Paris on his continental tour of 1820. For both facts see Harper's *Life of Wordsworth* i, 146. Nor is it without relation to the loosening of moral restraints in Revolutionary France that even Wordsworth, in the winter of 1790-91, formed a free union with Marie Vallon, who gave birth to their child in the following December.—Harper, *Wordsworth's French Daughter*.

⁴⁶ *Memoirs* p. 104.

⁴⁷ Her first letter from Paris, to her sister Everina, was of Dec. 24, 1792, and is given in Kegan Paul's *Life of Godwin* i, 208.

may also have returned to London early in this year, or have been intending to return, as they certainly did some time during the year. The *Gentleman's Magazine* of March reviewed Christie's *Letters on the Revolution in France*. In any case the union, without marriage or the surrender of her maiden name, was begun after a comparatively short time, and continued in this way for "about four months," says Godwin. Mary regarded the union as a true marriage, but wished, since Imlay had no property, not to burden him with financial obligations which might arise from her side, in connection with the serious straits of her family.⁴⁸

A new circumstance made a closer union with Imlay necessary. In retaliation for the English occupation of Toulon on Aug. 29, 1793, France decreed that British subjects should be imprisoned until peace was declared. About the same time Mary found herself with child, and on both accounts some new procedure was advisable. She now assumed Imlay's name, took up her residence with him in Paris, and he obtained for her "a certificate from the American ambassador as the wife of a native of that country."⁴⁹ Hardly had the more intimate union taken place, however, before Imlay in September "went to Havre to engage in business,"⁵⁰ urged as he said "by the prospect of a family and this being a favorable crisis in French affairs for commercial speculations." How this venture was probably connected with Crèvecoeur's sending his sons to Havre in this same autumn, we have already seen. As I have suggested, too, Imlay's move may have been intimately related to the fall of the Girondists and the failure of the Louisiana scheme. This would be especially so if Imlay were in the pay of the conspirators in America, or of the French government.

⁴⁸ She was supporting her father in the main, as she was to do until her death.—Godwin's *Memoirs* pp. 68-70.

⁴⁹ *Memoirs*, p. 108. Gouverneur Morris was the American minister to France at this time. (1792-94.)

⁵⁰ Godwin adds (*Memoirs* p. 115), "probably to superintend the shipping of goods, in which he was jointly engaged with some other person or persons." As we shall see later Imlay was involved with a Peter Ellison of Gothenburg, Sweden, soon after, and then or later connected with Mr. Thomas Christie in London. Whether either of these is the person or persons referred to probably can not now be determined.

The two months which Imlay had proposed for his stay in Havre were lengthened to almost five before Mary joined him. Her letters during these months show the strain of the separation and the loneliness.⁵¹ The Christies had returned to England, probably early in the year. The Girondist friends whom she had so agreeably met at the Pompadour residence were guillotined in October, and in the same month her English friend Helen Maria Williams was imprisoned in the Luxembourg. Even Thomas Paine was there confined late in December.

Little can be added to what has been known of the further connection of Imlay and Mary Wollstonecraft. She gave birth to their daughter Fanny Imlay on May 14. Imlay went to Paris on a hasty business trip in March, and again in August, Mary joining him there soon after.⁵² Before the close of the next month he was off to London, whither Mary did not go until April, 1795, passing through Havre.⁵³ When she reached London she found Imlay in some business difficulties involving Sweden and Norway, and it was decided that she should go there with proper power to settle the matter. Possibly her going was in some way related to her acquaintance in Paris with a Count Slabrendorf (Slaberndorf), a Swede as Godwin thought.⁵⁴ Mary left London in May, but was detained at Hull

⁵¹ Godwin says (*Memoirs* p. 117), "she determined in January 1794 to join him at Havre," as is true enough; but when he adds, "from January to September Mr. Imlay and Mary lived together with great harmony at Havre," he is not quite accurate. As shown by her *Letters*, Mary did not set out for Havre until Thursday, Feb. 6.

⁵² Godwin says September (*Memoirs*, p. 117), but Mary wrote him three letters from Havre in August (*Love Letters*, Ingpen, pp. 37-45).

⁵³ In Nov., 1794, Imlay had written Mary's sister Mrs. Bishop, speaking of "my dear Mary" and saying: "As to your sister's visiting England, I do not think she will previous to the peace, and perhaps not immediately after such an event." (Kegan Paul's *Life of Godwin* i, 217). For comparison with her *Love Letters* we may note this high praise of Imlay about this time in a letter of Mar. 10 to her sister Everina: "You know that I am safe through the protection of an American, a most worthy man, who joins to uncommon tenderness of heart and quickness of feeling a soundness of understanding and reasonableness of temper rarely to be met with. Having also been brought up in the interior parts of America, he is the most natural unaffected creature"—*Ibid.* i, 218.

⁵⁴ *Memoirs* p. 102. The letter giving virtual power of attorney to Mary was dated May 19, 1795, and calls her "Mary Imlay my best friend and wife," and again "Mrs. Imlay." The business involved a Peter Ellison (Ellyson), against

for about a month by contrary winds. She seems to have discharged the business satisfactorily, and it resulted also in her charming *Letters Written during a short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark*, a book published in 1796.

When the business was finished Mary went to Hamburg, where she was assisted by Crèvecoeur as noted at the beginning of this paper. The break with Imlay came soon after her return to London, when she discovered his *liaison* with another. She tried to drown herself at Putney bridge in November, but was rescued. Imlay sent a physician and, at his suggestion, Mrs. Christie induced her to go to her home in Finsbury Square. Imlay assured her his present connection was temporary, but she insisted on his immediate return to her. His answer was a journey to Paris with his new mate and a residence there of three months. On his return to London, Mary, relenting somewhat from her former stand, asked to see him, but Imlay refused. She did see him at the home of the Christies, Imlay and Christie having some business connection at this time, and they dined together soon after at her lodging. A month in the country, however, convinced her that she could never live with him again. Once more she saw him by accident, and he left his horse to walk by her side, but the meeting had no effect upon their relations.

It may be asked whether Mary Wollstonecraft knew of Imlay's Louisiana schemes. The only possible hint is Godwin's statement (*Memoirs* pp. 107-8), that when she and Imlay had

whom a suit had been already instituted by Elias Bachman as Gothenburg agent for Imlay, Ellison having caused "accumulated losses and damages" "in consequence of the said Ellison's disobedience of my injunctions," as Imlay wrote. "Messrs. Myburg & Co.," Copenhagen, are also mentioned as having "a cargo of goods" which Mary was to dispose of as best she could. The letter, witnessed by J. Samuriel, is in Kegan Paul's *Godwin* i, 227-8.

Godwin is wrong in saying Mary "passed about seven weeks, from the sixteenth of April to the sixth of June, in a furnished house that Mr. Imlay had provided for her" (*Memoirs* pp. 124-5), since her letters show she was in London for only about a month. Imlay's business in Sweden and Norway was probably connected with the war trade which the Scandinavian countries, then neutral as in the late war, were finding very profitable.

For Count Slabrendorf, or Slaberndorf, search has been made for me in the Royal Library at Stockholm by Miss Ingrid Kobro, a librarian in Kristiania. The Royal Library reports that nothing was found of that name or of any other similar to it, and thinks the name can not be Swedish.

united their fortunes "they had mutually formed the plan of emigrating to America, as soon as they should realize a sum enabling them to do it in the mode they desired." Such migration may have had relation to the Louisiana matter. Beyond this there are few references to their plans in Mary's published letters. In September 1793 (*Love Letters*, Ingpen, p. 8) Mary refers to "when we are settled in the country together," a reference which might be to France or America. April 27, 1795, she writes to her sister Everina,

I believe I told you Mr. Imlay had not a fortune when I first knew him; since that he has entered into very extensive plans which promise a degree of success, though not equal to the first prospect.

Again, about the same time, she wrote her sister Mrs. Bishop, "When Mr. Imlay and I united our fate together, he was without fortune; since then there is a prospect of his obtaining a considerable one." These allusions, however, are probably to Imlay's later business ventures, as at Havre and in London.⁴⁶

Again the question comes, how far exceptional views of marriage appear in the works of Mary Wollstonecraft and Gilbert Imlay. The former's ideas are well known from her *Rights of Woman*, and are exceptional only in advocating proper education, so that women should be strong in mind and body and not merely subservients of their husbands. The possible tyranny of marriage is reprobated, but no suggestion made of divorce or free unions. Imlay's views have been almost unknown, because of the few accessible copies of *The Emigrants*, and especially the imperfect character of the British Museum copy, as Garnett notes in his article upon Imlay in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

Yet *The Emigrants* gives no hint of free love. Ingpen (*Love Letters* p. xvii) quotes one expression from the Preface, "prevent the sacrilege which the present practice of matrimonial engagements necessarily produces," but seems to interpret it incorrectly by adding, "It is not known whether these views regarding marriage preceded, or were the result of his connection with Mary Wollstonecraft." The latter point may be

⁴⁶ The letters above are in Kegan Paul's *Life of Godwin* i, 222-3. The "first prospect" of the letter of Apr. 27 may possibly be to rewards Imlay hoped for from the carrying out of the Louisiana scheme.

easily settled, since Imlay's novel was issued in time to be reviewed in the *British Critic* of July 1793, and therefore almost certainly written before he could have known Mary. Besides, Ingpen's quotation is otherwise misleading. Imlay says, after referring to the English view "that their political system is the model of perfection:—"

It is perhaps time to place a mirror to their view, that they may behold the decay of those features which were once so lovely. And that they may take into consideration the establishing, by a more enlightened policy, laws that will in future prevent the sacrilege which the present practice of matrimonial engagements necessarily produces.

This he makes specific by mentioning "the great difficulty there is in England of obtaining a divorce," a difficulty which is the cause of "many misfortunes . . . in domestic life."⁵⁶

The novel itself exhibits in its plot two shocking cases of wives mistreated by tyrannical husbands. It then presents what purports to be the extreme views of Englishmen regarding marriage relations. Lord B——, one of the tyrannical husbands, is quoted as saying:

The tranquillity of society depended upon the tyranny which should be continually exercised over them [the women]; otherwise a female empire would destroy everything that was beautiful, and which the talents of ages had accomplished.⁵⁷

Sir Thomas Mor—ly, Bart., representing the lawyer's view, puts the matter even more strongly. It is, he says, "impossible to alter the laws respecting matrimony without the utmost danger to the good order of society;" and again:

The practice of married persons being repudiated for every trifling disagreement would be productive of endless distractions in families, and which I apprehend would prove more dangerous to the harmony of society than the anarchy of political sentiments.⁵⁸

Thus, by implication, the novel proposes easier legal means of severing the marriage bond, rather than any radical views of the marriage relation.

⁵⁶ Ingpen's knowledge of the book, like that of Garnett already mentioned, was dependent upon the British Museum copy, which consists of the first only of three volumes. I have used a perfect copy from the Library of the University of Illinois.

⁵⁷ *The Emigrants* i, 174.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* iii, 145, 181.

While Imlay's *Emigrants* did not grow out of relations with Mary Wollstonecraft, her *Rights of Woman* may possibly have influenced him. Beside the ill-treated wives of his novel is its heroine Caroline T—, a woman after Mary Wollstonecraft's own heart. She is strong and active, fond of out-door life, intellectually alert, and an advocate of greater equality of women with men. Such a speech as the following may easily have been suggested by the *Rights of Woman*:

If the education of women have generally been so injudicious . . . doubtless it has been the material cause why illiberal men have estimated our talents at so cheap a rate. For while we have been taught to talk of dress and the things of the day, and which have contributed the extent of our colloquial charms, few women have had strength of mind equal to burst the bonds of prejudice, and soaring into the regions of science and nature have shewn that comprehension of mind which gives lustre and dignity to the human understanding (i, 174).

With this may be compared several passages in Mary Wollstonecraft's work, say this from near the beginning of the Introduction:

The conduct and manners of Women, in fact, evidently prove that their minds are not in a healthy state . . . One cause of this barren blooming I attribute to a false system of education, gathered from the books written on this subject by men who, considering females rather as women than human creatures, have been more anxious to make them alluring mistresses than affectionate wives and rational mothers; and the understanding of the sex has been so bubbled by this specious homage, that the civilised women of the present century, with a few exceptions, are only anxious to inspire love, when they ought to cherish a nobler ambition, and by their abilities and virtues exact respect.⁵⁹

Or compare Caroline's expression in a letter to her sister Eliza, "That tyranny which the caprices of men in the European hemisphere inflict upon unprotected women," with the following paragraph from the last chapter of Mary Wollstonecraft's work:

From the tyranny of man I firmly believe the greater number of female follies proceed; and the cunning, which I allow makes at present a part of their character, I likewise have repeatedly endeavoured to prove is produced by oppression.

On the other hand a minor literary influence of Imlay upon Mary Wollstonecraft may perhaps be indicated by some ele-

⁵⁹ *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, edited by Elizabeth Robins Pennell, p. xxxi; compare also pp. xxxv, 79-80, 87, 278.

ments in the form of her *Letters from Sweden*. In his *Topographical Description* Imlay not only used the letter form, as had Crèvecoeur, but unlike the latter consistently addressed them "My Dear Friend" and subscribed them in letter style, as "I am sincerely yours," "Believe me, my friend, I am yours sincerely etc., etc." Such also is the general form of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Letters*. While they do not begin with a letter address such as they originally had, since written to Imlay himself, each is called a letter, as "Letter I," "Letter II," and most of them close with a letter subscription such as "Your's truly," "Adieu," "Your's affectionately," "Farewell," "Good night! God bless you." In two respects, therefore, Mary Wollstonecraft's *Letters* and those of Imlay's *Topographical Description* are in close agreement.

III. IMLAY'S WIDER INFLUENCE

It is highly probable that the influence of Imlay's books was more far-reaching than has been hitherto suspected. Specifically, they seem more than likely to have had something to do with the scheme of Pantisocracy imagined by Southey and Coleridge in the years 1793-95. Moses Coit Tyler, in his *Literary History of the American Revolution* (II, 358), first pointed out the possible influence of Crèvecoeur's *Letters of an American Farmer* "upon the imaginations of Campbell, Byron, Southey, Coleridge," and how they may have "furnished not a few materials for such captivating and airy schemes of literary colonization in America as that of Pantisocracy." That other works on America were also eagerly read is clear from occasional references, as well as implied by the general interest shown in such works by the English periodicals.

The inner history of the scheme of Pantisocracy is by no means as clear as it might be. The idea of coming to America originated with Southey in 1793, when republican sentiments born of the French Revolution made him disheartened regarding his own country, and love of Edith Fricker urged some scheme of earning a living so that they might marry. From himself we know that, in addition to reading of Plotinus's plan of a perfect commonwealth in Plato, he had come upon "the favorite intention of Cowley to retire with books and a cottage to America, and seek that happiness in solitude which he could

not find in society."⁶⁰ In December of the same year Southey also wrote to Bedford: "Fancy only me in America;" and again, "The visions of futurity are dark and gloomy, and the only ray that enlivens the scene beams on America."⁶¹

Apart from these references to Plato and Cowley we know that Southey read, in November 1793, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and Godwin's *Political Justice* on the general subject of social and political economy. It is conjectured by Haller, his latest biographer, that Southey also knew one or more of the books on America then before the British public. He mentions especially Brissot's *Nouveau Voyage dans Les États-Unis* (1791), translated the following year as *New Travels in the United States*.⁶² That Southey had read even this work is based solely on his known admiration for Brissot as hero and martyr. Haller also mentions in a footnote, as possibly influencing Southey, such works as Crèvecoeur's *Letters* (1783 and later), and Imlay's *Topographical Description*, Rush's *Account of the Progress of . . . Pennsylvania*, Bertram's *Travels*, all of 1792, but none mentioned by Southey himself.

Meanwhile, in June 1794, Southey and Coleridge met at Oxford, the latter already as much a republican as Southey himself. At this time Pantisocracy was talked of, as Southey wrote to Cottle Mar. 5, 1836, after Coleridge's death. He adds:

It was talked into shape by Burnett and myself, he and I proceeding on foot to Bath. Then it was that we resolved on going to America, and S. T. C. and I walked into Somersetshire to see Burnett, and on that journey it was that he first saw Poole.⁶³

The contemporaneous accounts of the Pantisocratic scheme, now made definite between the two poets, are two in number. Aug. 29, 1794, Coleridge wrote a brief account of the plan to C. Heath in a letter first published in the *Monthly Repository*

⁶⁰ Letter of Nov. 13, 1793.

⁶¹ Letters of Dec. 14 and 22 respectively.

⁶² Wm. Haller, *Early Life of Robert Southey*, p. 122.

⁶³ Cottle's *Reminiscences of Coleridge and Southey*, p. 299. The talking into shape was on a walking trip at the beginning of the long vacation, Southey, Burnett, Coleridge, and J. Hucks setting off together, the last two finally proceeding into Wales. Curiously enough J. Hucks, in *Pedestrian Tour through North Wales*, makes no reference to the scheme, or indeed to Coleridge in any direct way.

⁶⁴ New Series viii, 740; republished in *Biographia Epistolaris* i, 44.

of October 1834.⁶⁴ Of significance here are the mention of "the abolition of individual property," and especially "the code of contracts necessary for the internal regulations of the society." Just what these latter contracts were is not made clear, but almost immediately we have the letter of Thomas Poole to Josiah Haskins, which shows that the marriage contract was one of them.⁶⁵ Poole wrote:

The regulations relating to the females strike them as the most difficult; whether the marriage contract shall be dissolved if agreeable to one or both parties, and many other circumstances are not yet determined.

How this notion regarding the marriage relation originated we can not certainly say. It may have been suggested by French revolutionary sentiments which strongly affected the originators of Pantisocracy. It may have resulted from perusing such a book as Mary Wollstonecraft's *Rights of Woman*, although the author consistently argues for education of women and nowhere suggests divorce or free union as remedies for existing evils. On the whole no work of the time, accessible to such men as Southey and Coleridge, seems so likely to have suggested the inequalities and injustices of the English marriage contract and a possible remedy as Imlay's novel *The Emigrants*. Its special applicability to a group of young Englishmen and their wives setting out for the new country can scarcely be gainsaid. Its emphasis of an existing evil in English social life would naturally have appealed to the young enthusiasts, especially Coleridge who first mentions it.⁶⁶ I am inclined to believe, therefore, that to Imlay's influence must be attributed this feature of the Pantisocratic plan.

Evidence of further influence of Imlay's novel is perhaps to be seen in the "Model of a Society" found in the third volume (p. 139 ff.). There Capt. Arl—ton outlined a new plan of

⁶⁴ *Thomas Poole and his Friends* i, 96 ff. The correct date of the letter is Sept. 20, as noted by G. McL. Harper in his *Life of William Wordsworth* i, 290.

⁶⁵ The idea of a dissoluble marriage contract almost certainly belongs to Coleridge, not only from his first mention of it, but because of the circumstances of his life at this time. Southey was already engaged to Edith Fricker, and not likely to be thinking of breaking marriage bonds. Coleridge was as yet unattached, the thought of Mary Evans still agitating, and betrothal to Sarah Fricker still unthought of. Before the latter event, had come the acquaintance with Poole, and the communication to him of the details of Pantisocracy.

government he was establishing in a section of the new world. A tract of some 256 square miles had been divided into as many parts, on which Revolutionary soldiers were to be settled with special rights and privileges. In the words of the novel:

Every male being of the age of twenty-one and sound in his reason is entitled to a vote in the nomination of a member to represent them, and every member is entitled to the rewards and honours which the institution may think proper to bestow. . . . And thus, by the fundamental laws of the society, . . . love and harmony must consequently be productive of every generous advantage and the respectability of every citizen be established upon that broad basis—the dignity of man.

That Southey and Coleridge would have found in Capt. Arl—ton a kindred spirit is further clear from the latter's justification of his scheme. He says,

While the embellishment of manners and the science of politics have been engrossed by the higher orders of society, the bulk of mankind have been the mere machines of states;—and they have acted with a blind zeal for the promotion of the objects of tyrants which has desolated empires, while the once laughing vineyards have been changed into scenes of butchery; and the honest and industrious husbandmen, those supporters of all our wealth and all our comfort, have mourned for the sad havock of their cruel depredations.

It is perhaps impossible to connect the part of America to which Coleridge and Southey first proposed to go with that described by Imlay in his works. Poole wrote to Haskins,

Their opinion was that they should fix themselves at—I do not recollect the place, but somewhere in a delightful part of the new back-settlements.⁶⁷

The term "back-settlement" is occasionally used by Crèvecoeur, but is especially common in Imlay's *Topographical Description*, which emphasized the excellence of the country so new in the time Coleridge and Southey were thinking of their American scheme. If, as it seems to me I have somewhere seen, the first purpose was to settle on "the banks of the Ohio," the relation to Imlay's books would be almost certain. Later, as we know, the banks of the Susquehanna were chosen. In a letter to Southey (Sept. 6, 1794) Coleridge wrote of meeting

. . . every night . . . a most intelligent young man who has spent the last five years of his life in America, and is lately come from thence as an agent to sell land. . . . He recommends the Susquehanna from its excessive beauty

⁶⁷ *Thomas Poole and his Friends* i, 96 ff.

and its security from hostile Indians. . . . He never saw a bison in his life but has heard of them; they are quite backward.⁶⁸

Again Coleridge wrote,

At present our plan is to settle at a distance, but at a convenient distance from Cooper's Town on the banks of the Susquehanna.⁶⁹

IV. THE PUBLISHED WORKS OF GILBERT IMLAY

The character of Imlay's published works, their neglect by historians of our literature, and their general inaccessibility suggest some more detailed account of them.⁷⁰ The first bears the title:

A/Topographical Description/ of the/ Western Territory/ of/ North America:/ containing/ a succinct account/ of its/ Climate, Natural History, Population,/ Agriculture, Manners and Customs./ and/ An Ample Description of the several Divisions into/ which that country is partitioned./ With an accurate Statement of the various Tribes of Indians/ that inhabit the Frontier Country/ together with/ A Delineation of the Laws and Government/ of the/ State of Kentucky./ Tending to Show the Probable Rise and Grandeur/ of the American Empire./ In a Series of Letters to a Friend in England/ by G. Imlay./ A Captain in the American Army during the late War, and a Commissioner/ for laying out Land in the Back Settlements/ London/ Printed for J. Debrett, opposite Burlington-House/ Piccadilly/ 1792.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *Life of Southey* i, 218-9. Dykes Campbell (p. xxii of the Poetical Works of Coleridge) apparently quotes from this letter, but makes the description of the Susquehanna read, "from its excessive beauty and its security from hostile Indians and bisons," the last words implied but not a part of the quotation. From the next quotation Haller suggests the "young man" may have been one of Wm. Cooper's agents, but it seems to me more likely he was an Englishman who had been in America.

⁶⁹ *Biographia Epistolaris* i, 45, where it is part of the letter written to Heath, but not so printed in the *Monthly Repository*. It may be noted also that Imlay praises the beauty of the Susquehanna, as in *The Emigrants* i, 44, 80.

⁷⁰ Imlay's work did not come within the scope of Moses Coit Tyler's admirable *History of American Literature*, but neither of his books is mentioned in Duyckinck's *Cyclopadia of American Literature*, by Wendell, Trent, or Cairns, or in the recent and elaborate *Cambridge History of American Literature*. In the latter Imlay's name is once mentioned, but only incidentally. His novel *The Emigrants* is not mentioned in Carl Van Doren's *American Novel*, as it had not been in that writer's article on American Fiction in the *Cambridge History*.

⁷¹ The second edition (1793) had the same title page up to "By G. Imlay," before which was inserted:

To which are added/ The/ Discovery, Settlement,/ and/ Present State of Kentucky/ and/ An Essay towards the Topography, and Natural/ History of/ that Important Country/ by John Filson/ to which is added/ I The Adventures

The *Topographical Description* was a timely book by reason of England's special interest in the Western Territory and Kentucky, as already noted on pages 414ff. of this paper. Besides, it has not been pointed out that the translation of Brissot's *Nouveau Voyage* as *New Travels in the United States of America* had been issued in the early part of 1792—the Preface of the Translator is dated Feb. 1—and Brissot had devoted but a single brief chapter to what the translator also calls the Western Territory. Indeed, it may be that Imlay's book had its genesis in this very fact, and was written in London in the early months of 1792.

The introduction of the book itself is nominally written by the English friend to whom the Letters are addressed, and who had suggested their publication. He had thought them "acceptable to the Public" "when the news of the defeat of General St. Clair was received." He apologizes for the "remarks which he [the author] had interspersed respecting the laws, religion, and customs of Europe," saying that one

accustomed to that simplicity of manners natural to a people in a state of innocence, suddenly arriving in Europe must have been powerfully stricken with the great difference between the simplicity of the one and what is called etiquette and good breeding in the other.

This apology applies to the first Letter, in which the author makes a special point of his pleasure in taking up the "task,"

as it will afford me an opportunity of contrasting the simple and rational life of the Americans in these back settlements with the distorted and unnatural habits of the Europeans; which have flowed no doubt from the universally bad laws which exist on the continent, and from that pernicious system of blending religion and politics which has been productive of universal depravity.

of Col Daniel Boon [with description]/ II The Minutes of the Piankeshaw Council [etc]/ III An Account of the Indian Nations [etc]/ By George Imlay/ (who is then described as in the first edition) Illustrated [etc]/ (with the reference to the place and printer.

The printing of the name as "George Imlay" would indicate that the author, who was in Paris as has been shown, could not have seen the proof, and perhaps may not have been responsible for the additions to the book.

The third London edition of the *Topographical Description*, issued in 1797 when Imlay was in that city, has his name correctly Gilbert. Reprints of the work were made in Dublin and New York in 1793, the latter following the enlarged London edition of that year. Debrett was a Whig publisher, at a time when politics played a large part in the publishing business.

Then follows a general history of the country and attempts at early settlement, a discussion which is continued in Letter II, the latter closing with an account of the rise of the Constitution. The second Letter makes particular mention of the settlement of Kentucky in 1783-84, and the survey by the Federal Government of the "country west of the Ohio" in 1785, years in which we know Imlay was in Kentucky.

Letter III gives a general description of the "western (or middle) country," and Letter IV praises the American government, suggesting also the several states, six at least, which will be carved out of this western territory. The following Letter is devoted to the great variety of agricultural products, the navigation of the rivers, and the expected use of steam:

The invention of carrying a boat against the stream by the influence of steam is a late improvement in philosophy by a Mr. Rumsey of Virginia, whose ingenuity has been rewarded by the state with the exclusive privilege of navigating those boats in her rivers for ten years.⁷³

Letter VI treats of sugar making from the maple, the deposits of salt, lead, building stone, and the climate.

In the seventh Letter the author deals with immigrations from Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, North Carolina "until 1784," noting also that "several families came also from England, Philadelphia, New Jersey, York, and the New England states." The allusion to families from England is noteworthy, because Imlay's novel *The Emigrants* has English people for its main characters. They also followed the first of the routes of travel he next describes, that "through the upper parts of Pennsylvania to Pittsburg and then down the Ohio." Another route is "from Baltimore, passing Old Town on the Potowmac, and by Cumberland Fort, Braddock's road to Redstone Old Fort on the Monongahala," and thence to the west. Letter VIII is devoted to the laws and government, based on "the natural and imprescriptible rights of man." He then considers government by two houses, the courts, and the "security of person and property, which is called Freedom."

⁷³ This was James Rumsey, who disputed with John Fitch of Connecticut the priority in steam navigation. The latter had launched a steamboat on the Delaware in 1786 and obtained rights in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware. Brissot (*Nouveau Voyage* chap. xiv, *New Travels* p. 235) tells of having seen the experiment Sept. 1, 1788.

In Letter IX the author refers to "your favour dated the 24th of August last," that is Aug. 1791, and the boycott by Englishmen of West India produce, because parliament had failed to adopt "any mode of effecting the abolition of the slave trade." This doubtless refers to the motion in parliament of Apr. 18, 1791 to stop importation of slaves, which was lost in the Commons by a vote of 163 to 88. The rest of the chapter discusses slavery and opposes Jefferson's advocacy of the system. Letter X again takes up the English protest against the slave trade, then turns to the products of the western country, and gives lists of plants, with common and Linnæan names, of animals and of birds. It mentions the "great bones which have been found in this country" and shows familiarity with Buffon. The last chapter gives an account of the defeat of St. Clair, the Indian tribes in general, and closes with the assurance that "we shall soon establish a permanent security against savage invasions and massacre."

It will be seen that Imlay's *Topographical Description* has variety of content, is thoroughly American, and while not the equal of Crèvecoeur's *Letters* is well written, and as entertaining as most early books describing what was then frontier America.

Imlay's novel, his only other published work, bears the title in its first volume:

The/ Emigrants, &c./ or the/ History/ of/ An Expatriated Family/ being/
A Delineation of English Manners./ Drawn from Real Characters,/ Written
in America/ by G. Imlay, Esq./ Author of the Topographical Description of its
Western Territory/ Vol I/ London/ Printed for A. Hamilton, near Gray's-
Inn-Gate./ Holborn/ 1793.

The title pages of the other two volumes are the same except for the omission of &c. after Emigrants.

The Preface says the author was led to publish by the favorable reception of his first book, and again emphasizes that "the principal part of the story is founded upon facts," while its letter form has been chosen as "more acceptable to the generality of readers." Further—for the radical character of the author of the *Topographical Description* appears also in this book—he would "prompt many readers to turn their thoughts toward the important political questions now agitated throughout Europe." He thinks too many consider that "government was a mere trick of state, and that thus it hap-

pened, the ill-digested systems in modern Europe have been productive of so many miseries to mankind." He thinks it not the least extraordinary "that Englishmen should believe that their political system is the model of perfection," and therefore

it is perhaps time to place a mirror to their view, that they may behold the decay of those features which once were so lovely. And that they may take into their consideration the establishing, by a more enlightened policy, laws that will in future prevent the sacrilege which the present practices of matrimonial engagements necessarily produce.

This he later makes specific by referring to the "many misfortunes . . . in domestic life" because of "the great difficulty there is in England of obtaining a divorce." The Preface closes with the expression of surprise that "the first minister in a neighboring kingdom," fleeing "to avoid being punished for a robbery actually committed," should not only have been received in England, but "caressed and closetted repeatedly with the minister and his master."⁷³

A brief introduction tells of Mr. T—n, a London merchant who had lost his property, and his wife, son, and three daughters, all of whom had landed at Philadelphia and were proceeding to Pittsburg. The eldest daughter Eliza had met her future husband on the voyage, is married, and returns to England. Meanwhile, a Mr. Il—ray of Philadelphia writes Capt. Jas. Arl—ton of Baltimore about the English family proceeding westward, and Arl—ton overtaking them a few days out becomes enamored of Caroline, the youngest daughter, who is found walking over the Alleghanies to enjoy the scenery. As soon as they reach Pittsburg, correspondence also begins between a Mrs. W—, wife of General W— of that city, and a Miss R— of Bristol, England. The story is then carried on in letters, especially of Caroline and Eliza, Arl—ton and Il—ray,

⁷³ The reference is doubtless to Calonne, French minister of finance before Necker, who was charged with misappropriation of funds, was finally dismissed, and went over to England where he was favorably received by Pitt and the court, after the Revolution, as representative of the royalist faction. See J. H. Rose's *William Pitt*, p. 545 especially for the French complaint of his favorable reception in England.

For the suggestion of Calonne I am indebted to Prof. H. E. Bourne of our University. He also called my attention to the valuable articles in the *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, and to the *Report of the Amer. Hist. Ass'n* already mentioned.

Mrs. W— and Miss R—. It may be briefly summarized as follows.

Caroline's fondness for walking continues, when one day she and Capt. Arl—ton are surprised at the approach of some Indians. Caroline faints and is caught in the arms of the gallant Captain. As she regains consciousness there is mutual recognition of deeper interest, and the next day the Captain calls to make his proposals. To his surprise he is not allowed to see Caroline, but later receives a polite note from Miss Mary T—n, her elder sister, stating that Caroline on her recovery would be glad to see Capt. Arl—ton as *any other friend*. Thus repulsed Arl—ton does not call at all. Later, at a dinner given them all by Mrs. W—, apparently seeing that Caroline is indifferent, he hastily decides to go to Louisville, and so informs Gen. W— in the presence of the others.

Meanwhile an old man, first met by the family on the journey to Pittsburg, proves to be a brother of Mrs. T—n who was supposed to have been killed in the French and Indian War. He now begins to relate his story, especially his relation to Lady B—, wife of his friend Lord B— in England.

In the second volume Uncle P. P—, as he is called, tells of being invited to the country home of Lord B— and finding Lady B— treated with great indifference, indeed as he thinks tyrannically. He remonstrates with his friend, but to no avail. Finally, on reading *Othello* to Lady B— she faints, is caught in his arms, and in this situation they are discovered by Lord B—'s servant. In spite of all P. P— can say, the most serious accusation is laid against Lady B— and she is banished from the house. She is refused refuge by her father, who believes Lord B—'s charge, and she goes to London to live in seclusion. There P. P— again befriends her, is sued by Lord B—, fined by a relentless court, and is imprisoned because he can not pay the fine.

After getting his divorce Lord B— marries a termagant, who soon spends all his money, runs off to the continent, and is then willing to compromise the debt of P. P—. The latter had already married Lady B—, and she sells her jewels to obtain the money for his release. Then they leave for America with the seven children who had been born to them. There, however, the Indians carry off the wife and children, never to be recovered, and scalp but not kill the husband in trying to protect them.

The T—n family suffers through the escapades of the son George, a spendthrift in England, a worthless loafer in America, who defrauds his father of his little remaining property and returns to the old country. There he is finally imprisoned for debt, but is rescued by his uncle towards the last of the third volume, repents and begins a new life in America again, marrying happily a lady who, after one unfortunate marriage, had gone to the new world.

Caroline's family now moves from Pittsburg to Louisville, where Capt. Arl—ton had gone earlier. The two meet, but again Arl—ton misunderstands the situation and departs for the Northwest country. This leads Uncle P. P— to suspect some mystery, and discover that Arl—ton had originally left Pittsburg so hastily because of a letter from Caroline's sister Mary, giving him an entirely wrong idea of Caroline's feelings and conduct.

The third volume begins with Arl—ton's explanation of his leaving Louisville, encouraged by Mary T—n to think Caroline does not care for him. He sets out for the Falls of St. Anthony to drown his sorrow, but while on his way

Caroline is carried off by Indians in the same direction and, though followed by her friends, is rescued by the sorrowing lover who at last learns that he has always been secure in the affections of the heroine. They are quickly married, and together plan to set up that "model of a society" which has already been described.

Uncle P. P— regains wealth through the death of his uncle, the Hon. P. P— of England. He decides to settle the debts of his brother-in-law, Mr. T—n, and leave his fortune to the children. Caroline writes Eliza to come to America and Mary T—n, whose duplicity and snobbishness—the real reason for opposing the union of Caroline and Arl—ton—unfit her for the simple and rational American life, goes back to aristocratic London.

Mr. Il—ray goes to England with the heartless Mary T—n and there, after settling Mr. P. P—'s business affairs for him and releasing George from prison as already narrated, finds Caroline's sister Eliza F—, who has been mistreated by her husband after he had squandered all his fortune. Every effort is made to obtain a divorce for her, but English law on the subject is upheld by the efforts of Sir Thomas Mor—ly, Bart. Fortunately Mr. F— commits suicide and Mrs. F— is free. She sails for America under the care of Il—ray, who is so charmed with her on the long voyage that they are married as soon as they reach America.

It is not strange, perhaps, that Imlay's novel has not retained a place in American fiction, or been reprinted. However, *The Emigrants* may be safely said to be the first novel of purpose written by an American, as well as the first to deal with that Western Territory Imlay knew so well and had already described in his earlier work.

Both Imlay's books received ample mention in London periodicals. The *Monthly Review* of August 1792 devoted a little more than ten closely printed pages to the *Topographical Description*.⁷⁴ Most of this is made up of quotations, but the beginning emphasizes Imlay's intimate knowledge of the country, his wealth of description, and the likeness to Crève-cœur's *Letters*, to which attention has been called in an earlier part of this paper:

Captain Imlay, whose intimate knowledge of the interior parts of North America appears in every page of his work, represents the western parts of America as an elysium that invites settlement by all the indications of future happiness and prosperity. In attending to the American writers, however, we constantly perceive them describing uncultivated nature as the ancient poets described the golden age. . . . We had ample specimens of this sort of painting in St. John's American Letters.

⁷⁴ Vol. viii of the enlarged *Review*, pp. 390-401.

Then follow some cautions regarding such descriptions, and large extracts such as might easily have fired the imagination of Coleridge and Southey.

The review of *The Emigrants* in the August number of 1793⁷⁵ calls special attention to certain new features of the story:

In a novel written by the intelligent and lively author of the topographical description of the western territory of America, the public will look for something more than a sentimental tale; and we can assure our readers that they will find in these volumes many things which are not commonly to be perceived in writing of this class. . . . He comprehends within the plan of his work many other objects [than "the tender passion," "fair sex," "progress of love"], which will render it interesting to the philosopher as well as to the lover. Several lively descriptions of American scenes, both natural and artificial, are introduced. The characters of the piece are so distinctly marked, and so perfectly consonant to the present state of manners, that we can easily credit the writer's assertion, that the principal part of the story is founded on facts, and that in every instance he has had a real character for his model. . . . The principal design of the work appears to be to turn the public attention toward the present state of society regarding marriage. It is an opinion, which the writer seems to think of great importance to support, that the female world is at present, in consequence of the rigour of matrimonial institutions, in a state of oppressive vassalage; and that it would greatly increase the happiness of society if divorces could more easily be obtained.

The *Critical Review* (Sept. 1793, pp. 53-8) also noticed Imlay's *Topographical Description* in praiseworthy terms, and while suggesting caution generally justifies the author. The following passage illustrates:

The present description is written on the spot: the colouring is a little too luxuriant; and the contrast between America and Europe too studiously pointed out to leave the author free from suspicion. His language is bold and clear; pointed, and often elegant. It is the language of a man whose ideas are not confused, and whose opinions are matured by reflection. . . . The author proceeds to relate the history of the discovery and the general progress of the settlement. For a time, the narrative is plain and simple; but it soon rises to a degree of elevation which we have already styled suspicious; yet, from what we know to be true of this country, we believe it to be a flight, a pardonable exaggeration, rather than fiction.

In this *Review* Imlay's *Emigrants* is given even fuller treatment than in the *Monthly*, covering as it does pages 155 to 158 of the number for October. Naturally a reviewer would not take kindly to criticism of his government and social institutions, as in this first paragraph:

⁷⁵ Vol. ix, pp. 468-9.

This work has two objects professedly in view, the one to recommend the government and manners of America in preference to those of our own country—the other to recommend divorces. With regard to the first, we confess we should be sorry to take our ideas of either the taste or the morals of our brethren of the western continent from this production; and with regard to the second, we cannot help saying that the author insidiously holds out a liberty of divorce, to women especially, as the only means of freeing them from that domestic tyranny to which he tells us they have in all nations been subject.

Yet, in spite of his complaint, the reviewer gives the plan of the story at length, and quotes with approval the long letter of Arl—ton, telling of the rescue of Caroline from the Indians.

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON

XX. THE TERM. "COMMUNAL"

I. THE DOCTRINE OF COMMUNAL ORIGINS

The period following the French Revolution was deeply interested in "the people" as a mass conception, in all that belonged to them and all that they created. It was in this period that theorists on the origin of law, customs, religion, language, literature—particularly the folk-song and the folk-tale—liked to advocate the doctrine of spontaneous, unconscious growth "from the heart of the people," as the phrase went. Such conceptions of origin had their critics from the first; but they remained more or less orthodox throughout the nineteenth century, and they still have foothold in both England and America. They have, however, receded in the wake of more reserved second-thoughts about human nature, along with the recession of the "romantic" vehemence, and of the Hegelian philosophy of the "over-soul," and of our own demagogic admiration of the undifferentiated demos.

In law, for a first illustration, the theory of the German jurist, Friedrich Karl von Savigny (1779-1861) remained entrenched pretty much throughout the century. Savigny's theory may be summarized in a few sentences:¹

Yet we are not at all to think of it [the common law] as such in the sense that the several individuals who compose the people have produced it by an exercise of their will; for this will of the individuals might perhaps sometimes bring forth the same law but might also, perhaps, and with more likelihood bring forth very diverse laws. It is rather the spirit of the people [*Volksgeist*] living and working in all individuals that gives rise to the positive law; which, therefore is not a matter of chance for the consciousness of each individual but is necessarily one and the same law for each . . . This feeling [of the internal necessity which goes with the recognition of positive law] is expressed with most positiveness in the ancient assertion of a divine origin for law or for enactments; for one could not conceive of a more distinct denial that law originates by chance or through human will.

In other words, law is something that grows by sheer power of unfolding itself in men's miscegenated conscious states. About 1878 R. von Ihering attacked this doctrine with his theory of law as a conscious product of men seeking to achieve

¹ *System des heutigen römischen Rechts* (1840), I, § 7.

social ends, and Savigny's theory was gradually dropped in continental Europe. By the end of the nineteenth century, it was practically given up everywhere except in England and America.

A further illustration may be drawn from the history of theories concerning the origin and growth of language. Jacob Grimm thought of language as something born from the soul of primitive society. Savigny was Grimm's teacher, and as laws were to Savigny, so language was to Grimm, unmistakably of social emergence. His successors retained this view of language as a social product, though they offered explanations of the sources of human speech which were more concrete than Grimm's. A distinction, deriving from Grimm's view, arose between the "artificial" products of the individual and the spontaneous creation of the people. Professor Paul was a dissenter.² He emphasized the part played by the individual, and believed in an artistic rather than a social genesis for language. In the main, however, language continued to be viewed, as it was by the psychologist Wundt, as a product of the communal mind. Characteristic is the position of an American scholar, writing as late as 1891, in advocacy of "The Festal Origins of Human Speech." The psychologist, he says³:

. . . can trace the root back to the rhythmic sounds that savages produce when they beat sonorous bodies amid the play-excitement which originated through communal elation of the success of communal action, and which had become, at the earliest glimpse which we obtain of it, involved, like the oldest and most sacred of the words it gave birth to, in the race's traditional custom of festal celebration.

At the opposite extreme from these theories is the view of Professor Otto Jespersen. He suggests in his recently published *Language* (1922)⁴ that:

[The first utterances were] exclamative, not communicative—that is, they came forth from an inner craving of the individual without any thought of any fellow creatures. Our remote ancestors had not the slightest notion that such a thing as communicating ideas and feelings to some one else was possible . . . Although we now regard the communication of thought as the main object of speaking, there is no reason for thinking that this has always been the case; it is perfectly possible that speech has developed from something which had no

² *Principien der Sprachgeschichte* (1886), ch. i.

³ J. Donovan, *Mind*, vol. VI, pp. 498-506.

⁴ See pp. 432-442. See also his earlier *Progress in Language* (1894).

other purpose than that of exercising the muscles of the mouth and throat and of amusing oneself and others by the production of pleasant or possibly only strange sounds.

The first utterances of speech he fancies to himself as "something between the nightly love-lyrics of puss upon the tiles and the melodious love songs of the nightingale," i.e., he puts forward a doctrine which is neither "festal" nor "communal."⁵ He also points out that, to ensure the creation of a speech which shall be a parent to a new language stock, all that is needed is that two or more children should be placed by themselves in a condition where they will be entirely or to a large degree free from the presence or influence of their elders.⁶ Professor Jespersen goes back to individuals. He does not rely upon the "mentally homogeneous throng," either for the origin of human utterance or for the creation of new language stocks.⁷

⁵ Professor Jespersen is right, I think, in detaching primitive musical utterance from inevitable association with the dance. Edward Sapir (*Language*, 1921, p. 244) repeats—rather unthinkingly, I believe—the old view that "Poetry is everywhere inseparable in its origins from the singing voice and the measure of the dance." Poetry and song are inseparable in origins; but primitive musical utterance appears (like the songs of birds or of children) independent of the dance, as well as associated with it, as far down in the cultural scale as we can go.

⁶ Following the American ethnologist Hale, "The Origin of Language," in *Transactions of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*, vol. xxxv, 1886, etc. See Jespersen's *Language*, p. 181.

⁷ A parallel shift of theory may be seen in the fields of economics, anthropology, and sociology. For example, a belief prevailed, as advocated by Sir Henry Maine, E. de Laveleye, and other scholars, that the existing institution of private property is a direct descendant of a system of communal ownership—much as Professor Gummere thought individual authorship and ownership of song to be the direct descendant of communal authorship and ownership. A late reflection of Maine's view may be found in *The Evolution of Revolution*, by H. M. Hyndman (1921), who writes at the opening of his first chapter ("Primitive Communism"): "All authorities are agreed that, throughout the earlier development of mankind, communism, without any private property whatever in the means of creating wealth, prevailed as an economic and social order" . . . "Private ownership in any shape which gave its possessor economic or social power over his fellows, was unknown." Hyndman speaks in his introduction of "the most crucial revolution in the story of human growth" . . . "This revolution was the transformation from collective or communal property held by a portion of a tribe or gens, by the tribe itself, and ultimately by a confederation of tribes, into private property held by the individual and his family."

Alongside the early nineteenth century conceptions of the growth of law and language belongs Herder's collectivistic conception of the origin of popular poetry, which his disciple, F. A. Wolf, afterward applied to the Homeric poems. For literature, too, communal inspiration was advocated. The belief became orthodox that primitive peoples and other mentally homogeneous groups created their songs in public, in a sort of communal spontaneity. Just as for language, a distinction was insisted upon between "art" poetry, coming from the individual, and "folk poetry," arising from the people. Among English dissenters, Joseph Jacobs remarked that there is no such thing as the folk behind what one calls folk tales, folk lore, popular ballads.⁸ William Wells Newell, founder and first president of the American Folk-Lore Society was another dissenter from the doctrine of folk-origins or folk creation. But the view of these men did not become the accepted view. "We search for poetry before the poet,"⁹ said a leading scholar. "Poetry of the people is made by any given race through the

Some recent studies of the subject of primitive ownership appear to show that the communistic theory is mythical, not only for private property but for the ownership of land. Completer investigation makes clear that individualistic ownership both preceded and followed common control and ownership. This is the thesis of Jan St. Lewinski (*The Origin of Property*, Lectures delivered at the London School of Economics, 1913) who maintains that individual ownership was always the first form of property . . . "from a state of no property, individual ownership generally originates once labor has been incorporated in the soil" (p. 22). Pure nomads and hunting peoples have no private property in land, but land is not common property among them. It is merely a free good, to appropriate which is not worth the trouble. The evidence of existing primitive peoples, says Lewinski, shows clearly that the village community was not the primitive stage but was preceded by individual appropriation. "Thus the principal pillars of the communistic theory are already demolished!" he writes (p. 30). Private property in personal effects, like clothes, weapons, domestic animals (in *songs*, also, it might be added) prevails everywhere, it appears, even among the peoples lowest in the cultural scale, and it has probably existed from time immemorial. For a recent American book, taking the same position as Lewinski's, see Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Society* (1920), chapter IX.

⁸ "Yet when we come to realize what we mean by saying a custom, a tale, a myth, arose from the Folk, I fear we must come to the conclusion that the said Folk is a fraud, a delusion, a myth . . . The Folk is a name for our ignorance." *Folk Lore*, iv, 234, June, 1893.

⁹ F. B. Gummere, "The Ballad and Communal Poetry," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, V, 55.

same mysterious process which forms speech, cult, myth, custom, or law."¹⁰

At the present time, however, continental Europe, from which the doctrine of communal inspiration emerged, has given it up. Its strongest remaining foothold is in the United States, the country into which the doctrine last entered.

The whole theory of a communal mind from which emerged law and institutions and from which on festal occasions are (or were) born language and literature rests upon the romantic enterprise of sociologists, who thought to write a psychology of men *en masse* apart from any sane reliance upon the analysis of individual minds—very much as if one were to endeavor to cut a physical robe for mankind as a whole with no thought of individual arms and legs. This effort issued in the bizarre belief in a collective soul which is not to be found in the nature of the souls of the individuals which compose the social group, but which in some mystic sense enwraps the individuals in its all-obscuring fog. Such a "communal mind" or "mob mind" or "gesammtgeist," as you may choose to call it, has no actuality which science or sense can observe. If history and indeed ethnology betray clearly one fact it is that there is no such "mental homogeneity" among men. As a critical hypothesis the whole communal prepossession has led mainly into misconception and misvaluation; its service (for service of a sort it is) has been to arouse an interest and an industry in its support which have only succeeded in demonstrating its futility. In other words, it is honorably shelved by its own inability to stand the test of substantial evidence.

But in this connection it ought to be in place to point out that there is another and classical concept in criticism which might well have its value restored. The *consensus gentium*, meaning the critical agreement of instructed opinion, is an idea which in law underlies all theories of government which proceed *ex communi consensu* and in the arts is regarded by Aristotle and Longinus as well as by the best of Renaissance critics as the securest anchorage of valuations in matters of taste.¹¹ It is

¹⁰ *Old English Ballads*, p. xxxvi. For a recent German view, taking the contrary position concerning the genesis of folk-song, see Alfred Götze, *Vom Deutschen Volkslied*, 1921.

¹¹ The argument from universal consent (*consensus omnium gentium*) is formulated by Aristotle at the very beginning of the *Topics* (i, 1): "As for

needless to point out that such a conception is poles remote from the romantic *Volksgeist* figment. Where the "mob soul" calls for the play of unconsciousness, the classical *consensus* calls for deliberate and trained conscious effort; where "communalism" seeks formlessly to express feeling, the *consensus* judges (as Rousseau has it) in the "calm of the passions";¹² and where the

probable truths, they are such as are admitted by all men, or by the generality of men, or by wise men; and among these last either by all the wise, or by the generality of the wise, or by such of the wise as are of the highest authority." The argument, however, was especially adopted by the Stoics, whose literature it pervades, and given Latin form by such Stoic writers as Cicero (cf. *De Natura Deorum*, i. 17; ii. 2); and *Tusculanae Disputationes* i. 15: ("quod si omnium consensus vox naturae est") and Seneca. Bacon, with the example of excessive deference to the authority of Aristotle before him, remarks: "Verus enim consensus is est, qui ex libertate iudicii in idem conveniente consistit" (*Instauratio Magno*, Pars II, Liber i, Aph. lxxvii). As used in criticism, the evidence of the consensus of trained minds is regarded as especially valid as the natural answer to the mediaeval maxim, *de gustibus et coloribus non est disputandum*; and it is, in fact, the bulwark of any theory of sound criticism in art and letters. Here again the foundation of the idea is in Aristotle,—both in the *Politics* and the *Poetics*, especially Chapter XXVI of the latter work, where he defines the higher art as in every case that which appeals to the better auditor, or the cultivated spectator (*θεατῆς ἐντελέχης*); see, also, Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, Ch. IV). But the *locus classicus* of the idea, in this critical sense, is without doubt Longinus, *De Sublimitate* vii, where he defines the true test of elevation in letters as the judgment of a man of intelligence, versed in letters: 'true beauty and sublimity please always and please all.' Compare also Courthope, *Life in Poetry, Law in Taste*, I. Of course, in all this the judicial rather than the creative mind is in regard; but can there be any valuable creation without selective judgment? Can art, in other words, begin without at least the impulse of conscious intention, as the mob-soul theories imply that it does? Perhaps if the phrase "work of art" were refocussed in critical thought, with right emphasis upon the *work*, we should have less vogue of sociological puerilities and more respect for the classics of critical theory.

¹² In the first version of the *Contrat Social* (Livre I, Chapitre II) Rousseau says: "que la volonté générale soit dans chaque individu un acte pur de l'entendement qui raisonne dans le silence des passions sur que l'homme peut exiger de son semblable, et sur ce que son semblable en droit d'exiger de lui, nul n'en disconviendra." In view of the fact that to no light degree upon Rousseau has been fathered the whole *chute* of modern thought which has ended in the mire of sociological mysticism, it is of no small interest to note how painstakingly intellectualistic Rousseau intended to be. No doubt his "moi commun" is in part at least the hapless progenitor of our modern *Volksgeister*, communal selves, and mob souls; but when (*De l'économie politique*) he employed the analogy of an animal body to define the functions of the body politic, and likened the life of the whole to a "moi commun," he was actually on classical

primitivist seeks to replace human thought by dancing puppets the critic of the tradition endeavors to single out, from the midst of puppetdom, creative human intelligences. Obviously, conscious effort, cool judgment, and creative intelligence are gifts of men, not of mobs; and it was perhaps too much to expect from a romantic century interest in these qualities.¹³

II. THE TERM "COMMUNAL" AND FOLK-SONG

Although the doctrine of communal inspiration played a large rôle during the nineteenth century in theories of the growth of law and language and of other human institutions, the word "communal" itself was little used in many of these fields. It came into the foreground chiefly in anthropology, sociology, psychology, and literature.¹⁴ In American criticism, the term

ground and employing a Platonic figure. It is worth while, however, to point to a very interesting alteration of phraseology between the first draft and the final form of the key passage to the *Contrat Social* which of itself appears to indicate that Rousseau half feared the very misinterpretation which his phrase has been given. He defines the terms of the theoretical contract: "Chacun de nous met en commun sa volonté, ses biens, sa force, at sa personne, sous la direction de la volonté générale, et nous recevons tous en corps chaque membre comme partie inaliénable du tout." He then, in the first form, continues: "A l'instant, au lieu de la personne particulière de chaque contractant, cet acte d'association produit un corps moral et collectif, compose d'autant de membres que l'assemblée a de voix, et auquel le moi commun donne l'unité formelle, la vie et la volonté." In the final version the last phrase is altered to "lequel [corps moral et collectif] reçoit de ce même acte son unité, son moi commun, sa vie et sa volonté." The subordination of the "moi commun" is obviously the intention of the change. Of course Rousseau never dreamed of the "over-individual ego" or of the "blind will" of a psychic underworld which were later to miscolor critical judgment.

¹³ I am indebted for assistance in my examination of material from the fields of law, sociology, and philosophy to my brother, Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School, to J. E. Le Rossignol, Professor of Economics at the University of Nebraska, and especially to H. B. Alexander, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Nebraska.

¹⁴ The word *communal* is as old as the *Song of Roland* (*tuit en sunt communal*, in the sense of *tous y prennent part*, 1. 475, cited by Littré). Later it usually denotes what has to do with a *commune*. As a critical term in English it belongs to the nineteenth century. Impetus was given to *commune* after the title was assumed by Parisian political desperadoes during the Reign of Terror. The word *communal* entered English through French influence, early in the century, in the sense of pertaining to a *commune*. By the middle of the century it was in use in the sense of pertaining to a community.

has its most frequent use in connection with discussions of traditional ballads. Its currency has not derived from Professor Child, who preferred "popular." Professor Child speaks of "popular" ballads and "popular" origins. It was introduced by Professor Francis B. Gummere¹⁵ in his edition of the *Old English Ballads* (1894). When seeking for a differentiating epithet for the English traditional ballads he writes:¹⁶

As a mere makeshift, however, one might use the word "communal." A communal ballad is a narrative ballad of tradition which represents a community or folk, not a section or class of that community, and not a single writer.

If, after introducing the term, he had employed it always in this sense, his usage would better bear examination. But he soon went far beyond this original definition. He came to employ the word not only for denoting what "represents" a community and does not come from a single hand, but for what a community as over against an individual has created, on social occasions. He makes spontaneous communal creation, not gradual re-creation by a succession of singers, a test of origins. Folk-poetry originates communally, he affirms, artistic poetry is created by individuals. His disciples have continued his usage; and by our own time the term has become pretty firmly entrenched in textbooks and literary histories. Few American scholars write of folk poetry in these days without relying upon the word.

The following are some conceptions associated with the term "communal" which I think invalid. It seems probable to me that they will eventually be given up in America, as they are now abandoned in continental Europe.

1. It is no more a demonstrated fact that poetry had communal origin than it is that language had such origin, or law, or

¹⁵ Behind his employment of "communal" lay German influence. He wished to make for English a distinction similar to that afforded by Franz Böhme's *volkslieder* and *volkstümliche lieder* (*Liederbuch*, 1877). Gummere's "communal mind" suggests Wundt's *volksseele*, or his *gesamtgeist*. He may also have had in mind Steinthal's *dichtender volksgeist*, or Lachmann's *gemeinsames dichten*. He comments on these terms at some length in the introduction to his *Old English Ballads*, and in "The Ballad and Communal Poetry," in the Child Memorial volume of *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*. Otto Immisch (*Die innere Entwicklung des griechischen Epos*, 1904) coins the name *Gemeinschaftsdichtung*.

¹⁶ *Old English Ballads*, p. xxvii.

that property was originally owned in common. Assumptions like Professor Gummere's "The original ballad must have been sung by all as it was danced by all,"¹⁷ or "Poetry was a communal product," are assumptions and nothing more. Investigation of the song of primitive peoples shows that primitive song is not always danced; that primitive lyrics are not narrative and hence should be termed songs not ballads; and that they are not necessarily nor even preponderatingly of social inspiration. Communal inspiration should no longer be over-insisted upon for primitive song. Songs composed by individuals and songs sung by groups of singers are found among the most primitive of living races. The conception of individual song can be shown to exist among the very lowest peoples. That in the earliest stage there was group utterance merely, arising from the folk-dance, and that individual composition came later is fanciful hypothesis. The communal authorship and ownership of primitive poetry as over against culture poetry is largely a myth.¹⁸ "Communal" inspiration of poetry is true in the same sense in primitive as in civilized communities and only in the same sense.¹⁹

2. It is also erroneous to assume that peasant communities originate their own ballads or narrative songs. The product of folk-improvisation is not typically the *ballad* but the *song*, and

¹⁷ *Old English Ballads*, p. lxxvii.

¹⁸ The best instance of communal composition among the Indians which I can cite is the following, which was recently brought to my attention. The paragraph is from Frances Densmore's "Northern Ute Music" (1922) p. 26, a volume issued as Bulletin 76 of the Publications of the American Bureau of Ethnology.

Composition of Songs.—It was said by several singers that they "heard a song in their sleep," sang it, and either awoke to find themselves singing it aloud or remembered it and were able to sing it. No information was obtained on any other method of producing songs. In this connection the writer desires to record an observation on musical composition among the Sioux. A song was sung at a gathering and she remarked: "That is different from any Sioux song I have ever heard, it has so many peculiarities." The interpreter replied, "That song was composed recently by several men working together. Each man suggested something and they put it all together in the song." This is the only instance of cooperation in the composition of an Indian song that has been observed, adds Miss Densmore.

¹⁹ Evidence supporting this and the following generalizations has been presented by me in various articles published in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, *Modern Language Notes*, etc.

song so produced is the most ephemeral type of song. The folk improvise largely to familiar airs.²⁰ They do not create their own melodies, and especially not on the spur of the moment. They make over, or add stanzas to, or somehow manipulate, something already in existence. The typical products of folk-improvisation are the lampoon, the satire, the adaptation. This was well illustrated by the improvisations of groups of singing soldiers during the recent war. It has often been pointed out that in the Southern Appalachians exist isolated communities, unlettered and cut off for a hundred years from traffic with the rest of the world; and these communities still entertain themselves with traditional song. Conditions are ideal for the creation of communal ballads, according to the orthodox theory. Yet their investigators have not found that they have any body of song of their own creation, whether pure lyrics or ballads. They still sing the English and Scottish ballads brought over by their ancestors.²¹ Self-created songs about their own life are conspicuously wanting. The Southwestern cowboys perhaps live as communal a life as any in our period; possibly they are more literate than the mountaineers, but they are little more creative. The bulk of their songs entered their circles from the outside world. Where they have songs concerning themselves, they are fitted to familiar melodies, and (at least the songs which have value or memorableness) are adaptations of already existent material. The best cowboy songs, having claim to originality, may be traced to minor poets. The cowboy songs which are nearest to genuine communal creations are those of weakest quality, are not narrative, and are in character most ephemeral.²²

²⁰ The extent to which old airs are preserved is quite astonishing. Many of our current hymns and popular songs are set to century-old melodies—originally made for songs of quite another character.

²¹ See Olive Dame Campbell and Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, 1917.

A critic who has recently reaffirmed belief in the emergence of the English and Scottish ballad type from the unschooled peasantry is Professor G. H. Gerould, *Mod. Philol.* xxi, August, 1923.

²² The orthodox contemporary American conception of the spontaneous, gregarious composition of the English and Scottish traditional ballads, on social occasions, may be illustrated by the familiar picture (Introd. to the Cambridge edition of the English and Scottish Ballads, 1904) of a plausible method of composition of "The Hangman's Tree," or of some remote ancestor of it, by a

3. Another familiar doctrine that needs qualification or rejection is the doctrine that "communal" ("traditional" is the better term) preservation of a song brings improvement in the narrative quality of the song. This is a fundamental belief with Professor Gummere, and on it he bases his theory of origins. It is true that there is sometimes improvement in scattered instances. Ballads both gain and lose in oral transmission. When a later text of a song in popular tradition is compared with the original text, the dramatic quality is often found to be enhanced by the omission of stanzas and of links in

homogeneous group; or, to go to a more recent book, by the picture of the composition of "Sir Patrick Spens" in Greenlaw, Elson, and Keck's *Literature and Life*, Book I, p. 237 (1922):

" . . . imagine that you are one of a group of people who have been powerfully moved by the tragic fate of Sir Patrick. You knew him or some of his men. In this group the tragedy is being discussed. One man says he heard that Sir Patrick suspected the hand of an enemy, but that he was too brave to draw back even though he knew that the voyage meant death. Another says that an old sailor observed portents and omens and promised a tragic outcome. A third adds that such omens ought never to be disregarded. Others wonder how the wives and sweethearts of the dead sailors felt when they heard the news, and they speak of the unutterable sadness of their waiting at home, for tidings. And at last some one speaks of the dead men themselves, lying down there fifty fathoms under the sea, their dead eyes open, their bodies gently rolling from side to side with the motion of the water, or too far below the surface ever to move. You see you have, in reality, a succession of broken bits of talk, expressions of mood, not a story told in an orderly way or written up for the newspaper. One member of the group and then another adds his bit. There are moments of silence between. All are thinking of the horror, and deeply moved. Then perhaps one, or two, or three, begin to put the thing into words. The words fit some simple song that everyone knows. The group begins to sing the song. The ballad is born.

Thus the ballad seems not to be a story at all but just the expression of the feelings of a whole group of people. It differs from the story in that it seems to tell itself. It is not the work of an author who gives to the events an interpretation or who carefully chooses details so that a definite impression is built up in the mind of the reader. It expresses the reactions of a group. It is impersonal. *It is a tale telling itself.*"

There is a conspicuous lack of evidence for the typical composition of ballads in such a way, anywhere, or at any time, even among primitive peoples; and it is difficult to show that it is a method of composition that is psychologically plausible. Yet nearly all the available ballad anthologies for schools (see W. D. Armes, xxxviii ff.; Neilson and Witham, xv and footnote; G. H. Stempel, xxvii ff., etc.) paint for their readers this manner of composition for the English and Scottish ballads.

the story and the retention only of what is absolutely essential. There may also be gain in compactness, in singableness, and in concreteness of diction. A few examples have been cited to the present writer by the British collector of folk-song, Cecil J. Sharp, where the melodies of songs have improved in popular preservation. And occasional instances can be brought up, as already remarked, where individual texts show improvement. But, as a principle, the doctrine does not hold. Individual texts may grow better here and there for a time, especially in the mouths of superior singers. But a single text of a ballad is not the ballad itself. While one text is improving another may be degenerating. Professor Child was right when he said that the ballad is at its best "the earlier it is caught and fixed in print."²² And in the long run, even the text which has improved falls into decay. A traditionally preserved text is not static, and there is no permanent incorporation into its multiple variants, of improvements which may arise. At best there is betterment, through so-called communal preservation, only for sporadic texts and for a limited extent of time. The typical process, for the great majority of traditional ballads is a process of decay.

4. The belief that the pattern or technique of the English and Scottish ballad derives from a pattern set in remote times by a singing dancing throng improvising communally is all that remains among certain thinkers of the nineteenth century communal theory. But even this remainder of that theory does not deserve the support which it receives. The refrains, salient situations, repetitions and commonplaces of style appearing in many ballads (these are the features which are traced to primitive times) need no such prehistoric derivation; nor are they such fundamental *differentiae* of the ballad technique as is commonly assumed. They are easily to be accounted for in the same ways as for other species of folk-song exhibiting them which are not termed ballads. The songs of primitive groups improvising on festal occasions and the ballads appearing in historic times among civilized peoples do not belong in the same framework, and they should be kept distinct. Taken down in a straight line to modern times, the songs of primitive

²² See W. M. Hart, "Professor Child and the Ballad," *P. M. L. A.* XXI (1906), 770, 805, etc.

festal groups bring us, on the improvisation side, to modern folk-improvisations, like those of singing soldiers, not an extinct type of folk-song, though not one of much frequency nor one bringing very valuable product. Taken down to historic times on the movement side, the primitive group songs bring us to the ring-dance or movement or game songs which still exist among us, songs in which the refrain is the essential feature. But neither of these varieties of folk-song, the group improvisation song or the dance or game song centering about a refrain, is identical with the story-song or ballad, and neither variety develops into the ballad. The narrative song is an independent lyric type, and it first appears, not among primitive peoples, but in historic times and among civilized peoples. All races, primitive or civilized, have folk-songs, but not all have an important body of ballad poetry. The richness in ballads of the popular poetry of England and Denmark is not typical but unusual.

5. Further, it is surely time that definition of the lyric species, ballad, as "of communal composition" should be given up.²⁴ At least, such composition should be brought forward as hypothetical, not as a demonstrated fact. It is not a valid assumption, even for that single species of ballad, the traditional folk ballad. Remarks such as Professor Gummere's "A ballad must be the outcome and expression of a whole community and this community must be homogeneous"²⁴ are not warranted by the evidence. This homogeneity is a myth. It is a myth for mediaeval times, as Chaucer realized when he differentiated the types of tales which he placed in the mouths of the Canterbury pilgrims. Even in Anglo-Saxon England, with its clearly marked class divisions of *æðelings*, *eorlas*, *ceorlas*, *latas*, *peowas*, there was no time when "society from king to peasant" had identical interests. And even the songs of primitive peoples do not originate as "the outcome and expression of the whole community." It is also misleading to associate the term "communal" invariably with the *ballad*, ignoring other lyric species which deserve the term (however they may have originated) far more than does the ballad, i.e., hymns, labor songs, student

²⁴ *Old English Ballads*, p. xxvii. A recent critic who reaffirms belief in the homogeneous throng and communal origins is Professor H. S. V. Jones, *Journal of English and German Philology*, vol. xii, January, 1923.

songs, game songs. The term has attached itself to ballads; yet it should not be emphasized as something which differentiates ballads. Indeed, those who discuss ballads are much given to confusing several kinds of song which properly should be carefully distinguished. These kinds are: (1) *Folk-improvisations*, a type of verse which appears among all peoples, at all stages of development, from primitive gatherings to folk-gatherings (like those of soldiers) in our own day.²⁶ But this type of verse is not very durable or very important. The product of the folk-improvisations of the illiterate, in particular, has been rated far too high; (2) *Genuine traditional game or ring-dance songs*, or dance songs proper, like those (many of them once danced to by grown-ups) traditional in children's games; and (3) *Lyric-epics, or ballads proper*, a type appearing in England some centuries after the Norman Conquest and attaining its height in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is partly because folk-improvisations lack *story* form, and because genuine dance songs of traditional preservation are not narrative, that such origin is to be doubted for the English and Scottish lyric-epics collected by Professor Child. According to all the evidence to be found, neither folk-improvisation nor folk-dancing has ever produced narrative song, or any other kind of song which is worth much poetically.

6. Lastly, even when we speak of "communal re-creation" rather than communal creation of ballads, we are using the term without real accuracy. There is re-creation by individual hands of songs in popular tradition, but is this truly "communal?" One singer in a community makes one set of changes, another makes another set. Indeed the same singer does not always sing a song in the same way, or with the same words. The changes are not the product of a *gesamtgeist*. There is no communal text; there are many shifting texts in the mouths of many singers. The term "communal" is without real validity even when we use it, not of the creation of ballads, but of their re-creation or modification.

²⁶ Here, and not under the classification "ballads," belongs the "Hinkie Dinkie" of Mr. Atcheson L. Hench ("Communal Composition of Ballads in the A. E. F.," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. 34, p. 386).

The conclusion to be drawn from the preceding considerations is that, on the whole, literary historians and makers of textbooks, would do well to give less conspicuous place to the now hopelessly misused term "communal" in discussions of balladry and folk-song, in the hope that this omission might generate in them a new temper when theorizing concerning poetic origins. They should also cease to derive the ballad from the "homogeneous throng" whether of mediaeval peasantry or of primitive tribes. A doctrine of inspiration which is now discarded in other fields should not linger with belated tenacity in literary criticism. Professor Child exhibited characteristic soundness of judgment when he preferred the terms "popular" and "traditional"—by far the safer terms—and when he remarked of the English and Scottish ballads that "a man and not a people has composed them," and that "the ballad is not originally the product or the property of the common orders of people."²⁸

LOUISE POUND

²⁸ Johnson's *Cyclopaedia*, article "Ballads."

XXI. THE ENGLISH BALLAD IN JAMAICA: A NOTE UPON THE ORIGIN OF THE BALLAD FORM

In collecting stories and songs from the Jamaica negroes during the summer of 1919 and the winter of 1921, I was constantly on the lookout for traditional English ballads, some of which I hoped to find handed down in their older forms as a result of two hundred and fifty years of English occupation of the island. A fair number of secondary ballads were easily accessible, some of them preserved with an English intonation which proved them to have been memorized from cultivated English singers. Among these were the *Wurlean Woman*,¹ and the ballad of *Adinah* sung to the same tune as the New England ballad of *Springfield Mountain*.² But of traditional ballads of the better class, both words and music, I secured only the widespread song of *Little Musgrove*.³ Naturally I asked myself what had become of old ballad forms in Jamaica.

Before answering the general question, it is useful to consider how this ballad has fared in transmission. The story was recited to me by a man named Forbes, an unusually intelligent negro of the old type, between seventy and eighty years of age, who lived in the remote hill-country about Maroon Town, called Accompong, in St. Elizabeth parish, where he had formerly been song-leader for his district. Unlike some negro entertainers he was no clown but a genuine enthusiast. He always sang with a shining delight and his feet going in time to the tune; I doubt if he could have remembered the words in any other way. He was, in short, a reliable source for the standards of old-fashioned art. Now when old Forbes first gave me the story of *Little Musgrove*, he strung the verses upon a connecting thread of prose to carry along the action. Only when confronted

¹ See Barry, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVIII. 1-5; Belden, *Journ. Am. Folklore*, XXV. 18; Tolman, *Journ. Am. Folk-lore*, XXIX. 192-193.

² See Barry, *Journ. Am. Folk-lore*, XXII. 366f.; Lomax, *Cowboy Songs*, N. Y. 1910, pp. 315-7.

³ See Child No. 81 (II. 242-260); Sharp, *English Folk Song from the Southern Appalachians*, N. Y. and Lond. 1917, pp. 78-89; Rimbault, *Illustrations to Percy's Reliques*, p. 92; *Journ. Am. Folk-lore*, XXIII. 371-374; XXV. 182; XXX. 311f

with the phonograph did he sing the verses straight through without interruption.

That his method was not adopted by chance is proved by the fact that other collectors both in Jamaica and in the Bahamas have taken down ballad stories dictated in the same form,⁴ and that I myself secured two other ballads which were recited in this fashion, but unfortunately not under circumstances when it was possible to get a record of the music. *The Maid Freed from the Gallows*⁵ came from another old man in the same region. A Jamaica version of *Sweet Riley*⁶ is interesting because, though clumsily handled, it is worked into the regular cycle of "Anansi" stories which contain the figure of the Spider as trickster. Other ballad stories, like one version I got of the *Ram of Darby*,⁷ are told entirely in prose.

But besides the ballad-story of *Little Musgrove*, I took down a popular song among the Maroon negroes which runs like this:⁸

Be still, my pretty young man
Be still, my pretty young man
Be still, my pretty young man,
As my fader driving his sheep,
All dem making a deal of noise.

Who is dere goes away,
Who is dere goes away
Who is dere goes away,
As my fader driving his sheep,
All dem making a deal of noise.

⁴ Jekyll, "Jamaica Song and Story," *Pubs. Folk-lore Soc.* LV. 14; 26; 58; 65; Parsons, *Folk-tales from Andros Island, Memoirs Am. Folk-lore Soc.* XIII. 152-157.

⁵ Child No. 95 (II. 346-355); Jacobs, *More English Fairy-tales*, pp. 12-15; Sharp, *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians*, pp. 106-108; *Folk-lore Journ.* VI: 144; *Journ. Am. Folk-lore*, XXI. 56; Parsons, *op. cit.*, 152-154; Jekyll, *op. cit.*, 58-59.

⁶ Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-291 and note, 334.

⁷ See Barry, *Journ. Am. Folk-lore*, XVIII. 51-54; Cf. Tremearne, *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, pp. 342-345.

⁸ The song was dictated by Margaret Morris, eighty-five years old. Later a chorus of four Maroon men sang it into the phonograph, from which record the music is transcribed. Compare Sharp's stanza,

Lay still, lay still, little Matthy Groves,
And keep me from the cold
It's only my father's shepherd-boy
Driving the sheep from the fold.

I am assured that the tune, which has nevertheless a European lilt, bears no relation to that to which old Forbes sang me his version of *Little Musgrove*; but certainly the words are gathered out of verses from this very ballad, which is thus preserved as an "old song" by more than one negro singer. Moreover, other songs of the same character exist. One from the same region runs,

If I went up to a hill-top
I will go down to Barbaree!
If I went up to a hill-top,
I will go down to Barbaree!
Den madame, madame, come an' hol' dat dog,
Oh, madame, madame, come an' hol' dat dog,
I am gwine down to Barbaree.

If you fight me a golden sword,
I will fight you a silver one,
And if you fight me a silver sword, man,
I will fight you a golden one!
Den madame, madame, come an' hol' dat dog,
Oh, madame, madame, come an' hol' dat dog,
I am gwine down to Barbaree!

Other such ballad fragments woven into song were collected by Miss Roberts from negro singers. Moreover, the same process of selection, repetition and embellishment is going on to-day in adapting Moody and Sankey songs to the folk worship, as Miss Roberts's forthcoming collection will make evident.

It is certain, then, that among the negro folk of Jamaica, the continuous narrative song of the old English ballad has either been extended into the part prose, part song rendering of an "Anansi" story proper, or been condensed into the elliptical form of the Jamaica lyric song. And in so doing it has merely followed the fate of all foreign material which is taken into and made a part of a living folk art; it has been adapted to the style of art of which it has become a part.⁹ For consecutive story told in song is, so far as can be gathered from collections already made, quite foreign to West African art. It certainly is to that of the Jamaica negro, whose art of song depends rather upon the repetition of a few phrases rearranged to suit the individual tune or taste and expressing the thought in elliptical fashion, this repetition taking the place of rhyme to hold the

⁹ Jekyll, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-284.

whole together. On the other hand, among the older story-tellers consecutive prose is also not the rule. The stories contain, or usually turn upon, a song which either belongs to the dialogue or is used as an ejaculation. Often its use becomes more dramatic by putting it into the lips of a fiddler or of a singing bird; but whether so presented or not, it is always there to emphasize an emotional moment and express a wish, call, or magical formula; and its repetition from time to time in the story gives the song the value of a chorus or refrain. During the recitation of such a story, I have heard a group of listeners join in the singing whenever the familiar song occurred. Most of these song-stories turn upon sorcery of one kind or another and seem to belong to a special group of ideas developed in a less sophisticated period than the present; but some of the old reciters introduce a song into the commonly songless animal-stories. Old Forbes ended his rehearsal of the familiar *Tiger my fader's Riding-horse*.¹⁰ with the breakdown,

See how Anansi tie Tiger,
See how Anansi tie Tiger,
See how Anansi tie Tiger,
Tie him like a hog, Tiger!

Such a conclusion is an invitation to the audience to get up and dance. I heard a bed-ridden old grannie conclude the popular *Afoo yam* story with a song to which her little grandchild danced, rocking up and down first on one foot and then on the other and raising her arms to the rhythm.¹¹ There are also stories half acted and half told which end in a dance, and others composed of a medley made up of action-games and stories, which include dancing. Action-games themselves are often merely a march and dance based on some borrowed song, and of old English ring-games like "Little Sally Waters" there are a large number still alive in Jamaica.¹² In fact, everything goes to show that story, song and dance once all formed a part of the story-teller's art in Jamaica, and that the popularity of song and dance influenced the form in which the story itself was told.

¹⁰ "Jamaica Anansi Stories," *Memoirs Am. Folk-lore Soc.* XVII. 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 173.

¹² *Folk-games of Jamaica*, Vassar College Pubs. in Folk Lore, 1922.

The same style of recitation has been noticed by African collectors. Good examples of the use of dialogue-song to carry on the story are to be found in Torrend's recent collection of Bantu Folk-lore¹² because Mr. Torrend collected with a phonograph and paid attention to the style of the song. But other collections like Chatelaine's from Angola¹⁴ or Junod's from the Ba-Ronga¹⁵ show how the song was bound up in the story. Other American negro collections, like those of Mrs. Parsons and of Mr. Edwards from the Bahamas,¹⁶ illustrate the same practice; Mr. Harris's "Uncle Remus" stories from our Southern states, on the other hand, seem to have lost this element or to substitute, where its place is indicated, a song of a recent and more sophisticated style. Collectors assure us that in parts of Africa the fashion of dialogue song within the prose narrative occurs as a fixed style. Torrend says:¹⁷

It [the typical old Bantu tale] consists of two distinct parts, one narrated, mostly in the form of dialogue, the other sung. It is melodrama of a kind . . . Of the two parts the more important is the one which is sung, so much so that in many tales the narrative is to it no more than a frame to a picture. The part which is sung is not only free to borrow words from any language known to the singer, but is supposed, moreover, to understand and interpret the language of birds, other animals, and nature in general. It is composed of a monologue, or a dialogue, and a chorus. By the natives themselves these tales are generally remembered by the first verse of their principal song.

Junod says, of the story-telling of the Ba-Ronga about Delagoa Bay:¹⁸

L'un des caractères, les plus frappants du folklore ronga, ce sont ces courtes mélodies, très simples parfois pures cantilènes, au moyen desquelles on agrémente le récit. Le texte de ces petits chants a souvent un cachet archaïque marquée et je croirais volontiers qu'ils se transmettent d'un conteur à l'autre avec plus d'exactitude que les autres parties de la narration. Que sait s'ils ne forment pas intentionnellement comme un sorte de canevas, de charpente pour les contes? On en conserve le souvenir, grâce à la mélodie même lorsqu'on

¹² J. Torrend, *Specimens of Bantu Folk-lore from Northern Rhodesia*, Lond. and N. Y., 1921.

¹⁴ Heli Chatelaine, "Folk-tales of Angola," *Memoirs Am. Folk-lore Soc.* 1894, 1.

¹⁵ Henri A. Junod, *Les Chants et les Contes des Ba-Ronga de la baie de Delagoa*, Lausanne, 1897.

¹⁶ *Memoirs Am. Folk-lore Soc.* III and XIII, (1895, 1918).

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 3-6.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

She got into bull pasture now.

"You bull, you bull,
Why you tell the girl
Me name Grandy Beard o?"

Bull say,

"A ring ding ding, mama,
Ring ding ding!
A ring ding ding, mama,
Damme, me tell 'im!"

A more striking example of the dialogue song occurs in the story of Simon Tootoos, as related to me by an Accompong Maroon named Thomas White and recorded also from the Bahamas. The story is printed in full in my collection of Jamaica stories already cited. It begins as follows:

Der was once a woman dat have a child. Him name was Simon Tootoos. De mudder, him was a church woman an' him used to sen' de boy to church. An' after, de mudder come an' die. An' when de mudder die, he take de world upon his head (became irreligious). An' Simon Tootoos make colben (trap) an' set it on Sunday day, an' he go to wood on Sunday go search him colben. An' when he go to catch him bird, he catch a snake in de colben. When he go to raise up de colben an' fin' it was a snake, him leave it. An' de snake answer to him,

"Come take me up, come take me up,
Simon Tootoos, Lennon boy.
Come take me up, oh, Lennon boy,
Too-na-too."

"It was him dead mudder cause de snake to sing like dat," explained the narrator, and he went on half telling, half singing the story through fourteen stanzas which narrated how the snake compelled the boy to pick it up, carry it home, cook and eat it and then bade the lad prepare for his own death, concluding with the stanza,

Come go to you' bed, come go to you' bed,
Simon Tootoos, Lennon boy,
Come go to you' bed, oh, Lennon boy,
Too-na-too.

After him go to him bed, him mudder come out of him belly an' dat was de las' of Simon Tootoos.

In spite of the African parallels to this story,²⁰ the tale reads—or sings—so like a ballad turned story that I should be inclined

²⁰ Cf. Parsons, *Andros Island*, pp. 62-65; Cronise and Ward, *Cunnie Rabbit, Mr. Spider & the other Beef*, pp. 160-163; Renel, *Contes de Madagascar*, II.

so to interpret it had I not found the same song employed for another Jamaica story about a stubborn child.²¹ In this story an ogre called "Time-an'-tootoo," carries off a naughty boy named "Lennon boy" who persists in going out late after dark. In the song, the boy calls for rescue to each member of the family, but each rejects his appeal except the brother. The song runs,

(Boy) "Me muma, oh, me muma, oh,
Time-an'-tootoo, oh, Lennon boy."

(Mother) "Carry him go long, carry him go long,
Hard ears baby, oh, Lennon boy."

Generally the song-dialogue is much simpler than in these two examples. In the story of the girl who marries the Devil, the warning cry of the cock is answered by the approaching Devil:

Co co ree, com on do,
Co co ree, com on do,
Massa han' some wife gone!

Zin-ge-lay wid dem run come,
Zin-ge-lay wid dem jump come,
Zin-ge-lay wid dem walk fast!

The girl who married a Snake cries for help and is answered by the Snake's swallowing song:

(Girl) "Hunter-man! hunter-man!
Yellow-snake a wi' swallow me!"

167-168; 283-286. In Cronise & Ward, from West Africa, the "hard-headed" stranger persists in setting his trap in "Devil's bush" and the pigeon he catches sings the song, which runs in this fashion:

Daddy come loose me . . .
Daddy kare me go nah ho'se . . .
Daddy kill me one tem . . .

In the Madagascar version, the trapper persists in eating the child of a magic bird, in spite of the mother's warning. The song which is reported without "incremental repetition," runs,—

Il l'a mangé, hélas! cet homme é
Il l'a mangé l'enfant de l'Antsaly
Il l'a mangé, hélas, oh!

²¹ See "Mr. Miacca," in Jacobs, *English Fairy Tales*, p. 171; *The Godfather*, Grimm 42; "The Disobedient Boy," in Parsons, *Andros Island*, pp. 153-156. The Jamaica version and the song were obtained from Mrs. Charles Wilson of Jamaica, who had them from her negro mammy.

(Snake) "Worra worra, me wi' swallow you
Till you' ma cannot fin' you!"

So with the story of the witch who is chopping at the tree while the boy in the tree calls his dogs to the rescue:

(Witch) "Chin fallah fallah! chin, fallah fallah!"

(Boy) "Blum-blum! Sin-de! Di-do!"

Frequently the song is a mere invocation or magic formula, the more often repeated the better for the audience, who may themselves join in the singing. Specimens of such refrain-like songs are as follows:

Come, little timber, follow me.
Hurray! me a lay!

or,

A who a knock a Nana' gate?
Bing beng beng!

or for a name-song:

Santy Moody o!
Teppe-teppy dehl

Such a song may really carry on the story, or it may consist in a nonsense formula or of a snatch of song familiar in another connection—a game song, for example. It may even preserve the old African speech. A particular song may become a fixed part of the story, but in many stories the song varies with the narrator.²² Occasionally, as has been shown, the same song is used in two different stories.

²² In the familiar tale of the girl courted by a transformed bull, one story-teller gave the transformation song as follows:—

See me, Nancy, a wind,
T'ink a me, Nancy, me come!

Another sang it as,

Me a Miles a moo, me a Miles a moo,
Fe me Gracie is a fine girl.
Fe me Gracie have a kill her!
Pong, me lady, pong!

A third, finally, as,

Dirt i' room a yerry,
Double bing, double bing!
Dirt i' room a yerry,
Double bing, double bing!
Dirt i' room a yerry,
Double bing, double bing!
Belling belling beng,
bell i' leng,
beng!

These points are not insisted upon at such length because there is anything unusual in the habit of inserting songs into narrative prose in the course of oral story-telling. The old Irish romances and the Scandinavian prose sagas of the lighter type employed this style. The tales of the Arabian Nights are full of examples. Old Hawaiian story-tellers to-day insert songs into their long epic or romantic tales, which sometimes take six hours in the telling. The relief of song dialogue or monologue in the prolix narrative must be grateful to the silent auditors. Examples of such recital also occur in some of the best American Indian records. The style evidently precedes that of continuous narrative song, which the Hawaiian, like the African negro, never developed although other Polynesian groups, for example the Samoan, used the epic successfully. Song-recital gives play to the dramatic rendering of lyric song within the thread of narrative prose, and thus allows variety of form within the continuous tale.

Foreign as the form seems to the development of our own literary art, we have but to turn the pages of Grimm's collection to find how familiar it is to European folk-tale. I took down from old Forbes the Jamaica version of our English "Bull of Norrway"²³ which contained the song,

Return to me, King Henry,
My Bull-of-all-the-land!

sung to a very winning old melody. Is it not probable that the old songs have ceased to be sung with the story just as in Jamaica or Hawaii to-day modern narrators leave out the songs when they tell the story?

Nevertheless the songs themselves may also have survived. And it seems to me quite reasonable to suppose that to these very dialogue songs, which, as we have tried to show, must once have played so important a part in the art of story-telling, we have actually to look for the original stuff out of which grew our English ballads and the balladry of other northern people.²⁴

²³ See my Jamaica stories, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

²⁴ This is no new idea. Mr. Jacobs developed it in his note to "Childe Rowland" in *English Fairy Tales*. He says, "It is indeed unlikely that the ballad itself began as continuous verse, and the *cante-fable* is probably the protoplasm out of which both ballad and folk-tale have been differentiated, the ballad by omitting the narrative prose, the folk-tale by expanding it." I

The folk-lorist has always insisted upon the close relation between folk-tale and ballad. The weak point in his argument has been that, although folk-tale furnishes that element which Miss Pound justly observes to be the particular and distinctive feature of the ballad,²⁵ the consecutive tale, it has failed to show cause why song and dance should play so conspicuous a part in the texture of the ballad.²⁶ This difficulty is at once

chanced upon this note of Mr. Jacobs's after having reached my own conclusion, but his process of reasoning is identical with my own and he goes into some detail to show how many traces of the *cante-fable* occur in other forms of literature,—in the French of the *Aucassin and Nicolette* type, the Arabian, Indian, Persian, even Hebrew story-books; and what traces of it are to be found in our own folk-tale.

Mr. Gummere takes exception to Mr. Jacobs's thesis, as I think unjustly, on the ground that "under simple conditions, poetry breaks up into prose, but prose is not found in its transition to poetry." (F. B. Gummere, *Beginnings of Poetry*, Lond. and N. Y. 1901, p. 71). Mr. Jacobs is not arguing, however, for the development of the prose tale into poetry, but for the survival of the poetic dialogue apart from the prose in which it was once imbedded.

* Miss Pound says: "It is not, in fact, the presence of the refrain or of choral repetition that makes the Child pieces ballads. What is essential, if pieces are to be classified as ballads, is that they tell a story." (Louise Pound, *Poetic Origins and the Ballad*, N. Y. 1921, p. 77).

* Mr. Kittredge concludes, in his introduction to the Cambridge edition of Child's Ballads, "It appears, then, that there is no lack of characteristic traits—besides the general air of impersonality—which justify the conjecture that the history of balladry, if we could follow it back in a straight line without interruptions, would lead us to very simple conditions of society, to the singing and dancing throng, to a period of communal composition" (p. xxii).

Mr. Gummere thinks that the *märchen* "will do nothing for the origins of balladry; it follows an entirely different impulse, as any observer can determine for himself who watches the same group of children now playing 'Ring round the Rosy' or what-not, singing and shouting in concert with clasped hands and consenting feet, now sitting silent, absorbed, while some one tells them a story," (*English Ballad*, p. 694). Mr. Gummere's own supposition in favor of communal dance as the original ballad substance is objected to by Miss Pound, who says, "There is no evidence that ballads are ever built up from dance songs, but a great deal that dance-songs may be built upon popular songs of all types" (*op. cit.* pp. 47-86).

The theory I am advocating by no means decides the folk or minstrel origin of any particular ballad; it merely supplies the ballad structure, the style, the content, as the product of a folk art, which any minstrel may have used later for his own purposes. That this usage consisted in a retouching of old material already existing in dialogue-song, is suggested by the very small success that modern literary imitators have had in reproducing both form and spirit of the old English ballad.

obviated if we conceive the folk gathered about a reciter and themselves joining in song and dance from point to point in the recital. Patiently gathered evidence would be necessary fully to prove this transformation from folk-tale in the form of prose and song into ballad composition; it is my purpose here merely to point out those characteristics of the ballad which may be accounted for by such a hypothesis, and to show how they may naturally have come about.

Folk art is uninventive; it employs the material already at hand, its genius lying in the fresh realization of that experience. So, for aught we know, the inventions of Paleolithic man still live in tales of the folk. The inventions, but not the culture. That changes with the fresh creative art which handles the matter afresh. If ballad language is simple, inclined to set phrases and stock incidents, so is that of the folk-tale. Both are, in the main, un-localized, impersonal, completely bent upon making the incidents live in action, not concerned with the narrator's share in it. Names and culture shift, but on the whole, princes and princesses, lords and ladies survive, although their manner of life may vary with the experience of the teller. All these familiar tags of ballad style are therefore common to the folk-tale. But especially does the theory of a dialogue song surviving which once formed part of a prose tale make it easy to account for that economy in connectives and absence of explanatory action in the ballad form which has been the despair of imitators and has contributed more than any other element to weaken the claim of the folk to ballad composition and to strengthen that of the expert and the aristocrat.²⁷

²⁷ Mr. Moore, ("Omission of the Central Action in English Ballads," *Mod. Philol.* II. 394), says, "The story so far as any exists, serves merely to furnish a background for the dialogue."

Mr. Gummere finds characteristic the "abrupt dramatic openings with a dialogue only partially explained" (*English Ballad*, p. 84).

Mr. Courthope says, "Often compression led to obscurity and in many ballads the story would not have been understood if the singer had not prefaced it with some explanation. The effect may be compared to what would be presented by a paragraph of prose in which the sentences should be without connecting particles" (*Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, I. 461).

Miss Pound's argument (*op. cit.* 139-146) against the early origin of the dialogue ballad, as opposed to Prof. Hart's thesis (that the dialogue ballad is earlier than other ballad forms), is misleading because she bases her arguments

This paucity of connectives is the natural order of things if we think of the ballad-song itself as an inset within the prose of the narrative. The prose, which is more or less extemporaneous, drops easily away as the story becomes familiar to the folk. Presently it comes about that the song carries the story with it in people's minds and there is no need of the recital to explain its meaning. If a foreign audience asks a question or two, the singer will readily furnish an introductory and concluding stanza in the measure of the song, and from that time on the ballad can stand alone and carry its story with it. Modifications are constantly occurring in the incident to soften or render more plausible what might disgust or puzzle a later age. The structure itself, however, has been fixed by the original prose setting of the song, and this structure remains the permanent mark of the genuine old folk ballad.

On the basis of this theory also it is equally simple to explain the presence of the refrain in our old ballad form. Those who derive the ballad out of the dance, point to the presence of this disjointed and skipping melody as proof positive of a dance origin.²⁸ Others believe it to be an afterthought, attached when

upon literary rather than upon folk sources. The dramatic improvised dialogue of the folk certainly has nothing in common with the unwieldy literary quality of early epic. Rather it should be compared with the speeches in the more simple church drama.

²⁸ Out of 502 Scandinavian ballads, according to Steenstrup, only 20 lack a refrain; out of 305 Child ballads, 106 show evidence of chorus or refrain. See Gummere, p. 74 note.

Mr. Gummere says "The refrain is an organic part of the ballad; it is of great structural importance . . . ballads were at first always sung, and always had a refrain; the refrain is incontestably sprung from singing of the people at dance, play, work, going back to that choral repetition which seems to have been the protoplasm of all poetry," (*English Ballad*. p. 73).

Mr. Moore (*op. cit.* p. 394), finds that in some fragments of ballad refrains "the story has been lost so completely that only a name or two serve to associate these fragments with the complete ballads. In such cases these chips seem to lose the chief characteristics of the old block and to become lyrical in character. It is the story which seems to drop out first. It is the situation with the lyrical comment upon it which remains."

Mr. Cox (*The Mediaeval Popular Ballad*, pp. 85-88) shows how the refrain furnishes the "cohering quality" of the ballad because in it the listeners participate. It thus voices the mood of the ballad.

Professor Kittredge (*op. cit.* pp. xx-xxi) believes that the refrain "presupposes a crowd of singers and dancers" and is "a very ancient survival which brings

the ballad came to be used for dancing. Just as the complete dialogue song furnishes the ballad proper, so the more fragmentary scraps of song whose presence I have illustrated in the primitive folk-tale, may supply the popular refrain. The song fragments survive when the story is lost because the story was told in a different medium, that of prose. When, as described above, the dialogue song came to usurp more and more of the interest of the crowd, it was this burden or refrain which they could all sing in chorus and which they invariably connected with the words of the more detailed song within the prose tale. Exactly the same treatment which I have illustrated in Jamaica story-telling is accorded to the refrain in ballad literature. The ballad refrain may serve to carry on the story, but often it is made up of mere nonsense syllables. It varies with different versions of the ballad, and the same refrain may belong to different ballads. It looks as if catch-songs of this kind were in everybody's head and got to be attached to those dialogue songs with which they had been associated in story form, or were borrowed from story to story with the ready ease of appropriation natural to a folk art.

Finally, the subject-matter of the kind of song-story I am describing is amazingly close to ballad tradition. The reason why some writers have hesitated to accept the parallel may be because much folk-tale today is modernized and sophisticated and has lost that atmosphere of primitive wonder which haunts our old ballad literature.²⁹ When I put together those folk-tales still preserved in Jamaica which are neither animal tales nor of recent European introduction, I find a considerable number of tales of sorcery which do preserve this atmosphere, and just these tales it is which contain song. To take an example out of this very ballad of *Little Musgrove*. The tale bearer in ballad literature is often no little foot-page, but a

the whole category of ballads into close relations with the singing dancing theory."

²⁹ Mr. Henderson (*Scottish Vernacular Literature*, p. 370) says of ballads: "In many ways . . . they bring us into immediate contact with the antique, pagan, savage, superstitious, elemental characteristics of our race. They have to some extent embalmed for us the essence of old forgotten romances, and the essence of what the old romances embalmed—the sentiments, passions, beliefs, forms of thought, and imaginative wonder and dread of our pagan ancestors."

singing bird which its mistress attempts to bribe into silence. The theme of the messenger bird who reveals crime appears in all collections of African texts and is closely bound up with the idea that the spirit of the dead takes the form of a bird in order to protect the innocent or avenge itself upon the guilty here on earth. So with the whole supernatural world revealed in ballad literature. It is not treated like a fairy-tale, nor with the half-playful satire of those who manipulate the unbelievable for purposes of story. Things happen in a world where the supernatural is the expected order. There is sorcery going on, and a constant conflict with those spiritual forces which fill the imagination of the folk with shapes and presences more real than flesh and blood. The simple obligations of the family life carried out inexorably through the forces of the dead—this is what forms the social background of our better ballads, and it is this same background which dominates also the old body of folk-tale in Jamaica. Add to this the fact that it is in just this old body of tales that we find imbedded the dialogue or refrain-like songs whose likeness to the ballad form I have been arguing, and the probability becomes very strong that originally ballads themselves were once a part of just such narrative recitations of the folk.

I am aware that such a hypothesis of the origin of the ballad as I am attempting to outline must still remain a hypothesis, however tempting the supposition. For although one may prove conclusively that such a treatment of folk-tale might have produced the ballad form, we cannot so easily demonstrate that such a metamorphosis actually did take place. Was such a fashion of story-telling common to our northern folk, and did it occur to them, under the stimulus of epic tale and romance and given a ready rhyme and meter made familiar in the popular church drama and ritual, to liberate the song from its connecting prose, add head and tail and other body-filling stanza, and then, under the habit still of the ejaculatory song, at intervals in the recital to dance and sing a sort of interlinear jig to the old-time melody? Perhaps it is the dance accent which has always persisted out of those supposititious song-story-telling days. Those scraps of meaningless refrain which collectors complain of as the useless fragments of corrupt balladry, may be in very fact the "catch-words or memory-tags"

of the tale to which they belong—a prose tale which, because always extemporaneous, never got written down at all, and a dialogue-song which, softened and filled out by succeeding generations of singers, determined the form of the continuous narrative song of our better English ballads.

BALLAD TEXTS

1. LITTLE MUSGROVE (first form)

(Recited and sung as a "Nasi story" by old William Forbes of Dry River, near Maggotty.)

Little Musgrove did went to church
An' saw de lady gay,
An' de very first one his eye did spy
Was me lord Barnaby wife.

An de lady said,

Come go home, my little Musgrove,
Home you wi' shall go,
For I got two bed in Banbrownbury
Dey both neat an' clean.
An' come go home, little Musgrove,
I give you one of your own.

An' Musgrove go home wid him. An' him said in de night,

Raise up, raise up, my gay lady,
For I t'ink it is time to go.

De lady said,

Lie still, lie still, my little Musgrove,
To keep off de col' off of me.

Musgrove said,

I understand dat little Foot-speed
Can very well see and can hear,
For I t'ink I hear Lord Barnaby horn
Was blowing so loud and sweet.

The gay lady said,

Lie still, lie still, my little Musgrove,
For I t'ink my fader sharp horn
Was blowing over de flock.

An' fe a little time, Lord Barnaby an' all his soldiers come right
in an' surroun' de yard. An' him said gwine to shove de door
an' go inside an' see little Musgrove. An' said,

Raise up, raise up, my little Musgrove,
 An' put on you clo'es, Musgrove,
 For I won't 'low de worl' to got it to said
 I kill a naked man.

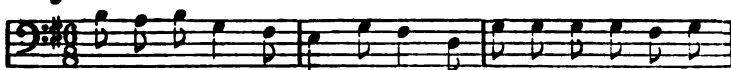
An' turn to de woman an' said,

Raise up, raise up, my gay lady,
 An' put on you clo'es, lady,
 For I won't let dis worl' to have it to said
 Dat I kill a naked woman.

2. LITTLE MUSGROVE (second form).

(Sung into the phonograph by old Forbes and transcribed by Helen Roberts.)

$\text{♩} = 80.$



Lit-tle Mus-grove did went to church an' saw de young La-dy so



gay, An' de ver - y fir'st one his eye did 'spize was



me Lord Bar - na - by wife. Said "Come, go home, my



Lit - tle Mus-grove, I'll g'fe yo' one ob yo' own, Fo' I



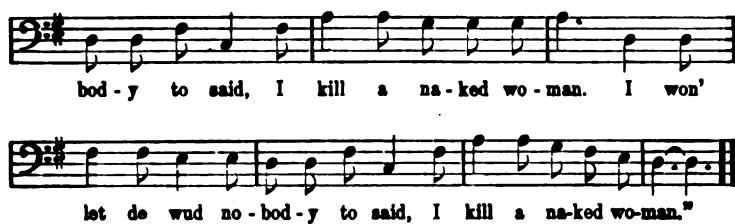
got two beds both nice an' clean, I'll g'fe you one ob yo'
 ? in Brown ber - ry?



own. An' come, go home, my lit - tle Mus-grove, fo'



home you we shall go." "Now raise up, raise up, my



3. LITTLE MUSGROVE (third form).

(A popular song sung into the phonograph by Maroons from Accompong and transcribed by Helen Roberts.)

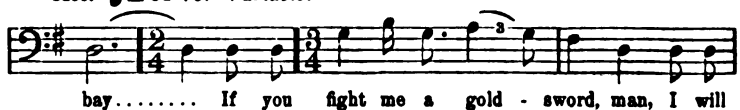
Lie still, my pret-ty young man, Lie still, my pret-ty young
man, a Lie still, my pret - ty young man. My
fa - ther's driv - ing his sheep, all dem make a deal ob
noies..... Who is dere goes a - way, Who is
dere goes 'way. Who is dere goes a - way, It's a
mur - der will be dere, It's a mur - der will be dere.....

4. IF I WENT UP TO A HILL-TOP.

(A popular song based on ballad Fragments, sung into the phonograph by Maroons from Accompong and transcribed by Helen Roberts.)



Acc. ♩ = 84-76. *Variable.*





5. THE MAID FREED FROM THE GALLOWS

(Recited and sung by old Thomas Williams from Harmony Hall, near Accompong.)

Deh was a princess propose to be married. During de time she was going on to de day of marriage, she do somet'ing against de rule and regulation of her royalty dat cause her to be brought up in trial, found guilty, an' sentenced to be hung. What she did was against de family rule, so none of dem prepare any help to escape her from de gallows.

De day come fo' her execution. De hour is at hand. She said to de hang-man, "My time is at han'; save me five an' twenty minutes mo'!" She look off an' see her fader was coming.

Ayl ayl deh come me only fader
Who trabbel so many mile!
Do you bring me gold an' silver
To save me body from de eart'?

Fader say,

No, no, Sareyl
I came to see you hung,
An' now you mus' be hung, girl,
You' body is boun' to de eart'.

An' she say, "Still, gentlemen, save me five an' twenty minute more!" Mudder is coming.

Mudder! mudder!
Coming trabbling so many mile,
Do you bring me gold an' silver
To save me body from de eart'?

Mudder replied same as de fader,

No, no, Sarey!
I came to see you hung,
An' hung you mus' be hung,
You' body is boun' to de eart'.

An say, "Gentlemen, save me five an' twenty minute more!"
An' look far away off yonder, an' saw a bright light, sparkling
light, brillian' light. So ev'rybody dat was waiting to see her
hung get frightened, t'ink dey was doing wrong to her. So
all moving off to de way whe' de brightness is coming direct
to de gallows. So all move an' leave de princess alone on de
gallows stage.

So she mek her escape, pull de rope as how it was fixed to
her an' move herself to a safe place beyon' de light dat is coming.
An' she sing,

Ye do come, me only husban,'
Trabbel so many mile!
Do you bring me gold an' silver
To save me body from de eart'?

No answer. Repeat twice. An' de power of de chariot an'
de great light come up to de gallows, cut it down, mash it up.
Great heap, mountain of gold and silver and all great pieces of
precious stones, diamonds an' rubies an' all precious t'ing!
Der was no end of it. And tek her up. She was help in by her
husban' an' save!

Dat's why when people marry, dey drive so rapidly home,
horse jump an' mek big! An' pour out money like mountains.
Dat's why de king an' queen an' princess so rich now.

6. SWEET RILEY

(Recited and sung by old Julia Gentle from the Santa Cruz Mountains.)

Anansi son name Stan'-up-stick. As Anansi poor, Stan'-up-
stick don' notice him. An' Stan'-up-stick buy a gold ring
give him daughter Absa; de ring cost a t'ousen' pound; it cut
wid dimon' brooches an' spliced wid hair. An' de daughter
give it to a gentleman name William Riley. When Stan'-up-
stick see William Riley wid de ring, he sing,

There is a ring I give my daughter,
It cost a t'ousen' pound.
It cut with di'mon brooches
An' splic-ed with my hair.

De daughter sing,

If you have them now, sweet Riley,
Pray send them back to me.

William sing,

O yes, my general lady,
With many a thank to you.
Wear it upon your right han'
An' think upon my broken heart
When you are in foreign lan'.

Riley said, "My hands an' feet are chained to the ground like
a murderer!" Lady sings,

Come justice of the jury,
Come plead the case for Riley
And let his bond-es free!
For he never stole my jewels,
I will swear to all about;
For I gave them to sweet Riley
For token of true love.

Stan'-up-stick, he rise an' sing,

This ring, I give it my daughter,
It cost a t'ousan' pound.

Anansi come up an' say, "God! a you love me, so mek Stan'-up-
stick loss his t'ousan' pound!"

7. THE WURLEAN WOMAN

(Sung by old Julia Gentle from the Santa Cruz Mountains)

A wurlean woman say:

Young people who delight in sin,
I will tell you what has lately been.
A lady who was young and fair,
She died in sin and sad despair.
She go to frolics, dance and play,
In spite of all her friends could say.
Oh, when I get old I will return to God
And he will then receive my soul.

One Friday morning she took sick,
Then her stubborn heart began to break.
(S)he call her mother to her bed,—
"Rise we're rolling in her head.
I laugh, I laugh, my days I spend!
Good God, it is too late for me to mend."
She holla, she bawl before she died.
Hope this [not] be your case.

Upon your knee, for mercy sake,
Or you will die in sin as Polly do.

8. THE GREAT RAM OF DARBY (first form)

(Sung by Alexander Townsend of Flamstead as an old loading song used when ships came to port.)

As I was going to Darby,
I hear about a ram.
His horn was nearly touch de moon,
An' de man who kill de ram
His knee was deep in de blood,
An' it take all de women in Darby
To carry away de horn.

De tail upon de ram
Will make a t'ousand brush,
Send 'em home to England
To brush de dining hall.

He's a ramble, he's a ramble,
Said de butcher to de ram,
"Cut it down."

De horn upon de ram
Make a t'ousand comb,
Send 'em on to England
To comb young lady hair.

He's a ramble, he's a ramble,
Said de butcher to de ram,
"Cut it down."

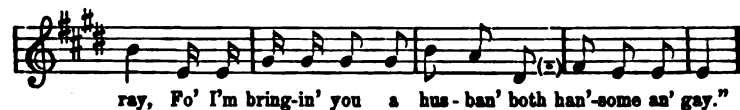
9. THE GREAT RAM OF DARBY (second form)

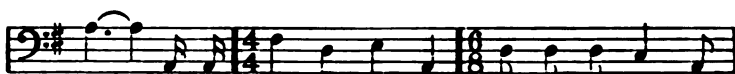
(Recited as a prose tale by James Smith, a young man of Claremont, St. Ann.)

There was a great ram; everybody heard about him but could not kill him. Anansi heard about him and took a ride to Darby town to look at the ram. The finest ram that ever is seen! It feeds upon hay. The wool that grows on that ram's back seems tall enough to reach the sky. The John-crow build their nest there. I think I hear the young ones cry. Bill, if you think I lie, jus saddle an' bridle you' mule an' take you' knife an' have a ride with me to Darby's stone to have a look at the ram. The man who killed that ram was up to his knees in blood. The flood carried away all the young men in Darby town, and all the young women were screaming out for the skin and bone to boil it down to oil to rub the old man's bones. Meanwhile, Anansi had the ram secure in his bag and started for home, leaving the mourning in Darby town.

10. ADINAH.

(Sung by old Hannah French, housekeeper at Butler's, to the tune of "Spring-field Mountain." Recorded by Helen Roberts.)





cleah, Fo' I t'ink I heah Lord Bar-na-by horn was



blow-ing so loud an' cleah, Fo' I un-der-stan' dat



lit-tle Foot-speed can ver-y well see an' can heah, Fo' I



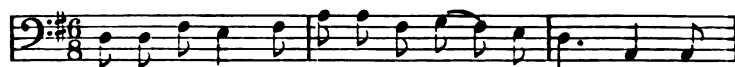
un-der-stan' dat lit-tle Foot-speed can ver-y well see an' can



heah." "Oh, lie still, lie still, my lit-tle Mus-grove, an'



keep off de col' off ob me, Oh, lie still, lie still, my



lit-tle Mus-grove, an' keep off de col' off ob me, Fo' it's



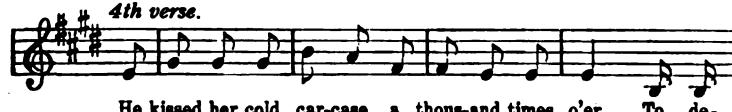
on-ly my fad-der's Yar-mout' horn was blow-ing o-veh de
? shep-herd?



flock, Fo' it's on-ly my fad-der's Yar-mout' horn was



blow-ing o-veh de flock." "So, raise up, raise up, my

*3rd verse.**4th verse.*



Wil - lie Dick an' A - di - nah were laid in one grave.



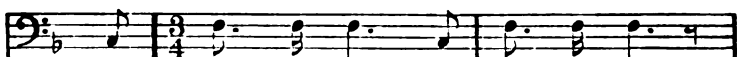
Sing-in' tour - al, sing-in' tour - al, sing-in' tour - al all



day, Rī tour - al, rī tour - al, rī tour - al all day.

11. SIMON TOOTOOS.

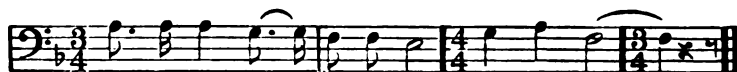
(Sung by Maroons of Accompong and recorded by Helen Roberts.)



Come, take me up, come take me up,



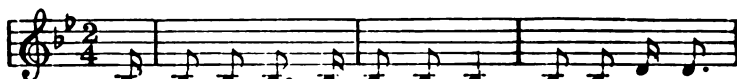
Si - mon Too - toes,..... Len - non boy.... Come



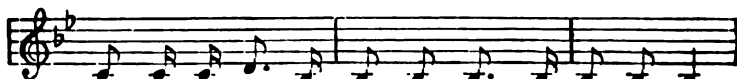
take me up, oh, Len-non boy. Too - na - too.....

12. TIME-AN'-TOOTOO.

(Communicated by Mrs. Charles Wilson who had it from her old colored mammy. Music recorded by Helen Roberts.)



Me mu - ma, oh, me mu - ma, oh, Time an' Too - too,



oh, Len-non boy! Me mu - ma, oh, me mu - ma, oh,



Time - an' - Tootoo, oh, Len - non boy! Car - ry him go 'long,
 Car - ry him go 'long, Hard ears, ba - by, oh, Len - non boy!
 Car - ry him, go 'long, Car - ry him, go 'long,
 Hard ears ba - by, oh, Len - non boy!

Me muma, oh, me muma, oh,
 Time-an'-Tootoo, oh, Lennon boy!
 Me muma, oh, me muma, oh,
 Time-an'-Tootoo, oh, Lennon boy!
 Carry him go 'long, carry him go 'long,
 Hard ears baby, oh, Lennon boy!
 Carry him go 'long, carry him go 'long,
 Hard ears baby, oh, Lennon boy!

Me pupa, oh, me pupa, oh,
 Time-an'-Tootoo, oh, Lennon boy! . . .

Me sister, oh, me sister, oh,
 Time-an'-Tootoo, oh, Lennon boy! . . .

Me bredder, oh, me bredder, oh,
 Time-an'-Tootoo, oh, Lennon boy! . . .

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XXII. THE GRATEFUL LION

A STUDY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIÆVAL NARRATIVE

I have recently expressed the opinion that the story of Androcles and the Lion, a *tour de force* by Apion the Egyptian, was suggested to its author by an actual occurrence in the amphitheatre at Rome; and that Apion supplied both motivation and decorative incident out of his own fertile fancy, much as a journalist of our own time would elaborate a column sensation out of a small nucleus of fact.¹

In the present paper, I propose to show how Apion's story developed after his own day: on the one hand perpetuating itself in an almost literary succession, without much variation; and on the other hand giving rise to an expanding series of tales which, disseminated for the most part orally during the earlier Middle Ages, reached its highest development in Chrétien's *Yvain*, in that charming group of incidents which Mr. O. M. Johnston calls "The Episode of Yvain, the Lion, and the Serpent."²

Although it is generally assumed that Chrétien's material for this episode comes ultimately from the *Androcles*—possibly through the legend of Golfier de Lastours³—no one has yet

¹ *The Charles Mills Gayley Anniversary Papers*, Berkeley, 1922; pp. 197-213.

² This is the title of two articles by Mr. Johnston: see *Proceedings of the American Philol. Assoc.*, XXXII, li; *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, XXXI, 157 ff.

³ So Wendelin Foerster ("Kristian-Wörterbuch," *Romanische Bibliothek* V, *Einleitung*, p. 99); G. Baist ("Der dankbare Löwe," *Romanische Forschungen*, XXIX, 317); O. M. Johnston (*Proc. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, l.c.). The most significant variation from this view has been presented by Mr. A. C. L. Brown ("The Knight of the Lion," *P. M. L. A.* XX, 673-706).

reconciled the striking differences between the *Androcles* and Chrétien's story. If the *Androcles* (however indirectly or through however many intermediaries) is to be regarded as the ultimate source of the lion-episode in the *Yvain*, some answer must be found to the vexing question which Baist begged in 1910⁴: How shall we account for the combat between lion and serpent, which, in the mediæval tale, replaces the thorn as the element of distress from which the hero releases the lion? And how explain the differences in setting, in the hero's quality, and in the development of the tale after the rescue, which set the *Yvain* far apart from the *Androcles* in all except their most fundamental features? To these questions I shall try to give an answer; though that answer must necessarily be somewhat general and conjectural.

Since the legend of Golfier (which may be quite as old as the *Yvain*, or even older⁵) has been regarded by distinguished scholars as Chrétien's source,⁶ or as one of his sources, I shall examine the relations of these two twelfth century versions with some care. I shall try to show that Chrétien's episode and the Golfier-legend are independent derivatives from a common source, which must already have possessed much of that romantic and chivalrous character ascribed by Mr. A. C. L. Brown partly to Chrétien's own genius, and partly to the influence of some such legend as the *Golfier*, or to an unknown Oriental tale.⁷ In the demonstration of that common source, in my investigation into its probable character and the manner of its descent from the

"Der dankbare Löwe," p. 317: "dass in der ersten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts die Schlange an Stelle des Dorns in das Thema getreten. . . . war."

⁴ The earliest record of the association of the grateful lion with Golfier is in the Chronicle of Jaufré de Vigéois, which was finished in 1184. But that the story was known somewhat earlier appears from allusions to it in poems by the troubadours Guillem Magret and Gaucelm Faidit. See A. Pillet: "Ein ungedrucktes Gedicht des Troubadours Guillem Magret und die Sage von Golfier de Las Tors," *Mitteilungen der schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*, XIII-XIV, 640-647; and F. Naudieth, "Der Trobador Guillem Magret," *Zft. für rom. Philol.* LII, 94-8, 118-119.

⁵ Particularly by Johnston (*Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, XXXII, li; and Gaidoz, "Le Chevalier au Lion," *Mélusine*, V, col. 217 ff, 241 ff. Even Mr. Brown suggests that Chrétien may have used a legend like that of Golfier ("Knight of the Lion," p. 686, note 2).

⁷ *Loc. cit.*; cf. *Iwain, a Study in the Origins of Arthurian Romance*, Harvard Studies and Notes, VIII, 129-130.

Androcles, I undertake a task which, important as it is, has not hitherto been accomplished.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Brown lent even the shadow of his support to the theory that Chrétien's lion-story comes from the Orient. His own Celtic theory⁸ has much more foundation than the Oriental theory, in spite of Mr. Johnston's brilliant attempts to demonstrate Oriental origin.⁹ In the latter part of this paper, I shall discuss Mr. Brown's opinions; and it will appear that I accept his fundamental argument that substantially the entire *Yvain* is Celtic in origin. I accept his assumption that Chrétien found a guiding and helpful lion in his source; I share his belief that the Welsh "Lady of the Fountain" is to be derived directly from that source, rather than from Chrétien himself;¹⁰ but I regard that guiding lion which Chrétien probably found in his original as furnishing only the suggestion and the point of attachment for a *grateful* lion story which he found elsewhere. In view of the debate which still rages around the Celtic theory, I take a cowardly satisfaction in the reflection that my case, in this paper, does not depend on the ultimate acceptance or rejection of Mr. Brown's theory.

I.

Much of the wild conjecture to which our story has given rise¹¹ might have been obviated by a rigid definition of it. In the episode of Yvain, the Lion, and the Serpent we are dealing with the following theme: a hero delivers a lion from a serpent, and is thereafter faithfully served and helped by the grateful beast. It is precisely this situation for which we seek a source or sources. Given this definition, it at once appears that the fight between the lion and the serpent finds no parallel in the *Androcles*; but it also appears that, apart from this one feature,

⁸ In the "Knight of the Lion."

⁹ See note 2, *supra*.

¹⁰ This view has been advanced by Heinrich Goossens as well as by Mr. Brown (in "Knight of the Lion"); cf. Goossen's *Ueber Sage, Quellen, und Composition des Chevalier au Lion*, Paderborn, 1883.

¹¹ Such as Franz Settegast's attempt to equate Yvain's lion with the lions of Cybele (*Antike Elemente im altfranzösischen Merowingerzyklus, nebst einem Anhang über den Chevalier au Lion*, Leipzig, 1907), and Gaidoz' unfortunate suggestion that the prototype of all grateful lions was a tame lion in the possession of Rameses the Great (*Méhusine V, loc. cit.*).

our episode has exactly the same kernel as the *Androcles*. That kernel may be stated in these terms: a man delivers a lion from dire peril or suffering, and is rewarded by the lion's lasting gratitude.

No parallel for this formula has been found in genuinely Oriental story; and none is likely to be. Mr. Johnston has discovered two Indian tales which are strikingly like the *Androcles*,¹² even to the detail of the thorn. But one of the two tales is entirely modern, and the other first appears six centuries later than the *Androcles*; neither one deals with lions; and in both, the grateful animals are not really animals at all, but supernatural beings in animal form.¹³ In the *Androcles*, in the *Yvain*, and in all other European grateful lion stories, the lion is conceived and received as a real animal: he is represented, no doubt, as nobler and more intelligent than we moderns regard him, but he is quite in accord with the natural history of his time. Moreover, in Oriental tales of the gratitude of animals the act of gratitude is a single one, which stops there; in our story, the lion's gratitude manifests itself in a ceaseless devotion.

Aside from Mr. Johnston's examples, I know of only two tales from the Orient with which our episode could possibly be connected. These two tales both seem to reflect the influence of the *Yvain*, and one of them is very dubious. The first is Persian: it does seem to present a grateful lion; but an examination of it does not strengthen the case for the Oriental origin of our episode. In the story "What the Rose did to the Cypress,"¹⁴ the Lion-King brings an army of lions to help Prince Almas against his enemies. This friendly act is motivated by the hero's courtesy: he had rubbed dust from the Lion-King's face, brought him game, and served him courteously at meat! But this is no analogue to either the *Yvain* or the *Androcles*: the Lion-King cannot properly be called grateful at all, since the help he renders the hero is given in patronizing recognition of the latter's good manners, rather than in thankfulness for a

¹² *Zft für französ. Sprache*, XXXI, 161-2. Mr. Johnston's Tale of the Tigers is from the collection of Maive Stokes (*Indian Fairy Tales*, London 1880, pp. 153 ff.).

¹³ These objections to Mr. Johnston's oriental examples have been admirably stated by Baist, "Der dankbare Löwe," pp. 318-319.

¹⁴ Andrew Lang, *Brown Fairy Book*, 1914, pp. 1 ff.

genuine deliverance from suffering. Moreover, this tale has neither serpent nor thorn; the Lion-King is not even a beast, but a partly rationalized supernatural being: he speaks, conducts affairs, and marries a woman. Finally, the hero's furnishing him with game seems an inverted reminiscence of the similar service rendered to Androcles, Golfier, or Yvain by their grateful lions.

The second, and more dubious tale, preserved in the *Relación del Origen y Suceso de los Xarifes* of Diego de Torres,¹⁵ is said by its author to have been current among the Moors in his own day, and to constitute the Moorish explanation of the name *Babeceva* ("Gate of the Lion"), applied to one of the gates of Fez. The hero rescues a lion from a serpent, and is followed by the grateful beast to the gate in question; later a Moor presents the serpent's head to the King, and claims a reward for slaying the monster. The hero, Don Alonso Perez de Guzman, easily refutes the claim by the well-worn method of showing the serpent's tongue. The author represents Don Alonzo as a vassal and valiant champion of that Ferdinand who expelled the Moors from Spain, and as the ancestor of the Dukes of Medina-Sidonia.

This tale cannot be genuine. It is unnecessary to point out that the event it narrates was supposed to have taken place in the closing years of the fifteenth century, more than three hundred years after the *Yvain* and the Golfier-legend were developed. The important point is that Diego deliberately falsified when he attributed the tale to the Moors, less than a century after their expulsion from Spain, by the very monarch in whose service the hero had distinguished himself. Would Moors, in that period at least, attribute so heroic an adventure to a Spaniard, the officer of their arch-enemy? Would Moors make a Spaniard the hero, and a Moor the villain, of the piece? Unquestionably Diego de Torres merely utilized a story which he already knew in another connection, and attached it to Guzman to glorify the latter's descendants, the house of Medina-Sidonia.

¹⁵ The French translation of this work by M. le Duc d'Angoulesme *le Père* (Paris 1667), is incorrectly cited by Gaidoz (*Mélanges* V, col. 224). The chapter in question, both in the French translation and in the original, is LXXI. The original was published by Diego's widow, at Seville, in 1586.

The story is told with such evident confusion that the hand of a botching redactor is most manifest. Don Alonso tells his adventure to the King of Fez, immediately after the event. The lion is at the gate, to corroborate the hero's word. The King believes him, and gives orders that the gate be named in commemoration of the hero's valor and the lion's gratitude. Some time later a Moor turns up with the serpent's head, and gives himself out as its slayer. He is immediately believed; neither King nor court see any inconsistency, but act as if they had never heard Don Alonso's story—in spite of the small matter of the lion still camping outside the gate. The hero must confound the Moor by producing the serpent's tongue before anyone ventures to question the false claimant. Don Diego most patently dished up a badly warmed re-hash of a tale he already knew, and invented a Moorish source to provide his narrative with some show of authority.

What was his true source? The impostor and the serpent's tongue furnish the clue. This is the universal *märchen*-motive of the Impostor and the Tokens;¹⁶ but the particular form in which the motive is found here, in combination with the episode of the Knight, the Lion, and the Serpent, goes back to the German *Wolfdietrich*-Cycle, in which, for the first time, the Impostor motive is associated with the theme of the Grateful Lion. Don Diego's story is therefore of no value at all as evidence for either African or Oriental origin.

Yet on such evidence, and on none better, rests the theory that the Grateful Lion came from the Orient. The fact is

¹⁶ See E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus* (Grimm Library, No. 2, Vol. I; London, 1894), III, Chapter 1; Chapter 21, pp. 180 ff.—Tales which contain this motive usually represent the hero as rescuing a maiden from the dragon; his reward is the maiden's hand. The *Wolfdietrich*, in which the rescue of a lion from a serpent was first combined with the motive of the impostor and the tokens, uses the dragons' tongues to confound the false claimant; the hero's reward is to be the Queen's hand. The rescue of the lion seems to take the place of the rescue of the heroine. The *Wolfdietrich* has suffered a second contamination with material from the Brunswick-Cycle (Henry the Lion); the motive of the Impostor and the Tokens apparently came from the *Tristan*. Diego—whose false claimant asks an indefinite reward—evidently knew some (oral) version of our episode which, though derived from the *Wolfdietrich*, had fallen from its setting. His immediate source was probably one of a considerable number of short tales which form a deposit of *Wolfdietrich* detritus all over Europe.

that we have no proof that the Grateful Lion was ever known in the Orient, unless from Western sources. To be sure, the non-existence of a grateful lion story in the Orient today is no proof that such a story never existed there: the *argumentum e silentio* is not demonstration; but it does constitute strong presumptive evidence. The real case against the Oriental theory is that it is a mere ghost; that it rests on assertion without sound evidence.

Even such scholars as Gaidoz and Johnston have boldly asserted Oriental provenience for our episode, serpent-fight and all, on the slender basis of its attachment to Golfier de Lastours. Golfier was a crusader; *ergo*, he himself must have brought the story home with him from the Orient! The absurdity of such an assertion is plain; yet Mr. Johnston makes it in all seriousness: “. . . the episode of Golfier de las Tours, the Lion, and the Serpent was doubtless derived from Androcles and the Lion. This story was probably made known to Golfier while he was engaged in the first Crusade, and followed him to France on his return from the East in the year 1100.”¹⁷ Gaidoz¹⁸ takes the same view of the derivation of the Golfier direct from the Orient. Neither one of these scholars presents a shred of evidence; each merely makes the bare statement—in itself anything but plausible—and expects the reader to believe. Such methods will not help us to solve a problem so tangled as ours.

The mere production of Oriental tales of grateful beasts, in themselves unlike our episode, is worth nothing as evidence for the origin of the grateful lion story in the Orient. The grateful beast may originate anywhere and everywhere, at any time;

¹⁷ *Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, XXXII, li.

¹⁸ *Mélusine*, V, col. 217-224; 241-244. Gaidoz believed that the Golfier-legend was brought from the East by a Crusader, and that it is ultimately derived from imperfectly recollected instances of the actual use of tame lions in hunting and in battle. He cites a number of historical personages to whom antiquity assigned such tame lions, and quotes the report of Laass d'Aguen (*Ecrivains de l'histoire auguste*, II, 239) that in America—especially in Mexico—tame “lions” are used instead of dogs for hunting. Finally, he regards the representation of the Pharaoh (on the walls of the Ramesseum) as assisted in battle by a lion as evidence that lions were actually trained to help their masters in war. As well refer to an actual occurrence the picture—also on the walls of the Ramesseum—of the God incarnate acting as Pharaoh's charioteer!

the conception is universal; but the grateful *lion* actually appears only in the Occident.¹⁹ There is accordingly a heavy burden of proof on anyone who asserts the origin of our episode in the Orient. No attempt to show Oriental origin for any Occidental story deserves the attention of thoughtful men unless it is supported by the production of genuine Oriental analogues old enough to constitute sound evidence. Otherwise the presumption must be that, if the tale is found in the Orient at all, it migrated thither from the West.²⁰

The assumption that our episode was brought to Europe by Golfer, or by any other crusader, was definitely overthrown by Baist's discovery of the entire episode, serpent and all, in an Occidental work at least twenty-four years earlier than the First Crusade.²¹ It is recorded by Petrus Damianus, who died in 1072. In Petrus' story, the grateful lion appears just as he appears in the *Androcles*: as a noble beast, but none the less as a very real animal. This is an entirely Occidental concept: Oriental grateful animals are supernatural beings in beast-form.²² After Petrus, the grateful lion is conceived just as in and before Petrus; except that, in the *Yvain* and the other versions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this conception is — adorned and embellished in the spirit of the age of chivalry.

This conception is founded on the idea held of the lion by the generality of people in the Middle Ages. Ancient Rome knew the lion as he appeared in the arena, brave and terrible; Apion endowed him with magnanimity. Europe, partly from

¹⁹ Baist ("Der dankbare Löwe," p. 318) very pertinently cites Benfey's statement to this effect; (Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, I, 222) "Schliesslich will ich übrigens nicht unbemerkt lassen, dass der Gedanke von der Dankbarkeit der Tiere allen Anspruch darauf hat, für einen allgemeinen menschlichen gelten zu können, sich also auch in unabhängig von einander entstandenen Gebilden auszusprechen vermag."—Naturally, any people—once given the idea of the gratitude of beasts—could develop the concept of a grateful lion. In the essence of things there is no reason why grateful lion tales should not appear in the Orient, except—as Baist (*op. cit.*, p. 319) says—that the Orient knew the lion's real character too intimately. But the fact remains that the Orient either did not develop, or did not preserve, tales of grateful lions.

²⁰ It seems about time that this theory received a little consideration. Modern scholarship seems possessed of an Oriental mania: the Orient has replaced Africa as the source of "always something new."

²¹ Pet. Dam., *Epistol.* VI, 5. See Baist, "Der dankbare Löwe," p. 317.

²² See Baist, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

the exaggerated tales of travelers, partly from the *Physiologus*, partly from Scriptural texts, knew the lion as a noble, knightly beast, which might serve as the symbol of Christ. It is this conception which we have in the *Golfier*, in the *Yvain*, and in all other mediæval stories of grateful lions.

II

We must, then, look for the source of our episode in such Occidental material as is at hand; and it is of primary importance to determine the actual state of the story in the twelfth century. At least three versions then existed, all very similar, yet all different in significant details. Their individual features are of such a character that we must compare each version in detail, not merely with the others, but with the earlier version of Petrus as well. In this way we shall be able to throw light, not only on the provenience of the story, but also on the various problems of its development and its association with specific personages.

The length of the episode in Chrétien precludes extensive quotation; I shall accordingly utilize the other versions as the basis for comparison, referring to Chrétien's text only when necessary. His episode begins with line 3341 of the *Yvain*; and the lion does not disappear from the story until line 6727.

The earliest extant version of the *Golfier*-legend is in the Chronicle of Jaufré de Vigéois, completed in 1184.²³ Jaufré's account of the lion-episode is directly transcribed—with only unimportant verbal changes—by the anonymous author of the *Magnum Chronicon Bellicum*, who was still living in 1474.²⁴

²³ See A. Thomas, "Le Roman de Goufier de Lastours," *Romania* XXXIV, 55-65; P. Meyer, *Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois*, (Paris, 1879) pp. 378-380; and A. Pillet, "Ein ungedrucktes Gedicht des Troubadours Guillem Magret und die Sage von Golfier de las Tors," *Mitteilungen der schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*, XIII-XIV, pp. 640-647. For the text of Jaufré's version, see Pillet, p. 647, book 1; or Bouquet: *Recueil des historiens des Gaules* (also known as "*Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores*"), XII, 428.

²⁴ The *Magnum Chronicon* appears in the sixth volume of *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores* (Ratisbon, 1726); see Tome iii, 140 ff.; and for the date of composition, p. 1. Meyer (*op. cit.*, p. 379, note) thinks that the Prior Jaufré and the author of the *Magnum Chronicon* used a common source for the lion-episode. This is inconceivable: the agreement between them is so literal that the author of the *Magnum Chronicon* must have had Jaufré's text before him.

A more elaborate version appears in the *Histoire des Croisades pour la Délivrance de la Terre Sainte*, by Louis Maimbourg, who died in 1686.²⁶ Jaufré de Vigéois tells the story in these terms:

Gulphérius de Turribus eiusdem [Lemovicensis] dioecesis, vir memoria dignus: qui cum crebros concursus exerceret in hostes et multa damna de die in diem inferret, accidit una die quod rugitum cuiusdam leonis a serpente circumligati audivit, et audacter accedens, leonem liberat. Qui, quod admirabile dictu est, memor accepti beneficii eum sequitur, sicut unus leporarius; qui quamdiu fuit in terra illa, nunquam recedens, multa commodi illi tulit, tam in venationibus quam in bellis, dabat carnes venaticas abundanter, et adversarium domini sui curso velocissimo prosternebat; et dum rediret, leo ipsum dimittere noluit; sed nautis ipsum in navi recipere nolentibus, ut pote animal crudele, secutus est dominum natando, donec labore quievit.

We must assume some relationship between Chrétien's episode and so close a parallel as this. On such external evidence as we have, however, we cannot assert the derivation of either version from the other. Foerster²⁶ has given good reason for dating the composition of the *Yvain* between 1164 and 1173; the earliest indications of the attachment of our episode to Golfier are allusions by the troubadours Guillem Magret and Gaucelm Faidit, in poems which cannot be definitely dated. It is scarcely to be asserted, however, that these poems are earlier than the *Yvain*; indeed, since their authors were contemporary with Alphonse II and Peter II of Aragon, it is quite possible that they were written not only after the *Yvain*, but even after Jaufré's Chronicle. Magret and Faidit certainly did not derive their knowledge of Golfier and his lion from Jaufré, for the character of their allusions to the episode seems to indicate a much more romantic and popular source than the Chronicle of Vigéois. Moreover, they refer to the story casually, as to a thing well and generally known.²⁷ It seems probable, therefore, that the lion-episode had been attached to Golfier continuously for some time before Magret and Faidit composed

All divergences are plainly due to the later writer's desire to expand his narrative without fear of detection. His description of the lion following the hero "sicut lepus" is merely a misunderstanding of Jaufré's phrase "sicut unus leporarius," and he inserts an unwarranted "ut dicunt" to mislead the reader as to his source.

²⁶ See pp. 269 ff., tome I, livre ii, (4. ed. Paris, 1687).

²⁷ *Kristian-Wörterbuch*, Einleitung p. 33.

²⁸ See note 31, *infra*. Both Pillet and Naudieth notice the significantly casual tone of Magret's allusion.

the poems containing the allusions. It may well be that, in his native Limousin, Golfier was known as the hero of a grateful lion story even before the composition of the *Yvain*.

But it is equally possible that Chrétien found the story definitely associated with Yvain in his source. It must be assumed that a period of years passed between Golfier's death and the first attachment of such a tale to him.²⁸ We are therefore not justified in drawing conclusions as to the prior claim of either hero to the episode. We can only infer, from the existence of a Golfier legend comprehending a grateful lion in Jaufré, and from the allusions in Magret and Faidit, that that legend was widespread enough in the last decades of the twelfth century to have been told, orally or in a *canzo*, for some time previously.

The third adaptation of our episode in the twelfth century is also approximately contemporary with Chrétien; it is recorded in the *De Naturis Rerum* of Alexander Neckam, who was at the university of Paris by 1180. His anecdote agrees more closely with the *Golfier* than with the *Yvain*:

Compendiose rem gestam stilo commendare libet, ut doceam quandoque bestias majoris esse fidei et amoris certioris quam sit nobilis creatura, cum dignitatis naturalis immemor efficitur. Erat igitur miles et generosus sanguine et in re militari exercitatus et strenuissimus. Solus vero iter emensus, ut consuetudinis erat, audivit leonem in recessu quodam non multum a strata regia pro rugitu edentem gemitum, et doloris acerbitem lacrimabiliter protestantem. Serpens enim quantitatis horrendae sinuosis caudae voluminibus collum leonis cinxerat, pectore vero et pedibus arbori procerae firmiter adhaesit, adeo ut leo vinctus staret juxta dictae arboris stipitem. Attendens miles gemitus leonis, per compendium semitae directe lineam sequens, monstrum cernit indignans in ejus adventu et ad certamen ipsum provocans. Miles vero audacissimus gladium exerens irruit in monstrum, quo neci dato, solutus leo libertate solita gaudet. Sed et caudae motu liberatori suo blandiens, et lingua manum linguens, in modum canis nunc dominum suum cursu laeto processit, nunc ad eundem vultu hilari et jocundo reversus est. Cum vero miles somno artus recreavit, leo ad pedes ejus quiescens custos domini sui fidelissimus est effectus. Frequenter in congressu militum armatorum dimicantium domino suo opem contulit, liberatori suo vices recompensans. Saepe a lethi discrimine illum liberavit, cui vitam suam debuit. Quocunque pergebat miles, sequebatur eum assecula fidelis. Tanta familiaritas, tam affectuosus amor, ferae tam superbæ

²⁸ Golfier died some time after 1126. See Kenneth McKenzie, "Unpublished Manuscripts of Italian Bestiaries," *P. M. L. A.*, XX, 397. I believe Professor McKenzie is wrong in attaching Golfier's lion-adventure to the siege of Antioch, in 1097; Maimbourg definitely associates it with the siege of Marra, in 1098.

de natura, sed jam mansuetissimae, singulos rem attendentes non solum in admirationem sed in stuporem adduxit. Sed et ipsi militi tantus amor suspectus fuit, unde at leonem suum fallere ausus est, sui nimis immemor. Natale igitur solum adire volens, suspenso gressu et clandestino fallens leonem dormientem intrat mare. Excitatus postea a somno leo, et fide et virtute praestantissimus, sinus carbasi tumentes cernens, nunc gemitum edit nunc rugitu implet littora. Quid fidus non cogat amor? Fluctus marinos et procellarum indignationes inundantium contemnit, mari se committit animal generosum. Invidit audaciae ipsius Neptunus, et procellosis inundationum impetibus pro dolor! submersit.²⁹

At first glance this account looks to be a mere elaboration of the *Golfier*; but several most important differences compel us to reject such a relationship. First: in Neckam, the knight abandons his faithful beast not because the crew of his ship refuse to allow it on board, but because the knight himself distrusts his lion. Neckam's hero, unlike *Golfier*, is guilty of moral baseness: he steals away while the lion sleeps, and earns the epithet "sui nimis immemor" which Neckam bestows upon him. Secondly: Neckam's lion performs one service which has no parallel in the *Golfier*—it stands guard over its master while he sleeps. Moreover, if Neckam had known the *Golfier* legend, he would certainly have reproduced the crusade settings, and . . . he would have called his hero *Golfier*. Like *Golfier*, his hero is among the noblest of race and most valiant of hand. *Golfier* was a famous warrior, with whose illustrious name—had Neckam known its association with a grateful lion—he would not have missed the chance to grace his narrative.

Nor can we believe that Neckam was using the *Golfier*-legend unconsciously, nor that the features in which his anecdote differs from that legend are due to the changes wrought in the *Golfier* by time. We have clear proof that time had wrought no such change in the *Golfier*: the allusions by Magret and Faidit, and Jaufré de Vigéois' account of *Golfier*'s lion-adventure, are approximately contemporary with Neckam himself. It is plain, from their evidence, that in Neckam's own day the *Golfier*-legend was definitely attached to *Golfier*—not floating about anonymously—and that in that legend, at that time, the hero's deliberate ingratitude, and the lion's service as sentinel, were unknown. Moreover, that legend, by its attachment to *Golfier*, had definitely acquired the crusade-setting; whereas

²⁹ *De Naturis Rerum*, Lib. II, Cap. cxlviii, ed. Rolls Series, pp. 229 ff.

Neckam knew neither the hero as a crusader nor the scene of his exploits as any part of the Orient. The very fact that he represents the knight as deliberately faithless makes it certain that his unnamed "miles" actually suggested to Neckam no definite historical or legendary person.

Yet, apart from these considerations, Neckam's version is very close to the *Golfier*. In both, the hero is engaged in warfare far from his home; in both, the lion dies in an attempt to swim after and overtake its deliverer's ship. Certainly Neckam's anecdote and the *Golfier*-legend are derived from a common source, and a source not very remote.

That source has surely some relation to the episode in Chrétien. One of the features which differentiate Neckam's anecdote from the *Golfier* appears in the *Yvain*: Yvain's lion, like the lion in Neckam, stands guard over the hero while he sleeps.³⁰ Neckam, like Chrétien, adorns his story with more chivalric elaboration than appears in any extant version of the *Golfier* down to Maimbourg. And finally, in both Neckam and Chrétien, the lion is clearly represented as not merely helping its deliverer against his enemies, but as actually killing enemies whom the hero, unaided, is unable to overcome. This feature, if it can be regarded as present at all in the *Golfier*, is obscured.³¹ One other feature, present both in the *Golfier* and in the *Yvain*, is strangely absent from Neckam's story: the lion's provision of game for its master.

The *Yvain* was written too early to have been influenced by Neckam, who was not born until 1157. Nor could Neckam have derived his anecdote from Chrétien, since, in general outline, in setting, and in most details it is closer to the *Golfier* than to the *Yvain*. The ocean-voyage, and the lion's death, are vital features which link Neckam and the *Golfier* together, and set them both apart from Chrétien. This very point compels us to regard Chrétien's tale as in no way dependent on the *Golfier*. His source must have been a version in which the lion survived.

³⁰ *Yvain*, vv: 3481 ff.

³¹ See *Yvain*, vv. 4167 ff., 4521 ff., 5185 ff. The extant accounts of *Golfier*'s adventure merely represent the lion as helping him in battle. The only hint that *Golfier*'s lion actually saved his life is contained in the following lines by Faidit (See Pillet, *loc. cit.*):

Cum fo'l leos a'n *Golfier* de las Tors,
Quan l'ac estort de sos guerriers peyors.

We can, perhaps, concede the ocean-voyage as a feature which Chrétien may have eliminated as unsuited to the demands of his romance (in the *Yvain*, the lion-adventure is immediately followed by the discovery of Lunete's distress, and a sea-voyage is incompatible with the further progress of the story); but, had he known the tragic death of the lion, he would have been almost sure to use it. The one most significant feature of Chrétien's treatment is its exuberant chivalrousness, its delight in the lion as a chivalrous beast.³² Nothing could have suited him better than to represent the lion as dying for Yvain. He could have done this easily, had he known of such a feature: he need only have allowed the lion to perish of wounds suffered in Yvain's defense. But he does not do this: he simply lets the lion disappear from the story when it is no longer needed.

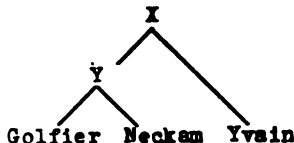
I do not recall that anyone has noticed the agreement of the Welsh "Lady of the Fountain" with Neckam's anecdote, in minor features which appear neither in the Golfier-legend nor in the *Yvain*. Neckam's hero finds his lion struggling with the serpent *in recessu quodam*; Owain finds a black lion hindered by a serpent from passing a cleft in a gray rock, from which the serpent thrusts its coils. Again, Neckam's description of the lion's gambolling about its master *in modum canis* resembles the passage in the Mabinogi: "The lion followed him, and played about him, as though it had been a greyhound, that he had reared."³³ Again, the serpent in the *Yvain* is a fire-drake; in the Mabinogi, in the *Golfier*, and in Neckam it is a mere constrictor. These points seem to indicate that the Welsh author used Chrétien's source rather than his actual text. I shall revert to this possibility in a later section.

The relations of our three twelfth-century versions, I believe, are these: Neckam's anecdote and the Golfier-legend are derived from a common source. This common source—undoubtedly an oral tale—represents one development of an original of which Chrétien's poem represents another and quite

³² Cf. Baist, *Die Quellen des Yvain*, pp. 403-4. Cf. Brown, *Iwain, a Study*, p. 130: "The whole treatment of the lion (i.e. by Chrétien) is carried out *con amore*. The animal puts in an appearance at every adventure, and his exploits are made so prominent that he almost becomes for a time the real hero of the tale."

³³ Lady Guest's translation (London, 1902), I, 42 ff.

independent development.³⁴ The situation may be represented by the following diagram.



We are not likely to discover the identity of *Y*; but the nature of *X* has, I believe, been indicated by Baist's discovery of the passage in Petrus Damianus,³⁵ to which I have already referred. Petrus's story is as follows:

Quid enim mirum, si hoc humana ratio ex indicta sibi lege persolvat, cum idipsum aliquando bruta animalia nullis obnoxia legibus impleant? Nam sicut fraterna mihi constat relatione vulgatum, Veneti quidam institores marina discrimina remigii labore sulcabant; cumque applicuissent, formidolosum stupendumque conspiciunt non procul ab ipsa litoreae crepidinis arena portentum: leonem scilicet trabalis, ut videbatur, draconis spiris abeuntibus involutum. Cumque illinc draco captum ad speluncam suam violenter attraheret, hinc miserabilis leo quibus valebat nisibus reluctaret, tandem quo leo coepit desperata reluctatione deficere, tanto magis draco inextricabilibus cum nodis innectens animabatur victoriam obtinere. Sed pandoces, qui repente huic spectaculo supervenerant, miserantes infoelicem leonis vicem, audenter arma corripiunt, draconem perimunt, leonem de faucibus mortis ereptum abire permittunt. Sed leo, ut ita iam dicam, nobilissimus bestiarum, gratus vitae suae auctoribus extitit, et per aliquos dies, quibus illic remorati sunt, unam illic quotidie pellem capti a se animalis advexit.

The prime significance of this account is that it is the earliest extant grateful lion tale which contains the one feature that sets our episode apart from the *Androcles*: the serpent.

A point of scarcely less importance is, that in Petrus we have those features which are, not only the common possession of the twelfth-century versions, but also the essential elements of the episode of the Knight, the Lion, and the Serpent. Those features are: the rescue of the lion from the serpent, and the lion's devoted gratitude to its deliverer. In Petrus, the lion is

³⁴ Étienne de Bourbon, who died c. 1261, gives, as three distinct stories, a version which seems to be from Chrétien, a variant of *Androcles*, and a version which looks like *Golfier* (*Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus*; see A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes Historiques, Légendes et Apologues Tirés du Recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon*, III, 216, p. 188).

³⁵ *Epistol.* VI, 5; see Baist, "Der dankbare Löwe," p. 317.

unable to show its gratitude after its rescuers depart; but until that moment puts a necessary stop to its services and the story at once, it regularly supplies them with game. Petrus does not represent the lion as helping them against their enemies; but they have no enemies. That feature, for which Petrus's story has no room, is probably one of the elements which found their way into the story in the twelfth century, under the influence of the conditions and the ideals of that age.

Thirdly, we find already developed, in Petrus, the departure of the heroes, in a ship, and the abandonment of the lion; though Petrus gives no indication that the lion suffered mortal grief at their departure. It is the very absence of the lion's death, the evident fact that the age of chivalry had not yet placed such an interpretation on the departure of the lion's rescuers, that makes it possible for us to see in the version which Petrus records the distant source of the episode in the *Yvain* as well as the less distant source of the *Golfier* and of the anecdote in Neckam. The sailors leave, and nothing happens: he who picks up and uses the story may repeat it without change, or he may alter it as circumstances warrant. In the version *Y*, from which Neckam's tale and the *Golfier* spring, the desertion of the lion becomes a romantic tragedy eminently suited to the animal's character as "nobilissimus bestiarum," and especially luscious to the palate of the twelfth century. But this tragic interpretation could hardly have existed in the common *X*, from which both *Y* and the *Yvain* descend; else that interpretation would have descended to the *Yvain*.

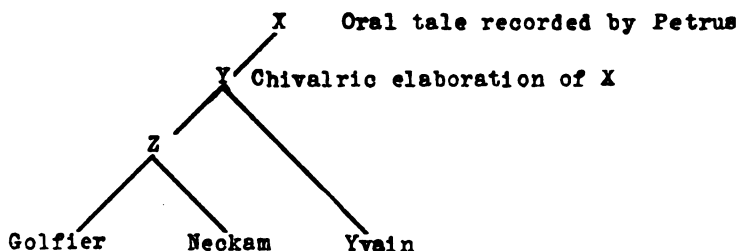
The common *X*, of course, was neither Petrus' text nor the plain oral tale which he took down. *X* was certainly an early twelfth century elaboration of that plain tale: an elaboration which had already expanded under the genial influence of chivalric ideas. It had transformed the hero into a knight; it had introduced the element of the lion's defense of its master (an idea easily developed as soon as the hero becomes a warrior); it probably represented the lion as bringing its master game, and giving him its faithful comradeship until he sailed away. His departure, we may assume, was followed by no tragic results, but was taken calmly by the abandoned beast. The lion's tragedy develops with the further development of the chivalric spirit, and appears first in *Y*. But the version which reached

Chrétien had not developed that tragedy, and may have sloughed off the sea-voyage; or perhaps Chrétien's need (or his predecessor's need) to apply the lion's assistance to episodes in Yvain's quest to regain his wife led to the abandonment of the sea-setting and of the desertion of the lion; since Yvain required assistance throughout his wanderings, which had nothing to do with the sea. It will be noted, however, that his lion disappears from the romance as soon as Yvain no longer needs its assistance.

My assumption as to the nature of *X* is an inevitable inference from the plain facts. All the chivalrous elements, both in narrative detail and in the treatment *con amore*, are as fully developed in the twelfth-century versions of Neckam and of Chrétien as they are non-existent in Petrus; and their development is strikingly similar in all the twelfth-century versions. We must accordingly define *X* not as the tale which Petrus records, but as an early derivate from that tale, which acquired under the influence of a courtly environment those chivalrous elements which appear in its descendants.

The oral tale which reached Petrus, then, wandered from Italy into France soon after his time. In France, in the land and in the period *par excellence* of chivalry, it acquired a knightly and romantic character. After it had been thus transformed, it split into two branches: of which one produced the Golfier-legend and the anecdote in Neckam, and the other was incorporated into the adventures of Yvain.

It may legitimately be asked whether Chrétien himself created that especial application of the lion's services, to suit the requirements of his romance of Yvain's quest for his wife; or whether he found his whole romance, grateful lion and all, in one single source—Celtic or non-Celtic. I must reserve my answer for a later section, in order that I may consider the question in relation to Mr. Brown's Celtic theory. The present section has resulted in the following genealogy. It should be noted that the letters *X* and *Y* have been moved back one stage; so that *Z* replaces the *Y* of the preceding diagram.



III

We can find no story of the rescue of a lion from a serpent before Petrus; but, if we isolate the single motive of the fight between lion and serpent, we can discover a very definite source for the rest of that very story which Petrus records. I have just said that that story "wandered from Italy into France": such a statement is not justified by its mere appearance in Petrus. That which justifies the statement is that we find all of his narrative except the serpent in an Italian source: a tale related by the elder Pliny:³⁶

. . . Elpis Samius natione in Africam delatus nave, iuxta litus conspecto leone hiatu minaci, arborem fuga petit Libro patre invocato, quoniam tum praecipuus votorum locus est, cum spei nullus est. Set neque profugienti, cum potuisset, fera institerat et procumbens ad arborem hiatu, quo terruerat, miserationem quaerebat. Os morsu avidiore inhaeserat dentibus cruciabatque inedia, non tantum poena in ipsis eius telis, suspectantem ac velut mutis precibus orantem, dum fortuitis fidens non est contra feram multoque diutius miraculo quam metu cessatum est. Degressus tandem evellit praebenti et qua maxime opus esset adcommodanti. Traduntque quamdiu navis ea in litore steterit, retulisse gratiam venatus adgerendo.

This account is substantially identical with that of Petrus, except in the nature of the service which the hero renders the lion. We may assume that Petrus' story resulted from a combination of the oral tale which Pliny has preserved with the concept of a fight between a lion and a serpent. The origin of this concept is the real crux; I shall discuss it in the next section.

The foundation of Pliny's story and the version of Petrus is the same: sailors find a lion in distress on the shore, deliver it from its trouble, and are rewarded by being supplied with game by the grateful beast so long as they remain on those shores. In Pliny, then, we already have the elements of the sea-voyage and the departure without the lion which are more highly

³⁶ *Naturalis Historia* (ed. C. Mayhoff, Leipzig, 1909), Lib. VIII, Cap. xvi, 21.

developed in the *Golfier* and in Neckam; and we find also the lion's service as provider of food, which the *Golfier* has in common with the *Yvain*.

Pliny's tale is certainly a derivate of the *Androcles*: a derivate much altered from the original, but still recognizable: The thorn in the foot has been transformed into a bone stuck in the teeth; the hero is not a slave in Africa, but a voyager to Africa; and there is no parallel in Pliny for the Androclean scene in the amphitheatre. But all this can be accounted for by assuming oral transmission during the generation between Apion and Pliny; and the assumption becomes a certainty in the light of Pliny's use of the word *Traduntque*. Another evidence that the *Androcles* had come into the possession of the folk is the story of Mentor, in the same chapter of the Natural History. The *Mentor* is a mere paraphrase of the thorn-episode in the *Androcles*, with little variation from the story related by Aulus Gellius³⁷ and Aelian;³⁸ but as in the case of the story of Elpis the Samian, the hero has acquired another name than Androcles; and as in the *Elpis*, the amphitheatre-scene has been lost. Pliny's two grateful lion stories are merely two different oral derivatives of the *Androcles*, both of which have lost the original dénouement, and into one of which (*Elpis*) the sea-voyage has been introduced. This element may be traced to a popular misunderstanding of the hero's relation to Africa.

Pliny represents the earliest recorded phase of a split in the Androcles-tradition. Baist³⁹ has already observed that that tradition reached the Middle Ages in two branches: "Der dankbare Löwe in den lateinischen und griechischen Quellen . . . scheint eine griechisch-römische Erfindung . . . Dem Mittelalter sind jene klassischen Quellen fremd; es erhielt die Tradition in zwei verschiedenen Formen aus der Zeit des äussersten Verfalls. Der Romulus⁴⁰ hat die Androkles-geschichte zur Fabel von Löwe und Hirt abgekürzt. Vielleicht dieselbe, vielleicht eine ähnliche, ist früh auf den hl. Hieronymus

³⁷ *Noctes Atticae*, V, xiv.

³⁸ *De Natura Animalium*, VII, xlviii.

³⁹ *Die Quellen des Yvain*, p. 404. The story of St. Hieronymus and the Lion is found in the *Legenda Aurea*, Cap. cxlvi. It is plainly distorted Androcles.

⁴⁰ The story in the *Romulus* is a late Latin adaptation of the *Androcles*, something like Pliny's tale of Mentor, but not so fragmentary.

übertragen worden." The second form, in Baist's opinion, was transformed into a chivalrous tale; but he does not indicate the stages in this transformation. One stage is Pliny's tale of Elpis; another is the lion-story in Petrus, which Baist himself discovered.

It is, perhaps, surprising that the *Androcles* should have undergone such changes, even among the folk, as those which appear in Pliny's story of Elpis. But two of those changes (change of name, loss of amphitheatre-scene) appear also in the *Mentor*, which retains the thorn; and the abandonment of the lion is already present in the *Androcles* as Gellius records it; "'Sed ubi me' inquit (Androcles), 'vitae illius ferinae iam pertaesum est, leone in venatum profecto reliqui specum et viam . . . permensus.'"

The other branch of the *Androcles*, which in Pliny is represented by the *Mentor*, has an anonymous hero in all later versions. To this branch belong the Fable of the Lion and the Shepherd in the *Romulus*,⁴¹ and the eleventh century Lion and Shepherd of Ademar de Chabannes;⁴² which may, indeed, be directly derived from the fable in the *Romulus*. I should be inclined, however, to suspect that Ademar misused his material freely, since in his text Caesar has become "rex," and the amphitheatre "lacus." Ademar's fable was the source of two Old French fables: "Du pastour qui osta l'espine du pié au lyon," and "Comment un berchier gueri un lyon d'une espine, qu'il avoit en son talon."⁴³ A variant appears in the *Gesta Romanorum*,⁴⁴ here the hero is a soldier (i.e. a knight), otherwise the story agrees with Ademar. The same variant occurs in Jaques de Vitry.⁴⁵

The transformation of the principal character from the runaway slave Androcles into a nameless shepherd took place

⁴¹ See Thiele, *Der lateinische Aesop des Romulus und die Prosa-Fassungen des Phädrus*, (Heidelberg, 1910) *Einkl.*, pp. xxiv-xxv. I do not agree with Thiele's conception of the relations between the lion-story in the *Romulus* and the *Androcles*: see Gayley *Anniversary Papers*, pp. 199-201.

⁴² See Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, (Paris, 1884) pp. 516-517; second edition (Paris 1893), pp. 23, 243.

⁴³ A. C. M. Robert, *Fables inédites des XII^e, XIII^e, et XIV^e siècles*, (Paris, 1825) pp. 471-3, 529-532.

⁴⁴ Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, Cap. 104, pp. 434-5.

⁴⁵ T. F. Crane, *The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, p. 78.

relatively early. Even in Pliny, his name is not Androcles, but Mentor; in the *Romulus*, he is already the shepherd. This change is explicable only on the theory of oral transmission; but beyond the *Romulus* the transmission is almost certainly for the most part a literary one. The Fable of the Lion and the Shepherd undergoes no essential variation throughout the Middle Ages.

The other branch, Pliny's *Elpis*, seems never to have ceased to circulate orally, at least until after the end of the twelfth century.

The classical sources from which we derive our knowledge of the *Androcles*—the literary versions of Gellius and Ælian—seem to have been entirely unproductive until the Renaissance. Only after the Revival of Learning do we find transcriptions of Gellius or Ælian, or references to them.⁴⁶ The Middle Ages on the one hand drew from the version which the *Romulus* represents; and on the other developed their own type of grateful lion story by introducing into the *Elpis*-variant the feature of the fight between a lion and a serpent.

Partly dependent upon the introduction of this feature, I think, and yet more a consequence of the twelfth century transformation of the hero into a knight, is the aid which the lion renders its master in battle. This element, common to the *Golfier*, to Neckam's anecdote, and to the *Yvain*, is not found in Pliny or in Petrus; nor does it appear in Apion's original *Androcles* as that story is recorded by Aulus Gellius.⁴⁷ It does, however, turn up in Ælian: this writer represents the lion as defending Androcles, in the arena, against other beasts. But this element has no place in the *Androcles* proper; Ælian undoubtedly introduced it himself. Such an interpolation could easily occur to him: Androcles meets his lion again in the arena, where there were other beasts to fight; nothing simpler

* For example, Otho Melander (*Iocorum atque Seriorum*, Frankfort 1617) copies Ælian verbatim, and acknowledges indebtedness. Bromiard (*Summa Praedicatorum*, II, ii, 32) summarizes the *Androcles* accurately, and appears to draw his material from Gellius.

⁴⁷ It is absolutely certain that Gellius drew his material directly from Apion's text. He cites Apion's lost Treatise on Egyptian Affairs as his authority; he is very careful to distinguish the passages which he quotes from those which he summarizes. The latter he indicates by the use of accusative and infinitive; the former he indicates by the liberal use of the word "*inquit*."

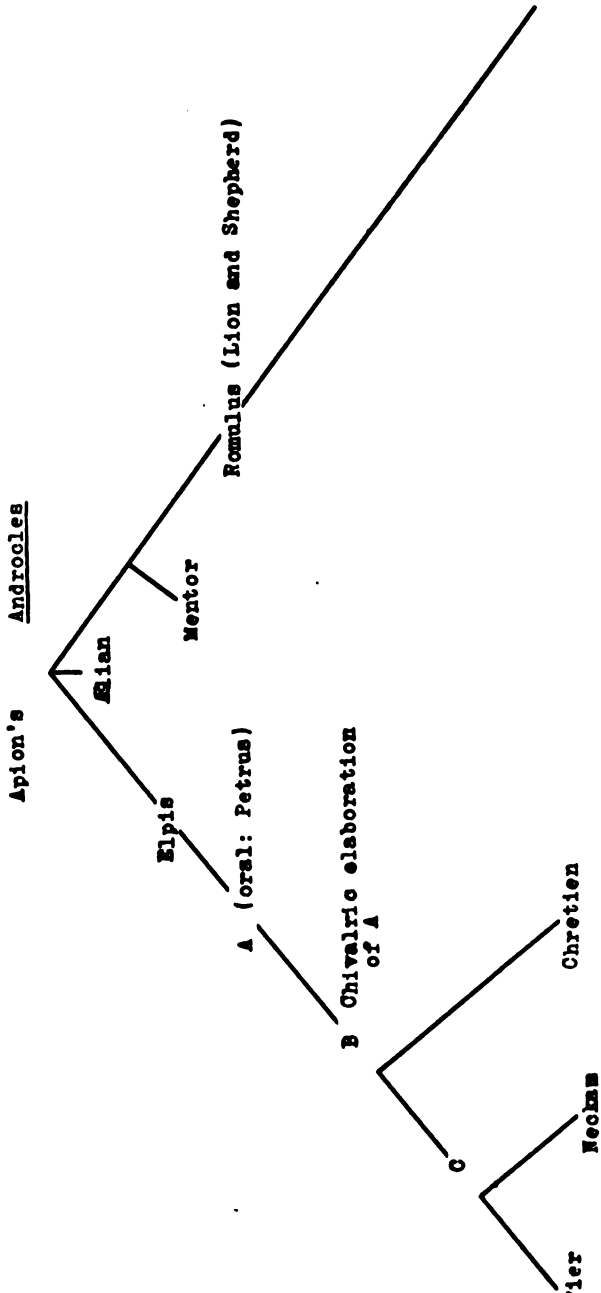
than for Ælian to add the picturesque touch of having the lion help its benefactor against them.

It is inconceivable that the somewhat similar element in the episode of the Knight, the Lion, and the Serpent should have been derived from Ælian, since Ælian exercised no influence on either of the mediæval branches of the *Androcles*. The enemies that Golfier, Yvain, and Neckam's hero had to fight were human or superhuman enemies, not beasts; in Pliny and Petrus the hero has no enemies, and the story has no room for such scenes. The details of a story are most easily developed by borrowing from accessible material or from the conditions of contemporary life. As soon as the sea-voyage was introduced into the story of the grateful lion, there ceased to be any point of attachment for scenes in which the lion could defend the hero. Only when the story, having attracted into itself the serpent-fight as well as the voyage, became attached to a mediæval knight, whose chief activity was warfare, could the hero be given enemies to overthrow; and his defense by the lion becomes first possible at that stage of the story's development. In the Yvain, other accessible material (namely, the story of Yvain's quest for his wife) introduced adventures which determined the particular shape which the lion's service should assume.

Therefore we must regard our story as going back to the original *Androcles*, as reported by Gellius, with Pliny's *Elpis* and the anecdote in Petrus as its intermediary stages. The defense-feature in Ælian is isolated; it and the similar features in the twelfth-century tales are mutually independent, and Ælian's version is a lateral offshoot from Apion, without descendants.

Two-thirds of the period between Pliny and Petrus was Christian; the fight between the lion and the serpent has, therefore, two chances of being a mediæval Christian interpolation to one of being pagan and Roman. After Petrus the hero first ceases to be sailor or merchant, and first becomes a knight; and after Petrus the chivalrous features preserved in the twelfth century versions appear. The only marked differences between the version of Petrus and the Golfier-legend are the representation of the hero as crusader, and the romantic element of the lion's heartbroken death. These very elements are likewise the chief differences between the *Golfier* and the episode in the *Yvain*.

The following diagram represents the results of our investigation:



The attachment of the version now associated with *Golfier* to a crusader was easy enough: not only because *Golfier* actually was a crusader, but also because of the character of certain features in our tale itself, as it existed even in Pliny. First, in Pliny as in Petrus, the hero sails to the East; secondly, in both, the animal's character has a distinct moral significance. When, after Petrus, the hero became a knight, it was natural that the tale should be associated with the particular type of mediæval warrior who was best known both as a traveller in the East and as the champion of a great moral principle—the crusader.

IV

What was the origin of the fight between the lion and the serpent? Since no definite, final answer to this question is possible, a plausible suggestion can hardly be out of place. The lapse of six Christian centuries between the two Italian versions of Pliny and Petrus certainly encourages the view that the lion-serpent fight was conceived by Christians, perhaps in the spirit of Christian allegory. That allegory chose the lion as the symbol for Christ, and the serpent as a symbol for the Devil; and these conceptions were both old and widespread before the eleventh century.

An opportunity for the interpolation of an allegorical combat between lion and serpent into our story is furnished by the clear moral significance attached to the lion's gratitude, even as far back as Pliny. Pliny, as well as Petrus, was relating a tale told to him—relating it as an example of the beauty of gratitude, which manifests itself even in savage beasts. Neckam very distinctly stresses this moral significance in the opening lines of his narrative. The earlier recorded versions of the *Golfier*, condensed to the point of intensity, do not emphasize the moral; but the later and longer account in Maimbourg's *Histoire des Croisades* draws the moral in most edifying fashion:

Étrange instruction de la nature, qui fait honte aux hommes, en leur donnant, comme elle a fait *plus d'une fois des lions* pour maîtres, qui leur apprennent ce que la raison a tant de peine à leur persuader; à sçavoir, que l'ingratitude, laquelle est si commune entre les hommes, effaçant en eux le plus beau caractère de l'humanité, les met au dessous des animaux les plus farouches, à qui le charme d'une bienfait reçu, fait perdre la férocité, à l'égard de leur bienfaiteur.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ *Histoire des Croisades pour la Délivrance de la Terre Sainte*, (Fourth ed. Paris, 1687), Tome I, Livre ii, 269 ff. Maimbourg lived from 1610 to 1686.

"Plus d'une fois":—not only does this expression reflect the widespread popularity of our theme during the centuries following Chrétien's; it also suggests that general reputation, which the lion enjoyed throughout mediæval Europe, for nobility and magnanimity. Petrus calls the lion "*nobilissimus bestiarum*"; Neckam calls him "*animal generosum*"; Chrétien represents his hero as choosing to help the lion against the serpent because of the nobility of the lion's nature and the malicious, venomous character of the serpent.⁴⁹ This conception of the lion's nature was universal throughout the Middle Ages, and may be traced in large part to the influence of the *Physiologus*; though it ultimately rests upon Scriptural tradition. Within the cycle of our story, the lion is not merely grateful: it is heroic, chivalrous, faithful in life and—often—unto death. Indeed, after Petrus we have an unbroken tradition of grateful lions whose qualities are those of a Sidney.

The serpent's reputation, from the Fall of Man, has been as evil as the lion's has been good. Not only in our episode, but in the Bestiaries, in the Bible—wherever it appears—the serpent is the incarnation of evil; and the lion is usually the incarnation of the principle of good. I hold it possible, therefore, that the introduction into our story of the serpent as the lion's adversary resulted from a natural association of the noble beast with Christ, for whom it stood in the Bible and in the Bestiaries; that it was inspired by the contrasting Christian (and even pre-Christian) allegories of the "great dragon . . . that old Serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world," and of Christ as the Lion of Judah.⁵⁰

To be sure, the Bible nowhere contains a representation of the fight between the lion and the serpent; but the Apocalyptic allegory was well known to the Middle Ages, which, even in their art, represented Christ as a lion, and Satan as a serpent.⁵¹ Undoubtedly religious stories of the battles waged between saints against serpents or dragons symbolizing the forces of evil were popularly misunderstood as combats with actual dragons or serpents; and it is but a step further to assume that Christ

⁴⁹ *Yvain*, vv. 3354 ff.; 3375.

⁵⁰ *Revelations* 12: 3, 7-9; 20: 1-2. *Isaiah* 27: 1.

⁵¹ See A. Maury, *Croyances et Légendes du Moyen-Age*, (Paris, 1896), pp. 218-220.

(already figured as the Lion) might be conceived as fighting "the old Serpent"; and that vivid priestly descriptions of their antagonism might lead to popular misunderstandings of such a symbolical struggle as a fight between a real lion and a real serpent. Once so misunderstood, such a fight might become attached to any story in which a hero was already represented as befriending and as served by a lion; and the hero might be represented as assisting the noble lion against the hurtful serpent. The suggestion that dragon-fights attributed to saints were in origin misconceptions of religious allegories has been made very forcibly by Maury and Baring-Gould.⁴²

The antithesis of lion and dragon, a ready inference from Scriptural symbolism, received wide currency from early Christian times, and enjoyed increasing popularity during the Middle Ages, through the *Physiologus* and the Bestiaries in many tongues. In these documents—the origin of much mediæval beast-lore—the lion is invariably the symbol of Christ, or of God; and the serpent or dragon commonly represents Satan. A beast not so remote from the lion—namely the panther—also appears as the symbol of Christ; and its reputed antipathy to the serpent is regularly interpreted as symbolizing the moral

⁴² Maury, *Croyances et Légendes*, pp. 234, 226: "Une union (p. 234), si intime dans le langage et même dans les croyances des Chrétiens, entre les idées des démons et des serpents, dut, de bonne heure, faire naître chez le peuple des grossières erreurs. Celui-ci confondit naturellement le symbole et l'objet . . . et . . . les serpents vaincus qui désignaient allegoriquement la défaite de l'esprit du mal, devinrent à ses yeux des serpents véritables." P. 226: "En Bretagne, les apôtres qui ont prêché la foi sont regardés comme ayant détruit les serpents qui ravageaient la contrée: tels sont saint Cadon, saint Maudet et saint Pol de Léon."

Hartland (*Legend of Perseus*, pp. 44-46) cites Baring-Gould's opinion (*Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, p. 301) in these words: "Mr. Baring-Gould, indeed, conjectures that the incident of the rescue of Andromeda attached itself to his [St. George's] name in consequence of a misunderstanding—on whose part he does not specify—of the concluding words of an encomium on the saint made by Metaphrastes, a Byzantine writer of the early part of the tenth century, in which he ascribes to his hero the feat of confounding and making a mock of the cunning dragon, meaning of course the Devil. M. Maury enumerates forty-two saints, not including St. George, to whom a victory over a dragon has been ascribed by a similar blunder; and it would not be surprising to find that this list is far from complete." Hartland refers to Maury, *Croyances et Légendes de l'Antiquité*, (Paris, 1863), pp. 144-5.

warfare between Christ and the Devil.⁵³ Philippe de Thaun even equates God with both lion and panther (VV. 523 ff.):

Quant Deus nus asemblat
 Pantère resemlat,
 E leun resemlat
 Quant il resuscitat.

"Jesus Christ," says an Æthiopian Bestiary, "is the slayer of the Serpent"; and again, "Thus has our Savior, the new Lion, the Victor, He who is of the stem of Juda and the root of David, . . . revealed His Godhood."⁵⁴

There is no actual confusion of lion and panther in the Bestiaries; but all the Bestiaries use both the panther—the enemy of the Serpent—and the lion, as symbols for the Divine Being. It is reasonable to assume that the popular mind did not always retain a clear distinction between the two symbols. The conception of the lion as the noblest of beasts owes much to the *Physiologus* tradition; and it is by no means impossible that in this spiritual struggle between Christ the Lion or Panther and Satan the Serpent we have the starting point for a rationalized fight between lion and serpent which, as an adventure *with animals*, might readily attach itself to a particular hero who was already known as the companion of a grateful and noble lion. The *Physiologus* is old enough to have produced such a development before the time of Petrus. The noble beast, already in the tale as Pliny recorded it, was a concept whose very nature might suffice to attract in the hostile serpent as an antagonist peculiarly appropriate to that animal which serves as the symbol of the Savior.

That these are not mere speculations—that, at least but a century after Chrétien, lion and serpent in this very story were conceived by religious men as the symbols of Christ's warfare with Satan—is demonstrated by the interpretation which the

⁵³ See Philippe de Thaun's *Bestiaire*, vv. 491-580. In vv. 25-48, Philippe represents Christ as "King of beasts . . . the lion signifies the son of St. Mary." The same figure appears in the *De Naturis Bestiarum*, a prose Bestiary preserved in an 11th century manuscript, published by Gustav Heider (Vienna, 1851) as the *Dicta Joh. Crisostomi*. This Bestiary also equates the panther with Christ, and represents the panther as overcoming the dragon, Satan. Further citations are unnecessary, since these symbolismisms are common to all the Bestiaries.

⁵⁴ See Fr. Lauchert, "Zum Physiologus," *Romanische Forschungen*, 1890, p. 13.

anonymous author of the *Liber Exemplorum*, writing between 1275 and 1279, places upon the story:

Exemplum de leone, de quo fertur, sicut dicitur in summa de viciis, quod cum hunc quidam miles a serpente liberavit et a milite recedere noluit. Quid igitur excusacionis habebunt, qui deserentes *redemptorem suum serpenti* adherent *infernali*?⁶⁵

V

In the versions of the story after Petrus, there is a marked advance in treatment. Petrus' tale is sympathetically told, and already includes what I have supposed to be the essentially Christian element of the fight between lion and serpent; but it lacks the romantic and chivalrous glamor of the twelfth-century versions. That the Golfier legend possessed this glamor is evident, both from the late account by Maimbourg and from the nature of the allusions in Gaucelm Faidit and Guillem Magret. The same gusto with which all versions after Petrus depict the lion's conduct also characterizes the hero's behavior toward the lion—except in Neckam. This is entirely in accord with the spirit of the time. The twelfth century was the age in which the spirit and the ideals of chivalry first found rich development; naturally our tale reflects that spirit in every feature. In this connection it is significant that, after Petrus, every grateful lion story containing the serpent has a knight for its hero; whereas every variant of the other branch of the *Androcles* tradition, in which the hero removes a thorn from the lion's paw, has for its hero a person of humbler rank, usually a shepherd.⁶⁶

Another essentially chivalrous feature associates itself with most versions after Petrus: the lion is given a symbolical relation to the device on the hero's shield, or his coat-of-arms. In the *Yvain*, the hero is called "The Knight of the Lion";

⁶⁵ *Liber Exemplorum*, ed. A. G. Little, (Aberdeen, 1908), p. 47, Section 80. The author refers to Gulielmus Peraldus; Little gives the precise reference in Peraldus (p. 139). It is not possible to tell whether this is *Golfier* or Neckam's anecdote—more likely the latter.

⁶⁶ The variant in the *Gesta Romanorum* (see note 44 *supra*) is late; moreover, it is a mere rehash of the Fable of the Lion and the Shepherd, with the word *miles* substituted for *pastor*.

a lion and a serpent are carved on Golfier's tomb;⁵⁷ Gilles de Chin—to whom our episode was attached about 1200—bore an azure lion on a gold shield;⁵⁸ Henry the Lion, whose device was actually a young lion (*Welf*), had attached to his name a version of our episode which clearly comes from Chrétien, probably through Hartmann;⁵⁹ Wolfdietrich saves a lion from a dragon because of the lion on his shield.⁶⁰

The pictured image of the lion already associated with the historical heroes Henry the Lion, Gilles de Chin, and Golfier facilitated the attachment of the story to them. This transference of a wellknown theme to a historical hero is well illustrated by the association of the *Chevalier au Cygne* with Godfrey of Bouillon, because one of his brothers was known to bear a swan as his device.⁶¹ But in the case of Wolfdietrich, the minstrels drew their material for his lion-adventures partly from Chrétien or Hartmann and partly from the similar adventure already related of Henry of Brunswick; and having found

⁵⁷ See Johnston, *Zeitschr. f. fr. Spr.*, XXXI, 160. I have not been able to obtain Arbellot's *Chevaliers limousins*, to which Mr. Johnston refers.

⁵⁸ See Reiffenberg, *Gilles de Chin* (Brussels, 1847), Introd., p. lxxvi; G. Liégeois, *Gilles de Chin, l'histoire, et la légende*, Louvain-Paris, 1905), pp. 20, 47 ff.; A. Pillet's review of Liégeois, in Herrig's *Archiv*, 113, pp. 447 ff. I agree with Liégeois that the lion-adventure attributed to Gilles was drawn directly from the *Yvain*; but I believe, with Pillet, that Liégeois' dates for the first part of the *Gilles* are open to question. I can hardly go so far as to adopt Pillet's view that the part of the *Gilles* in which the lion-adventure occurs was composed between 1163 and 1175; if he is right, then there is a serious question of priority as between this poem and the *Yvain*. Such a romance as the *Yvain* would almost certainly have been known to the composer of the *Gilles* if the *Yvain* were written first; but how if the *Gilles* were earlier? In that case, we should have to recognize four 12th century versions instead of three; the *Gilles*-version would group itself with the *Yvain* rather than with the Golfier-Neckam group. Gaston Paris (*Romania* XXII, p. 358, foot n. 1) regarded the *Golfier*, the *Yvain*, and the *Gilles* as mutually independent in respect of our episode; and the death of Gilles' lion at the hands of robbers would seem to constitute evidence for his view. Although I hold with Liégeois rather than with Paris, I regard the question as far from settled. Paris is wrong (l.c.) in calling Gilles a crusader, as he has himself recognized (*La litt. fr. au Moyen âge*, 2. ed., Paris, 1890, p. 308).

⁵⁹ The best discussion of the legend of Henry the Lion is the introduction to W. Seehausen's "Michel Wyssenherres Gedicht 'Von dem edeln hern von Bruneczwiwk, als er über mer fure' und die Sage von Heinrich dem Löwen," *Germanistische Abhandlungen*, XLIII, 2, (Breslau, 1913).

⁶⁰ See Amelung-Jänicke, *Wolfdietrich* A2, XVI, Str. 601.

⁶¹ J. F. D. Blöte, *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, in *Zts. f. roman. Philol.*, 1897, pp. 176 ff.

in the legend of Henry the allusion to the latter's device, they gave their hero a similar cognizance to motivate his rescue of the lion.

In any case, the association of our theme with the real or imagined coat-of-arms of a hero is an entirely chivalrous contribution, in the spirit of the twelfth century, in which period coats-of-arms seem to have been first adopted. In and after that century, the lion—quite naturally, in its character of bravest and noblest of beasts—was adopted as the cognizance of many princes: among others, Geoffrey of Anjou, William of Scotland, and Henry the Lion.⁶²

We may regard the bare narrative preserved in Petrus as the form which our theme had attained in the eleventh century; its romantic dress, which appears completely fashioned in the extant twelfth-century versions, could not have been developed previous to the age of chivalry. Moreover, that romantic dress was, and could only have been, fashioned in France—France, that is, in the larger sense, not in the sense of the tiny kingdom of Louis VI. France and Provence were the native soil of the chivalrous spirit; and it is precisely in France and in Provence that our fully developed episode first makes its appearance.

But when it appears, it springs up, at almost the same moment, in the south and in the north. Naturally, the oral Italian tale could not have reached central France without passing through Provence; yet the chances are that it was not developed into the chivalric legend from which the extant twelfth-century versions are derived until it did reach Central France. Only on the assumption of general and swift radiation from a common geographical centre can we explain the almost simultaneous appearance of the story in versions at once so similar and so widely scattered as the *Golfier*, the anecdote of Neckam, and the *Yvain*.

We may accordingly reconstruct the history of our episode in this fashion: an oral tale substantially identical with the

⁶² Lions portrayed on shields—not as definite coats-of-arms, but as appropriate decorative figures—were of course earlier and more widespread. See A. C. L. Brown, "Knight of the Lion," p. 688, note 1. Mr. Brown has also called attention (*Iwain, a Study*, p. 131) to the association of the lion with Yvain's shield in the Prose Lancelot.

story in Petrus wandered into France soon after his day; there—probably in the first half of the twelfth century—it was developed into the chivalrous legend of the Knight, the Lion, and the Serpent. This legend, probably from Central France, spread throughout both France and Provence. It must have met with wide popularity from the first. In consequence of its popularity and wide dissemination it was incorporated, in the latter half of the twelfth century, into romances of adventure (*Gilles, Yvain*); toward the end of the century—plainly as an oral tale—it reached Neckam. In its attachment to Golfier, the legend may have been utilized by some troubadour as the material for a poem—now lost—in praise of the valiant crusader of Limousin. We are almost forced to postulate such a poem to account for the elaborate narrative of Maimbourg, which can hardly owe its existence solely to the meagre accounts of Golfier's adventure in Jaufré de Vigois and the *Magnum Chronicon Belgicum*.

VI

In "The Knight of the Lion" Mr. Brown has attempted, with brilliant ingenuity, to solve certain peculiar problems presented by Chrétien's use of our theme. He has shown that guiding and helpful beasts were well known in Celtic story, and has tried to establish the existence, in Celtic tales before the *Yvain*, of a guiding and helpful lion. For this feature, much of his evidence naturally rests on later stories; but a sufficient number of "modern instances" would constitute strong evidence for his argument. Unfortunately, he has neither found a demonstrable instance of a guiding and helpful lion in older Celtic material,⁶³ nor presented a sufficient number of later Celtic tales to prove either that a guiding lion did exist in early Celtic legend or that the guiding beast is an exclusively Celtic concept. I have found a guiding serpent,⁶⁴ and even a guiding lion,⁶⁵ in the *Thousand and One Nights*.

⁶³ The beast which guides and carries Cuchulinn (*Knight of the Lion*, pp. 688-90) is not said to be a lion, but (I quote from Mr. Brown's summary) "a terrible great beast like a lion." After it is first mentioned, it is referred to not as "the lion," but as "the beast."

⁶⁴ Gustav Weil, *Tausend und Eine Nacht* (Stuttgart, 1838), II, 845 ff.

⁶⁵ Weil, *op. cit.*, II, 327 ff.

The latter appears in the Tale of the Vizier's Daughter and the Prince Uns Alwudjud: the Prince, whose *amie* has been spirited away, seeks her, and comes to a wilderness. Here he meets a huge lion, "with jaws like the opening of a cavern, and front teeth like an elephant's tusks." Having read that a lion can be mollified with soft words, he hails the beast as "Sultan of Animals and bravest of heroes," declares himself no hunter, but an unhappy lover, and tells his story. The lion, weeping with pity, licks him with its tongue, and goes before him, telling him (!) to follow. It guides him to the sea, where Uns Alwudjud discovers the tracks of the caravan which had brought his beloved to a ship; and once at the shore, he finds means of reaching her prison. It is possible that this guiding lion was imported into the Orient from western sources; but the case for its origin in the East is as good as Mr. Brown's case for the early existence of a guiding lion on Celtic soil. Magnanimous lions are rare in Oriental story; but guiding beasts in general are not so rare. Given the concept of a guiding beast of any kind, the individual author can quite easily make his guiding beast a lion, whether he be an Oriental or a Western European. Mr. Brown has proved, not that a guiding and helpful lion *was* present, but that it *might have been* present, in that Celtic tale which, in a French redaction, he believes Chrétien to have used.

His attempt⁶⁶ to establish a Celtic source for the serpent from which Yvain rescues his lion is unsuccessful. He seeks his evidence in the "Lady of the Fountain." Such evidence, of whatever nature in itself, is valueless if the Mabinogi can be proved to have been a mere paraphrase of the *Yvain*.⁶⁷ Although I agree entirely with Mr. Brown's conception of the relations of these two versions, I feel that it is possible, in the present controversial state of the question, to rest one's case too heavily on that conception. Assuming the Welsh version to contain a more primitive concept of the situation in the "common original X"⁶⁸ from which he derives both the Mabinogi and the *Yvain*, he assumes further that this lost original rests ultimately on an essentially Celtic folk-tale. He then identifies

⁶⁶ "Knight of the Lion," pp. 684-7.

⁶⁷ The most strenuous advocate of this relation is, of course, Wendelin Foerster, who reaffirms his views in his *Kristian-Wörterbuch*, p. 106.

⁶⁸ "Knight of the Lion," p. 685, and note.

the serpents and dragons found among the animals guarded by the Monster Herdsman with "the fierce creatures that beset the entrance to the Other World," and believes that "in Iwain's second journey it was doubtless originally the task of the helpful lion to act as conductor through this vale of serpents." Inferring from this "the development of a helpful lion and a hurtful serpent," he adds in a footnote: "the helpful lion probably fought the serpents, and such an incident suggested the lion and serpent combat."⁶⁹

In spite of my weakness for Mr. Brown's Celtic theory, I must regard his construction of the "vale of serpents" as an inverted pyramid of hypotheses; and I find absolutely no basis for his belief that "the helpful lion fought the serpents." His attempt to support his argument with the contention that "in the *Wolfdietrich* a lion helps Wolfdietrich slay the serpent (not *vice versa*)" is most unfortunate. The fact is that in the *Wolfdietrich* the hero not only helps, but saves the lion, which is incapable of saving itself.⁷⁰ Nor is this lion a guide for the hero, who happens upon it casually—much, indeed, as Yvain happens on his lion—in the serpent's toils. The reason for this resemblance is precisely that the lion-episodes in the *Wolfdietrich* are drawn largely from the *Yvain*;⁷¹ therefore they are worthless

⁶⁹ "Knight of the Lion," p. 686, and note 2.

⁷⁰ See *Wolfd.* B II, Str. 722-9; cf. D VIII, 225-35. Apparently Mr. Brown did not know *Wolfd.* D, nor does he seem to have compared B II with B V.

⁷¹ As Hermann Schneider has shown (*Die Gedichte und die Sage von Wolfdietrich*, Munich 1913, pp. 295 ff.). It is indeed to be regretted that Mr. Brown tried to support his Celtic theory with *Wolfd.*-material, which he neither knew in its entirety nor understood. That cycle is perplexing enough at best, and hopelessly confusing to one who has not studied all the versions. Mr. Brown assumed the lion-episodes, and much more, of the *Wolfd.* derived from the same Celtic tale to which he refers the *Yvain* ("Knight of the Lion," p. 679, and note 2): "evidently from some version more primitive than Chrétien's, for *Wolfd.* has the entrance through the marvellous fountain to reach the Other World . . . an archaic motive not in *Yvain*." This situation occurs in *Wolfd.* B V; it has nothing to do with Otherworld Journeys or Celtic marvellous fountains. The "marvellous fountain" in B V is merely an elaborate imitation of an ordinary fountain in the earlier B II; the entrance to a castle through the fountain in B V is a misunderstanding of the situation of the castle *near* the ordinary fountain in B II; the entire episode of Liebgart's captivity in B V is a wretched *rifacimento* of Sigeminne's captivity in B II (Str. 422 ff.).

Mr. Brown is equally mistaken in his conception of the relations between the assistance rendered by Wolfdietrich's lion "in his fight with the wicked

as evidence for an earlier tale in which a helpful lion guided a hero through a vale of serpents.

It is a pity that Mr. Brown did not discriminate between the three types of useful beasts: (A) *guiding* beasts, which render assistance to the hero, and show him the way to his goal, in order to attain their own ends or the ends of those who sent them, and because upon the hero's success their own success—disenchantment of themselves, of the *fée* or other distressed personage whose messengers they are, etc.,—depends;⁷² (B) *helpful* beasts, whose chief function is not to guide, but to render more varied assistance to the hero, because they have been attached to him by the conditions of their birth and his; (C) *grateful* beasts, which assist the hero out of thankfulness for a specific service which he has previously rendered them. Of course, these types were often confused in the popular mind; but they must originally have been quite distinct. Mr. Brown's error consists in laying too much stress on Celtic *guiding* beasts as a source for the *grateful* lion in Chrétien, in the Mabinogi, and in their ultimate source; that he traces definite acts of assistance rendered by a grateful lion to the inherent functions of a guiding or a helpful beast; and that he does not distinguish between these last two types.

We have something like a true guiding beast in *La Mule sans Frein*: the mule has at heart, in serving Gawain, the interests of the enchanted castle and its people; the beast, in the *Papegau* and *Wigalois*, must procure the hero to avenge a slain king and

vassal" ("Knight of the Lion," *l.c.*) and the similar episode in the *Yvain*. Wolfdietrich helps several lions in the course of the Wolfedcycle: the one which helps him against the wicked vassal—the same one he rescues from the serpent in B II—appears only in the B and D poems; in A and C there is no trace of it. The sequence of hero helping lion plus lion helping hero against vassal (B and D) is imitated from the situation in Chrétien, or in Hartmann's *Iwein*.

⁷² See G. L. Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, (Cambridge, 1916), pp. 231-2: "An immortal woman, a *fée*, resident in the land of joy and perpetual youth (which is conceived as an island or an underground realm or as somehow separated from the world by a river or the sea) is enamored of a mortal here and summons him to her presence. The messenger may be an attendant nymph or an animal. In the latter case, the animal is not an ordinary beast but a magical creature in the service of the *fée*, and may even be a transformed fairy maiden." —This quotation is from Professor Kittredge's definition of the folk-tale type *Fairy Mistress*, to which type the *Yvain*—as Mr. Brown has ably demonstrated—belongs.

rescue his daughter; the salmon, in the *Kulhwch and Olwen*, is an instrument ordained for the deliverance of Mabon.⁷³ In such stories, the fundamental situation demanded the services of a particular hero, predestined to the task, for the disenchantment of a mortal or *fée* under a spell, or for his or her deliverance. Sometimes the animal guide relies, for its own restoration to human form, upon the dissolution of a spell which can be removed only by the valor and skill of the hero which it guides.⁷⁴

The true helpful beast is found most unmistakably in tales of the "King of the Fishes" type.⁷⁵ In this type the beasts must help the hero throughout their joint existence, for the binding reason that they are *his beasts*, born with him and for his service. Neither gratitude nor self-interest, as such, has anything to do with their actions, which are dictated by the destiny which links master and beast together.

The grateful beast helps the hero only because the hero has first helped it; its motive is thankfulness. To this type belong the *Androcles*, and all branches of our episode of the deliverance of a lion from a serpent.

Naturally, these three types become confused. The guiding beast which helps the hero for the sake of its own or its sender's release becomes, in effect, a grateful beast if the order of events in the narrative becomes reversed. Such a confusion has taken place in the tale of Abu Mohammed the Lazy, who delivers a white serpent from a brown one, and is *guided* by the grateful beast—a spirit in animal form—and its kinsfolk to the Other-world City of Brass. A suggestion of the original situation still clings to the tale: it is apparent that the slaying of the brown serpent releases its victim from a spell which compels the rescued spirit to appear as a serpent. The order of events has been so shifted that the hero performs his service first; and as a consequence the motive for the pseudo-beast's service to the hero must be shifted from pure self-interest to gratitude.⁷⁶

⁷³ I have chosen these particular examples because Mr. Brown has cited them ("Knight of the Lion," pp. 692-700).

⁷⁴ Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, l.c., and p. 47. This is also the fundamental situation in the Tale of Abu Mohammed the Lazy (see third paragraph on this page, *infra*).

⁷⁵ See E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus* (Grimm Library, No. 2, Vol. I., London, 1894). I, Chapters II-IV.

⁷⁶ Weil, *Tausend und Eine Nacht*, II, pp. 845 ff.

Again, the grateful animal sometimes intrudes its personality into tales of helpful animals, probably because the popularity of the former theme exceeded that of the latter. Such an instance occurs in the Jutish tale *Dragedræberen og hans Broder*,⁷⁷ in which two animals, a lion and a bear, attach themselves to a hero and fight three fights for him. Their original function was that of the animals born with the hero in the "King of the Fishes" type. A clearer case appears in J. F. Campbell's *Celtic Dragon Myth*,⁷⁸ in a story which represents the hero as served by beasts grateful for a favor so trivial that no gratitude is really involved at all. This story belongs to the "Mermaid Type":⁷⁹ the original function of the helpful animals having been obscured, recollections of grateful animals afforded a means of motivating their service. Such confusion is easy and natural among the folk, who think in terms of happenings rather than in terms of types, and are concerned with enjoyment more than with analysis.

Again, the guiding beast becomes confused with the helpful beast as soon as it performs any service other than guiding; its original character as guide and its motives are forgotten because, in guiding the hero, it renders an act of help to which other acts of help are readily appended as soon as folk or author finds the hero in difficulties which his beast may conceivably have power to overcome.

Mr. Brown, then, has shown that a guiding or helpful (not a *grateful*) lion may (not *must*) have existed in Chrétien's ultimate source; and he has made a good case for the specific attachment of some sort of lion to Owain. Now guiding animals—apart from the question of lions—did exist in early Celtic story: given that concept, and a lion associated with Owain, Chrétien's original may well have developed the concept of a guiding or helpful lion, whether or no such a concept existed, as such, in earlier Celtic story. But we are still in doubt as to which of the two types—guiding lion or helpful lion—was the beast so developed in Chrétien's source. I believe, with Mr. Brown, that Chrétien's ultimate source for substantially his entire romance

⁷⁷ J. F. Kristensen, *Jyske Folkeminder* (Aarhus, 1897), XIII, 70-76.

⁷⁸ Campbell, pp. 44 ff. This story, indeed, has three sets of three beasts each which help the hero; in one of the sets the principal beast is a lion.

⁷⁹ Hartland, *op. cit.*, Ch. III.

was a single Celtic tale; but I cannot determine the animal's original function. The incident in the Prose Lancelot to which Mr. Brown called attention in 1905,⁸⁰ and which seems to indicate ancient association of a lion with Owain, might point to a situation similar to that in the "King of the Fishes," in which the *helpful* beast belongs to the hero by birth-relation. The fact that, in Celtic story, Owain is served by helpful ravens—which, as creatures whose attachment to him seems to be lifelong and unmotivated by any service on his part, must be animals belonging to him by birth-relation—strengthens this view. But there is vast difference between ravens and a lion; and the fact that the lion, both in the *Yvain* and in the Mabinogi, is not attached to the hero from the first, but is met suddenly, on the hero's Otherworld Journey, points toward an original in which the lion was guiding beast, with whose function that of helpful beast became confused early in the story's development.

Mr. Brown has not made out his case for the serpent; and I am inclined to believe that Chrétien's ultimate Celtic source represented the hero as assisted, and probably guided, by a lion, but not as having delivered this lion from a serpent, nor as engaging, along with the lion, in combats with serpents. The question now arises: since the concept of a *grateful* lion is a different thing from the concept of a *guiding* or a *helpful* lion, how did the element of the lion's gratitude enter into the story? Mr. Brown has, I think, indicated the correct answer, although not in the correct form: he believes that Chrétien's grateful lion was suggested "by something in his original, though the present form of the lion-episodes in the *Yvain* may owe much to the influence of chivalric tales coming from the lion-haunted Orient."⁸¹ I agree that the grateful lion was suggested by something in the original—namely, the presence, in that original, of a guiding or helpful lion. Chrétien, or his immediate predecessor, might easily have been reminded of a *grateful* lion story by a guiding or helpful lion in his original, whether or no he distinguished between these two types. But it is out of the question for him to have used Oriental material. A little later, Mr. Brown suggests that "the precise form . . . which

⁸⁰ *Iwain, a Study*, p. 131; see also note 2.

⁸¹ "Knight of the Lion," p. 676.

the combat, and the behavior of the lion, take in Chrétien's poem, (and probably already in Chrétien's original) appear to be due to the influence of some chivalric legend like that attached to Golfier de Lastours."⁸² Exactly: Chrétien—or his predecessor in the use of the Yvain-story—was familiar with a legend like that attached to Golfier at the moment when he was at work on his material, and saw a chance to embroider the services of the guiding or helpful lion in his original by the use of threads from the grateful lion legend. But the chivalric legend which he utilized was not the Golfier itself: it was the B of our chart (page 507), from which the Golfier-legend also was drawn.

This legend of the deliverance of a lion from a serpent Chrétien must have heard; it was current in France in his day, in at least three versions, which have come down to us in three texts (*Golfier*, *Yvain*, Neckam). This tale Chrétien—or perhaps his predecessor—overlaid upon his original, developing the chivalrous element so that the features of the serpent-combat and the lion's gratitude quite obscured the original character of the lion in the *Ur-Yvain*; but he probably retained the essential features of the episodes in which the guiding (or helpful) lion aided Yvain, embellishing them and bringing them into harmony with the story of the grateful lion, which already required the lion to help its deliverer against human enemies.

Whether Chrétien himself first utilized this grateful lion legend, or whether the author of his immediate source had already done so, is still *sub judice*. Personally, I incline to Mr. Brown's view that Chrétien's poem and "The Lady of the Fountain" are both derived from the same source—immediately a French romance, into which the grateful lion had already been incorporated—but ultimately a Celtic tale. I believe that those points in which the Mabinogi resembles Neckam's anecdote rather than the *Yvain*, taken together with the more primitive features in the Welsh version which Mr. Brown has already noticed,⁸³ furnish a strong argument for Mr. Brown's theory. It is evident, of course, that the immediate (French) common source could not have preceded Chrétien's own romance by more than half a century.

⁸² "Knight of the Lion," p. 686, note 2.

⁸³ "Knight of the Lion," p. 685.

But whether Chrétien or his predecessor made the combination guiding lion plus grateful lion has little bearing on my view of the origin and development of the grateful lion story as such. The combination was made, and certainly in the twelfth century; since the condition of the grateful lion story itself in the preceding century was not such as to offer the chivalrous elements that we find in the *Yvain*, as well as in Neckam and in the *Golfier*.

At all events, once Chrétien had given his romance to the world, and scarcely a century after Petrus recorded his bare and simple *exemplum gratitudinis*, the episode of the Knight, the Lion, and the Serpent entered upon a period of renewed popularity and great fertility. It is significant that the *Golfier*-legend and Neckam's anecdote remained self-contained, without exercising perceptible influence. It is Chrétien's *Yvain*, with its sumptuous development of the combined themes guiding lion (or helpful lion) plus grateful lion, which captivated the following centuries. Forty years, at the most, after Chrétien, Hartmann von Aue produced his celebrated *Iwein, der ritter mit dem löwen*, a paraphrase of Chrétien. Some time before the third quarter of the thirteenth century, an anonymous Norwegian translation of the *Yvain* was made, in prose. Only an abridged Icelandic redaction of the Norwegian remains;⁸⁴ but the lost Norwegian furnished the material for a Swedish *Herra Iwan Lejonriddaren*, completed in 1303, at the instance of Queen Eufemia, and in the metre which bears her name.⁸⁵ This Swedish version was later translated into Danish.⁸⁶

The English *Ywain and Gawain*, an anonymous poem in Northern Middle English,⁸⁷ is derived directly from Chrétien's romance.

F. W. Schmidt has already noticed a borrowing from Chrétien in the *Realii de Franza*, in a genealogy which he cites from that

⁸⁴ Ed. Eugen Kölbing: *Ívöns Saga*, (Halle a.S., 1898). *Altnordische Saga Bibliothek*, Heft 7. For the date of the Norwegian original, see Ch. XVI, par. 29, p. 115.

⁸⁵ Kölbing, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

⁸⁶ Kölbing, p. xii.

⁸⁷ See G. Schleich, *Ywain und Gawain* (Oppeln and Leipzig, 1887), and the study by the same author: *Ueber das Verhältnis der mittellenglischen Romane Ywain und Gawain zu ihrer altfranzösischen Quelle* (Berlin, 1889).

work.⁸⁸ He also cites⁸⁹ an adventure of Rinaldo's, who finds a lion in a forest, fighting with a dragon. The hero kills the dragon, and the lion, in gratitude, conducts Rinaldo to the spot where his friends are waiting. From this adventure Rinaldo is called *Guerrier del Leone*. This story, comprehended in the *Morgante Maggiore*, has no real connection with guiding beasts; it is a happy chance, for Pulci is merely satirizing the serious romance. This lion may be the same beast which turns up in a later adventure of Rinaldo's: Pulci represents the hero's reconciliation with Roland as brought about by the timely appearance of a lion, which advances to Roland with all the airs and graces of a courtier, extends its paw, and delivers a letter. By means of the letter the misunderstanding between the two knights is cleared up. This, of course, is pure burlesque.

Hartmann's German version exercised a potent influence upon later German story: the *Herzog von Braunschweig*-cycle, and the *Wolfdietrich*, are the most notable examples. Through Hartmann—and possibly in part more directly—Chrétien's episode of Yvain, the Lion, and the Serpent won wide popularity among the German minstrels and their audiences. Indeed, it won such favor among singers and people that we can trace its influence in song and folktale even into modern times.⁹⁰

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⁸⁸ F. W. Schmidt, *Ueber die italienischen Heldengedichte aus dem Sagenkreis Karls des Grossen*. III Theil, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1820, p. 61.

⁸⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 145-6, 152.

⁹⁰ For example, in the oral tale cited by Grundtvig, *Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser*, I, 131.

XXIII. A NEW TEXT OF THE *PASSIO S. MARGARITÆ* WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF ITS LATIN AND ENGLISH RELATIONS

There came to my attention, in 1921, through the kindness of my colleague, Professor Frank Jewett Mather Jr., a manuscript of a Latin *Life of St. Margaret*, which he had recently purchased. Through his further kindness, I was permitted to examine and to transcribe the text of the manuscript, which was formerly in the possession of Sir Thomas Brooke, Bart., of Armitage Bridge. The manuscript is of vellum and measures $4\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{5}{8}$ inches, being what we should now call a pocket volume. Indeed, the condition of the last leaf indicates that the book may have been some devout reader's constant companion before it was put into its present comparatively modern binding. It contains twenty-two leaves, of which nineteen are in a hand of the later fourteenth century, and the last three in a hand of the fifteenth century. Unless I am mistaken, both scribes were Englishmen. One may conjecture—though this is no more than a guess—that the second scribe was employed to complete the text because of some accident that had befallen the book. His work was crude in comparison with that of the first scribe, who wrote neatly, while he or a co-worker embellished the book with no less than nineteen boldly drawn and very interesting miniatures. The four pictures on the appended leaves are as rough as the script.

An examination of the text showed it to be a version of the *Passio Sanctae Margaritæ* printed by Mombricitus in his *Sanctuarium*,¹ which is otherwise accessible in Assmann's *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*,² and in Paul Piper's *Nachträge zur älteren deutschen Litteratur*.³ On account of the seemingly English origin of the Mather manuscript, I was led to hope that it might furnish a text of the *Passio* which

¹ I have used the new edition, Paris, 1910, II, 190-196. See the Bollandists' *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, no. 5303, and no. 5303a of the *Supplement*.

² In Wülker's *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa*, III, 208-220. From MS. Harley 5327.

³ Pp. 334-346. From MS. 69 in the library of the Abbey of Muri-Gries, near Bozen.

would correspond more closely than those hitherto printed to the Old and Middle English versions of the Margaret legend. Their relationship to the Latin text of Mombricitus had long been known,⁴ though the nature of that relationship had never been adequately defined and had long puzzled me.

To my regret, I soon found that the new text did not throw light on the problem in the way I had hoped. It is not a representative of the text upon which the English versions are founded, nor is it in any way a better text than those previously edited. It is of sufficient interest, however, in itself, to warrant printing, not simply as an example of the way a martyrdom might be treated when copied for a pocket volume, but, furthermore, as furnishing new information about the *Passio* first made accessible by Mombricitus.⁵

A careful comparison of the new text with the three other variants of the *Passio*, the results of which I set down in their proper place, shows—once again⁶—that students of mediaeval works must beware of thinking they know the content when they have read only one or two manuscripts. Study of the sources of productions in the vernacular literatures cannot be other than imperfect unless it is preceded by inquiry as to the real content of the Latin progenitors. It may, indeed, be wholly misleading through the attribution, for example, to a mere translator of an originality he in no wise possessed. It is not safe, in other words, to regard a text like the *Passio S. Margaritae* printed by Mombricitus as a fixed entity with which works in the vulgar tongues may be mechanically compared. In this case the text of Mombricitus is a very good one, but it has certain omissions and certain peculiarities that make its sole use as a standard dangerous in attempting to gain a critical knowledge of the work.

⁴ See F. Vogt, "Über die Margaretenlegende," *Beiträge zur d. Phil.*, I, 281-287; E. Krahle, *Untersuchungen über vier Versionen der mittelhochd. Margaretenlegende*, 1889; Gerould, *Saints' Legends*, 1916, pp. 210-211.

⁵ In the *Supplement of Bibl. Hag. Lat.*, sub *Margarita*, this note appears: "In exemplaribus Passionis, quae multa supersunt, magna est lectionum varietas." The differences, in point of fact, are not simply variant readings, but are more deep-seated.

⁶ For the state of things with reference to *Legenda Aurea*, see *Saints' Legends*, p. 287.

A realization of these facts has led me to study anew such of the legends of St. Margaret in English as depend on a *Passio* resembling that in Mombritius, comparing them with the four variants of that text which I have at my command. The result of this comparison is to modify certain conclusions of Krahls excellent monograph⁷ on the Middle English versions of *St. Margaret* and certain opinions of my own. Moreover, it throws some light, as I shall show, on the probable content of the texts of the Latin *Passio* that must have circulated in England between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries.

I. THE TEXT

In the following print of the Mather MS. I have retained the capitalization, but have punctuated in modern fashion. Insertions to correct obvious errors I have placed within parentheses, but for the most part I have not tampered with the scribe's Latinity. Roman numerals represent the sections adopted by Assmann in his edition of MS. Muri-Gries. Although this arrangement of the text is imperfect, it is so convenient for reference that it must stand.

POST passionem et resurrectionem domini nostri ihesu christi, et gloriosam adscensionem eius in celum, ad deum patrem suum omnipotentem, in illius nomine multi martires passi sunt et apostoli coronati sunt, et in nomine eius uicerunt hunc mundum et superauerunt thyranos et carnifices. Adhuc tamen o(b)tinebat insaniam hominum diabolica rabies, et ydola surda et muta et ceca manu hominum facta adorabantur, que nec illis [f. 1^b] proderant nec sibi. II. Ego autem in nomine christi credens, theodinus nomine, uocatus a domino et doctus profunditate licterarum, proposui in mente mea omnes cartas legere, et neminem inueni in quem oporteat credere nisi in nomine domini nostri ihesu christi, qui cecos illuminauit et surdos audire fecit et mortuos suscitauit, martires coronauit, et omnes in se credentes saluat. Ego autem theodinus baptismum accepi in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. amen. Bapticatus autem in omni sapientia et scientia dei, posui me cognoscere quomodo pugnauit beatissima Margarita contra demonem et thyranum, et uicit hunc mundum. Ego secundum

⁷ Cited above, note 4.

meam possibilitatem dedi pretium et comparaui membra-
[f. 2a] nas ab eis qui in tempore illo scriptores erant, et⁸ scripsi
omnia tormenta que passa est beatissima Margarita in libris
cartaneis, et quomodo uicit demonem et coronata est. Omnes
habentes aures audite, corde intelligite, uiri ac mulieres, et
laborate ut recipiatis salutem animarum uestrarum et coronam
in celis cum beata susanna et aliis uirginibus et sanctis dei.

III. Beata autem Margarita erat theodosii filia, qui erat
gentilium patriarcha et ydola adorabat. Hic habebat unicam de
se natam, in qua suam spem ponebat. Illa autem spiritu sancto
repleta mox ut nata est de matre sua; data est⁹ in quadam
ciuitate habente stadia xv ab antiochia ut ibidem⁹ nutrireretur.
[f. 2b] Cum autem mortua esset mater eius, ampliori desiderio
a nutrice sua amabatur; IV. erat enim annorum xii et delecta-
batur in domino in domo nutricis sue, et audiuit certamina
martirum in quibus multus sanguis iustorum fundebatur illis
diebus pro christi nomine. Illa autem spiritu sancto repleta
totam se tradidit domino, qui eam saluam fecit et castam
reddidit tam in spiritu quam in corpore; V. et ipsa passcebat
oues nutricis sue cum ceteris puellis coetaneis suis. [f. 3a]

IN diebus illis transiebat olibrius prefectus de asia in anthe-
ochiam ciuitatem, ueniens persequi christianos; et ubicum-
que inueniebat⁹ quod aliquis christum nominaret, cum nexibus
ferreis constringebat, et uidit beatam Margaritam passcentem
oues, et statim eam concupiuit, dixitque militibus suis: ite
festinanter, et comprehendite puellam illam, et si est libera
accipiam eam in uxorem, et si est ancilla dabo pretium pro
ea et erit michi concubina et bene erit ei propter pulchritudinem
eius. Vt autem comprehenderunt eam milites qui missi fuerant
a prefecto. [f. 3b]

BEATA autem Margarita cepit inuocare dominum yhesum
christum et dicere: Miserere mei, domine, miserere mei,
ne perdam cum impiis animam meam, et cum uiris sanguinum
uitam meam. Fac me, domine yhesu christe, mundum relaxare
et te semper collaudare, et ne permittas animam meam contami-
nari ne polluaturs fides mea, et ne proiciatur in lutum Margarita,

⁸ MS. qui et.

⁹ MS. inuenieniebat.

et non [f.4a] immutetur sensus meus a turpitudine iniqua et ab insipientiam diaboli. Sed transmicte mihi angelum tuum gubernatorem ad aperiendum sensum et os meum cum fiducia contra iniquum prefectum sanguinarium. Video enim me captam sicut ouem in medio luporum. Ecce facta sum sicut passer ab acupe in rete comprehensus, et sicut pisscis ab hamo, et sicut capra a lupo; adiuua me, domine, et salua me, et me derelinquas manibus impiorum. VI. Venerunt autem milites ad prefectum et dixerunt: domine, potestas tua non potest esse cum ea, quia non seruit diis nostris, sed unum deum adorat et precatur christum, quem olim iudei crucifixerunt. [f. 4b] Tunc olibrius prefectus immutauit fatiem suam et iuxit eam adduci ante se, et dixit ei.

EX quo genere es, libera an ancilla? Beata Margarita respondit: libera sum a diaboli potestate et ancilla christi sum. prefectus dixit: cuius fides regeris, et quo nomine nuncuparis? beata Margarita dixit: Margarita nomen mihi est. prefectus dixit: quem deum colis, quem adoras? [f. 5a] Sancta Margarita respondit: ego inuoco deum patrem omnipotentem et filium eius dominum nostrum yhesum christum, qui meam uirginitatem illesam conseruatam atque inuiolatam custodiuit. Prefectus dixit: ergo inuocas illius nomen quem patres tui crucifixerunt. beata Margarita respondit: si patres mei eum crucifixerunt, ideo perierunt, et ipse permanet in eternum et regni eius non erit finis. Tunc prefectus iuxit eam, donec inueniret num posset eius uirginitatem perdere in carcerem recludi. [f. 5b]

INTROIUIT autem iniquus prefectus in ciuitatem anthiochiam et adorauit deos suos surdos et mutos secundum suam fidem.

VII.

POST adorationem autem ydolorum fecit eam adduci ante se et dixit ei. [f. 6a]

UANA puella et misera, miserere pulchritudini corporis tui et consenti mihi et adora deos meos; dabo tibi pecuniam infinitam, et bene tibi erit super omnes puellas meas. Sancta Margarita uirgo christi respondit: quia non cognoscis deum meum omnipotentem, imo me non poteris mouere de uia

ueritatis quam incepti per summum iter ambulare. Nam et ego illum adoro ac inuoco quem terra contremesscit, et cui omnes creature obediunt, et cuius nomen est benedictum in secula seculorum. amen. Prefectus dixit: si non adoraueris deos meos, gladius meus dominabitur carni tue et ossa tua dispergentur super ignem ardentem. Si autem adoraueris deos meos, corpus tuum quod est pulcerimum, erit mihi magnum honore et amore. [f. 6b] Ecce ante omnes istos ista dico, quod accipio te in coniugem, et bene tibi erit sicut et mihi. Sancta Margarita respondit: ecce trado corpus meum tormentis tuis, ut cum iustis uirginibus requiescam. Christus uero meus se tradidit pro omnibus morti; quanto magis et ego non dubito pro eius nomine mori, quia ipse suo me signaculo consignauit. VIII. Tunc olibrius prefectus iratus iuxit questionariis suis ut eam in aere suspenderent et uirgis subtilissimis eam cederent. [f. 7a]

BEATA Margarita aspiciens in celum dixit: in te, domine, speraui; non confundar in eternum, neque irrideant me inimici mei, et uniuersi qui substinent te non confundentur, quia nomen tuum est benedictum in secula seculorum. amen. Et iterum orauit et dixit. Respice in me et miserere mihi, et libera me de manibus inimicorum meorum et de manibus huius carnificis, ne formidet cor meum, sed mictre cor et sanitatem ut mitigentur plage mee et dolor meus requiescat et conuertatur in gaudium. IX. Hec ipsa orabat, et questionarii cedebant corpus eius tenerimum cum uirgis, et sanguis eius tamquam aqua de fonte purissimo decurrebat. Tunc prefectus dixit: crede, Margarita, crede, et bene tibi erit super omnes puellas [f. 7b] meas. Nam pro multa sanguinis effusione illic adsta(n)tes flebant amarissime et dicebant: O Margarita, uere dolemus de te, quia uidemus te nudam lacerari. O qualem decorem perdidisti propter incredulitatem tuam. Iste prefectus iracundus est, et perdere te et delere de terra memoriam tuam festinat: crede in eum et uiues. Beata Margarita respondit: o mali et pessimi consiliarii, ite uiri et mulieres ad opera uestra uana; mihi autem adiutor est christus deus meus. o impiudici, quid putatis? si corpus meum extimiantum est, anima autem mea cum iustis uirginibus requiescet; per ista tormenta corporum anime salue fiunt. Credite uos in deum meum, qui est fortis in uirtute et pote [f. 8a] state et petentes exaudit, et pulsantibus

portas aperit paradisi. Nam et ego non audiam uos, nec deos uestros adorabo, qui sunt surdi et muti et hominum manibus facti. X. Et dixit ad prefectum: tu facis opera patris tui sathane. O impudens canis et audax, si in carne mea data est tibi potestas, animam autem meam christus de manibus tuis erruet, quia ipse deus meus est adiutor meus. Terribilis, o insatiabilis leo et abominabilis deo et confusus a christo, cuius uirtute constringet in perpetuam penam qui est benedictus in secula seculorum. amen. Tunc prefectus iratus iuxit eam iterum in haere suspendi, et uirgis acerimis carnes eius dirumpi. beata Margarita [f. 8b] aspiciens in celum dixit: Circumdederunt me canes multi, consilium malignantium obsedit me; tu autem, deus, in adiutorium meum intende, erue a framea, deus, animam meam et de manu canis unicam meam. Salua me, domine, de ore leonis et a cornibus unicornium humilitatem meam; conforta me, domine rex christe, et da mihi spem uite eterne ut penetret celos oratio mea, et transmicte mihi adiutorium contra qui mecum pugnat, quia quid illi nocuerim ignoro, ut uincam illum fide et fidutiam habeam cum omnibus uirginibus et sanctis tuis, quia nomen tuum est benedictum in secula seculorum. amen. [f. 9a] Carnifices uero accesserunt ad eam et macerabant corpus eius.

IPSE uero prefectus ooperiebat fatiem suam cum clamide, quia pro sanguinis effusione non poterat aspicere eam; similiter et ceteri faciebant. Tunc prefectus dixit: cur non audis, O Margarita, neque tu ipsa miseraris tibi. Si autem non audis me, gladius meus dominabitur [f. 9b] carni tue, et dispergam ossa tua et neruos tuos dinumerabo. Tunc beata Margarita respondit: O inique et impudens et audax canis, imo tormentis tuis carnem meam trado, ut anima mea sit coronata in celis cum sanctis uirginibus et martiribus. XI. Tunc iratus olibrius prefectus iuxit eam in carcerem recludi. Hora erat vii, et duxerant eam in carcerem. [f. 10a]

IPSA uero introiens in carcerem, signauit corpus eius signaculo christi et cepit orare et dicere: deus, qui iuditio sapientie tue decreuisti, ut te pertimescant omnia secula et in eis habitantes et expauescant omnes potestates, spes desperatum, pater orphanarum et iudex uiduarum, uerum lumen de lumine, respice in me, quia unica sum et sola patris mei, et ipse me

dereliquit, ne tu me derelinquas, christe deus meus, et aspice in me et miserere mihi et precipere ut uideam demonium inimicum meum, qui mecum pugnat, et iudicium auferam contra eum et loquar cum eo facie ad faciem, quia quid illi nocuerim ignoro. tu es deus iudex uiuorum et mortuorum: iudica inter me et [f. 10b] ipsum, quia in agone tristis factus sum et in plagis meis ingemisco; noli mihi irasci, domine, ne coinquinetur anima mea et ne immutetur sensus meus cum impiis ydolis surdis et mutis; sed in te sit spes mea, christe, quia tu es benedictus in secula seculorum. amen. XII. Et ecce subito de angulo carceris exiuit draco totus horribilis et uariis coloribus et deauratis capillis et barba eius aurea et dentes eius ferrei, et splendebant oculi eius sicut margarite, et de naribus eius ignis et fumus exiebat, et lingua eius niger, et fetorem faciebat in carcere, et erexit se in medio carceris et fortiter scibilabat, et lumen factum est in carcere ab [f. 11a] igne qui exiebat de naribus draconis. Sancta uero Margarita facta est ut herba pallida, et formido mortis cecidit super eam, et ex pauore oblita est quia exaudiuit deus orationem suam propter quod dixerat ut demon(straret qui secum pugnat. Flexit genua sua in terra et expandens manus suas in celum et dixit: deus, deus, qui es inuisibilis, quem abissi contremescunt, qui formasti indeficientem paradysum et mari terminum posuisti, et eius unde non transeunt precepta tua, infernum spoliasti, diabolus ligasti, qui extraxisti potestatem magni draconis et uirtutem eius, respice in me et miserere mihi, respice in me et [f. 11b] miserere, quia sola¹⁰ sum et orphana et ualde tribulata, ne permittas hanc feram pessimam necere mihi, si placeat tibi ut uincam eam, et sciam quare pugnat contra me, quia ignoro quid illi nocuerim, et absorbere me et perducere me festinat in foueam suam. XIII. Cum autem beata Margarita compleret orationem suam, draco aperto ore suo posuit summam oris sui super caput eius et linguam protendit subter calcaneum eius et deglutiuit eam; et facto signo crucis draco diuisus est per medium, et ipsa exiuit de uentre draconis inlexa. [f. 12a]¹¹

¹⁰ MS. *repeats sola*.

¹¹ *In margin, same hand*: Alia signa debent esse hic qualiter draco crepuit et sancta Margarita exiuit de uentre eius illesa.

ET ecce ipsa hora aspexit in angulo carceris, et uidit diabolum sedentem, et erat velud homo niger, XIV. et dixit ei: sufficit tibi, Margarita, quod fecisti fratri meo rufoni; cessa de mea persona, quia te uideo in oratione christi perseuerare. Ego autem misi fratrem meum rufonem in similitudinem draconis ut [f. 12b] sorberet te et tolleret de terra memoriam tuam et uirginitatem tuam, et decorem tuum perderet; tu autem interfecisti eum, et per canticum tuum cum signo crucis tui christi me interficere queris. Tunc beata Margarita comprehendit demonem illum per capillos, et ponens super uerticem eius pedem suum dixit ei:

CESSA de mea uirginitate, ego enim deum meum habeo in adiutorium; ancil [f. 13a] la christi sum et sponsa eius, qui uiuit et regnat deus in secula seculorum. amen. XV. Et cum hec dixisset, subito lumen refulsit in carcere, et crux christi uidebatur usque in celum, et columba sedebat et dicebat sic: beata es, o Margarita, quia te expectant angeli et porte paradisi aperte sunt tibi. Tunc beata Margarita gratias agens domino, conuersa ad demonem, dixit: diabole, unde sunt munera tua, enarra mihi. Tunc demon dixit: deprecor te, famula christi, subleua pedem tuum de ceruice mea, et ego dicam tibi de eo quod me interogas. XVI. Sancta Margarita dixit: enarra mihi genus tuum. demon dixit: dic prius mihi unde natura tua, uel quomodo christus ingressus est in te, et ego dicam tibi opera mea. Sancta Margarita respondit: non [f. 13b] licet mihi enarrare tibi, quia non es dignus audire uocem meam. demon dixit: sathanan rex noster est, qui proiectus fuit de paradiso; in libris iamne mambre inuenies genus nostrum. belcebuct nomen mihi est, quia multorum iustorum labores degluctiui. salamon in uno uase uitreo religauit, et posuit id uax sic plenum in una ripa, quod uidentes homines uenientes de babillonia, putauerunt se aurum inuenisse; f[r]egerunt uax, et nos relaxati impleuimus terram. Sancta Margarita dixit: demon immunde, obmutessce, et caue ne hanc rem amplius a te audiam; et tunc signauit eum in angulo carceris. XVII. Altera autem die iuxit [f. 14a] sibi prefectus beatam Margaritam ante se adduci, et dixit ei: Consenti mihi, Margarita, et adora deos meos, et bene tibi erit in domo mea. Sancta Margarita respondit: te decet magis adorare deum meum et dominum

meum yhesum christum filium eius. Tunc iratus prefectus iuxit eam expoliari et in haerem suspendi, et lampadibus ardentibus eius latera incendi. questionarii uero ut iussum fuerat ita fecerunt. [f. 14b]

BEATA autem Margarita orabat dicens: Vre, domine, renes meas et cor meum ut in me non sit iniquitas. Prefectus dixit: Consenti mihi, Margarita, et adora deos meos. tunc beata Margarita respondit: non enim poteris auertere me a fide mea. XVIII. tunc prefectus iuxit afferri uax magnum plenum aque et ligari manus et pedes beate Margarite, et proici in id. questionarii ut iussum fuerat ita fecerunt. [f. 15a]

SANCTA autem Margarita aspiciens in celum dixit: domine qui regnas in celis, disrumpe uincula mea que tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis; clarifica me, domine, ut aqua ista deleratur omnia peccata mea; fiat etiam mihi hec aqua fons baptismatis indeficientis; obseco mi, domine, ut ueniat super me sancta tua columba et benedicat in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti aquam istam, ut abluet in ea ab omnibus meis delictis et ducat in uitam eternam. Et ecce terremotus factus est magnus, et columba uenit de celis ferens in ore suo coronam auream, et sedit super sanctam Margaritam; et solute sunt manus eius et pedes sine lexione aliqua, laudans deum et dicens: Dominus regnauit, [f. 15b] decorem induit, dominus induit fortitudinem et precinsit se. Venit autem uox cum columba dicens: ueni, beata Margarita, ueni, quia christus te uocat ad regnum celorum; et in ipsa hora crediderunt in deum quinque milia homines exceptis mulieribus et paruulis. XIX. Illos homines impius olibrius iuxit decollari in armeinia ciuitate, et decollati sunt. [f. 16a]

ET post puxillum iuxit beatam Margaritam gladio interimi. Tunc questionarius quidam nomine malchus duxit eam extra ciuitatem et dixit ei:

EXTENDE ceruicem tuam et suscipe gladium meum et miserere mihi, quia uideo in te christum manentem et cum anglis suis circa te stantem. Tunc beata Margarita respondit: peto [f. 16b] a te ut concedas mihi spatium donec orationem faciam et commendem christo meo animam meam. questionarius dixit: expecto te quantum uis. Illa autem flexis genibus orans

dixit: Deus, qui celum et terram palmo mensurasti, et mari terminum posuisti, orationem meam exaudi, ut siquis librum gestorum meorum legerit et paxionem meam deuote audierit ex illa hora deleantur omnia peccata sua, et siquis lumen in basilica mea fecerit de suo proprio labore usualiter dimictantur omnia sua peccata, et siquis reus inuentus fuerit in iudicio suo et memor fuerit nominis mei libera eum de tormentis suis. Et siquis basilicam in nomine meo fecerit [f. 17a] et eam impetrauerit consacari, huic da, domine, dona in celo et in terra; et siquis scripserit legendam et paxionem meam et secum habuerit Rogo ut dimictas ei omnia peccata sua et ignis ei non noceat, et in quacumque domo liber mee paxionis fuerit queso ut non nascatur infans claudus, nec cecus, nec mutus, neque a spiritu immundo possessus, nec in ipsa domo mulier filium opprimat, aut si petierit indulgentiam de suis peccatis indulge, domine; et qui codicem mee paxionis de suo labore comparauerit spiritum sanctum tue ueritatis habeat. XX. Tunc facta sunt tonitrua, et columba cum cruce uenit et loquebatur cum beata Margarita, et omnes qui ibidem adstabant [f. 17b] ceciderunt in fatiem suam, et beata Margarita cecidit in fatiem suam ante uirentem coronam domini, et columba tetigit eam et dixit:

Beata es, que in orationibus tuis omnes commemorasti; per memet ipsum iuro quia quicquid petiisti a deo dabuntur tibi, quia exaudite sunt deprecationes tue, et quod non est commemoratum hoc tibi datum est. [f. 18a] Beata es tu, que in penis commemorasti omnes peccatores; et ubi fuerint relique tue aut codices tue paxionis, uenerit peccator orans cum lacrimis et posuerit os suum super memoriam tuam, ex illa hora dimictantur eius peccata; et si in domo ulla in quocumque loco codex martirii tui fuerit, ullus spiritus nequam inueniatur sed pax, sanitas, caritas, letitia, gaudium, et spiritus ueritatis sit in illo sloco, et letabitur; et quicumque te inuocauerit in oratione sua, remissionem inueniat peccatorum; beata es tu et locus ubi requiescis, et beate omnes gentes que per te credunt. Veni celeriter ad locum tibi preparatum; ego te [f. 18b] cum sum, et aperiam tibi regnum celorum. XXI. Tunc beata Margarita respexit in circuitu et dixit: adite me, patres, matres, fratres, et sorores; omnes uos adiuro per nomen regis seculorum, memoriam mei facite, martirium meum nominate, commendate uos mihi.

Et dixit: licet ego peccatrix sim, tamen obsecro dominum meum yhesum christum, ut det atque donet uobis remissionem omnium peccatorum et faciat uos omnes concordēs in regno glorie, deo enim gratias ago regi omnium seculorum, qui dignam me fecit introire in sortem iustorum: yhesum dico, deum laudo, et christum glorifico, qui est benedictus in secula seculorum. amen. XXII. Et post orationem erexit se et dixit: frater, tolle gladium et com [f. 19a] ple preceptum tibi factum; ecce iam uici mundum. Et ille dixit: ego non faciam sanctam dei; deus autem locutus est tibi, imo non possum te interficere. Beata Margarita respondit: si hoc non feceris, non habebis partem in paradiso dei mecum. Tunc questionarius actulit gladium cum timore, et uno ictu percutiens amputauit caput beate Margarite.

[f. 19b] Et adorauit deum dicens: Domine, ne statuas mihi hoc peccatum. Et tremens cecidit in terram.

TUNC uenerunt angeli et sederunt super corpus beate Margarite et benedixerunt eum.

[f. 20a]¹² (E)t ueniebant demones et torquebantur et magnis uocibus clamabant: vnus est deus fortis et magnus beate Margarite.

XXIII. Itemque idiotēs, infirmi, ceci, claudi et ibi ueniebant et tangebant corpus beate Margarite, et liberabantur et diuino¹³ curabantur.

[f. 20b] (A)ngeli uero cum uirtutibus tulerunt animam beate Margarite adscendentes super nubem candidam clamabant: non est similis tui in diis, domine, et secundum opera tua, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabahot, pleni sunt celi et terra gloria tua, osanna in excelsis.

XXIV. Et ego theodemus tuli corpus beate Margarite et posui id in scrino, quod feci de latone cum odore suauitatis in antiochia in ciuitate in domo.

[f. 21b]¹⁴ Ego enim eram qui ministrabam ei cum nutrice sua panem et aquam. Ego quidem consideraui omne certamen quod habuit inter impios bellatores, et omnes orationes scripsi in libris cum multa astucia, et transmisi christianis omnia in ueritate. Amen.

¹² *Later hand here begins.*

¹³ *īāci or ūīci.*

¹⁴ *f. 21a contains only picture of saint in tomb.*

II. NOTES ON THE LATIN VERSIONS

The following pages exhibit all the important variations among the four Latin texts at my command. The notes are arranged under the sections into which the text is divided. *M* = Mombricitus; *A* = Assmann; *P* = Piper; *Ma* = Mather. The reader will see, by running through these variants, that the four MSS. now printed furnish a wholly inadequate basis for a proper text of the *Passio*. In that sense their value is negative: rather a warning to the unwary than a guide, as I have already intimated. They do illustrate, however, not merely the complexity of the textual problems involved, but the nature of the work and the possibilities of scribal manipulation. For these reasons, it is not, I hope, mere pedantry to enumerate them, particularly as they will enable us to estimate the character of the English versions more adequately than has hitherto been possible.

I. *M, A*: Post resurrectionem; *P, Ma*: Post passionem et resurrectionem. *M*: gloriosae tempus ascensionis. *M*: *omits* uicerunt. *Ma*: adorabantur *for* adorabant.

II. *M*: Tectinus; *A, P*: Theotimus; *Ma*: Theodinus. *M*: *omits* secundum meam possibilitatem (*A, P*: uirtutem) dedi pretium. *M*: ut accipiatis salutem et coronam sanctis repromissam; *A*: ut accipiatis requiem sempiternam cum beata Thecla et sancta Susanna; *P*: ut et mereamini salutem et coronam accipiatis in requie sempiterna cum beata tecla et beata susanna; *Ma*: ut recipiatis salutem animarum uestrarum et coronam in celis cum beata susanna et aliis uirginibus et sanctis dei.

III. *M omits*: Hic habebat unicum de se natam, in qua suam spem ponebat. *Ma after* amabatur *omits*: quia formosissima erat, Christumque inuocabat et eum adorabat. Odiosa erat patri: dilecta domino Iesu Christo (*M*).

IV. *Ma*: erat enim annorum xii *for* erat autem annorum quindecim. *Ma inserts* in domino *after* delectabantur. *P*: matris *for* nutricis. *M*: omnia martyrum certamina; *A, P*: omnium martyrum certamina; *Ma*: certamina martirum. *M, P*: quia multus; *A*: quod multus; *Ma*: in quibus multus. *Ma*: diebus; *A, P*: temporibus; *M omits phrase*. *M*: qui eam saluam et uirginem reddidit. *A*: qui eam saluam fecit et uirginem eam reddidit Deo castam castioremque omnium;

P: qui eam saluam fecit et uirginem eam reddidit castam castiorem omnibus; *Ma*: qui eam saluam fecit et castam reddidit tam in spiritu quam in corpore.

V. *Ma*: ueniens *for* Veniebat. *Ma* after christianos *omits*: et deos uanos multos (*A*, *P*: suos uanos) suadebat adorare. *Ma*: inueniebat *for* audiebat. *M*: quempiam Christum nominare; *A*, *Ma*: quod aliquis Christum nominaret; *P*: ut aliquis Christum adoraret. *Ma*: militibus *for* ministris. *M*: *inserts* interrogate *before* si est libera. *Ma* *omits*: in domo mea *before* propter. *Ma*: perdam *for* perdas. *Ma*: mundum relaxare *for* me laetari. *Ma* *omits*: Non inquinetur corpus meum *after* fides mea; *A*, *P* *add*: non immutetur scientia mea *after* corpus meum. *Ma*: *omits* mea *after* Margarita. *M*: unquam *for* iniqua. *M* *omit*: os meum; *Ma*: *omits* ad respondendum *after* os meum. *Ma*: contra iniquum prefectum sanguinarium *for* impio et iniquo prefecto sanguinario. *M*: passer in raetibus compraeheusa: et sicut piscis in hamo; *A*: passer ab aucupe, comprehensa in rete uelut capra; *P*: passer inter aucupes, comprehensa in rete, et sicut piscis in hamo. Ecce sum comprehensa in rete uelut capreola; *Ma*: passer ab aucupe in rete comprehensus, et sicut piscis ab hamo, et sicut capra a lupo. *Ma*: salua *for* sana.

VI. *M* *omits*: potestas tua non potest ei esse communis, quia (*A*, *P*): potestas tua non potest cum ea, quia (*Ma*). *M*: sed Christum precatur; *A*: sed dominum et Christum praedicat; *P*: sed deum adorat et Christum predicat; *Ma*: sed unum deum adorat et precatur christum. *Ma*: libera sum a diaboli potestate et ancilla christi sum; *other MSS.*: Libera ego sum et christiana. *Ma*: *inserts* conseruatum *after* illesam. *Ma*, *reversing other MSS.*, *has*: patres tui *said by Olibrius*, patres mei *by Margaret*. *M*: *omits* ideo perierunt. *M*: inueniret quali machinatione eius uirginitatem perderet; *A*: inueniret per qualem machinationem eius uirginitatem perderet; *P*: inueniret per qualem ordinationem eius uirginitatem perderet; *Ma*: inueniret num posset eius uirginitatem perdere.

VII. *M*: Secundo autem die uenit, et sedit pro tribunali, et iussit adduci puellam; *A*: Secundo autem die pro tribunali iniquus sedit et iussit adducere puellam; *P*: *like M except for adding* inimicus *after* tribunali; *Ma*: Post adorationem autem ydolorum fecit eam adduci ante se. *P*: Bona puella. *Ma*:

inserts et misera *after* puella. *M*: tuae pulchritudini et teneritati tuae; *A*: corpori tuo et pulchritudini et teneritati tuae; *P*: corpori tue pulchritudinis et teneritatis tue; *Ma*: pulchritudini corporis tui. *Ma*: infinitam *for* multam. *Ma*: omnes puellas meas; *other MSS.*: omnem familiam meam. *Ma*: quia non cognoscis deum meum omnipotentem, imo me non poteris; *other MSS.*: Cognoscit deus, qui meam uirginitatem consignauit, quia non mihi suadebis nec poteris. *Ma*: *inserts* per summum iter. *M, A*: adoro, quem terra contremiscit (*A*: tremiscit), mare formidat, quem timent uenti et omnis creatura; *P*: adoro, quem terra formidat, quem timent *etc.*; *Ma*: adoro ac inuoco quem terra contremesscit, et cui omnes creature obediunt. *P*: damnabo carnem tuam *for* gladius meus dominabitur carni tue. *M*: audieris mihi et adoraueris; *A, P*: obedi-eris mihi et adoraueris; *Ma*: autem adoraueris. *Ma after* corpus tuum *inserts*: quod est pulcerimum. *Ma*: mihi magnum honore et amore *for* mihi in amorem. *Ma after* corpus meum *inserts*: tormentis tuis. *Ma*: pro omnibus *for* pro nobis.

VIII. *M*: ros sanitatis; *A*: rorem suauitatis; *P*: sanitates; *Ma*: cor et sanitatem.

IX. *Ma*: prefectus dixit *for* praeco clamabat. *A*: cede *for* crede. *Ma*: lacerari *for* laniari. *A after* laniari *inserts*: et corpus tuum macerari *M*: O mali consultores. Ite; *A*: O mali consiliarii. O saevissimi vos et pessimi. Ite; *P*: mali consiliarii vos omnes estis et pessimi. Ite; *Ma*: O mali et pessimi consiliarii. Ite. *Ma*: extimiantum est *for* tenerum exterminatur. *A*: oboedio *for* audio *or* audiam.

X. *M*: O horibilis o insatiabilis leo deo abominabilis; *A*: O horribilis et irrationabilis leo et abominatus a Deo; *P*: O orribilis leo et abominatus a deo; *Ma*: Terribilis o insatiabilis leo et abominabilis deo. *M*: coniicieris; *A*: confringitur; *P*: constringeris; *Ma*: constringet in. *M*: cum uirgulis accerbissimis; *A*: cum ungulis acerbissimis; *P*: cum unguibus durius; *Ma*: uirgis acerimis. *Ma between* mihi *and* adiutorium *omits*: columbam de caelo, quae veniat mihi in; *between* adiutorium *and* contra *omits*: ut immaculatam tibi conservem uirginitatem meam et dimicem; *between* contra *and* qui *omits*: adversarium meum facie ad faciem et videam deiectum inimicum meum. *M, P*: mactabant; *A*: maculabant; *Ma*: macerabant. *M*: o inique et impudens: si ego carni meae misereor anima

mea utique in interitum uadit sicut et tua. Sed imo carnem meam tradidi in tormentis: ut anima mea coronata sit in caelis; *A*: O inique, impudice et audax, si ego carni meae misereor, anima mea utique in interitum vadit, ut tu. Sed ideo tradidi carnem meam in tormenta, ut anima mea coronata sit in caelis; *P*: O inique, impudens et audax, si ego carni mee misereor, anima mea in interitum uadit sicut et tua. Sed ideo carnem meam tradidi in tormentis, ut anima coronetur in celis. *Ma*: O inique et impudens et audax canis, imo tormentis tuis carnem meam trado, ut anima mea sic coronata in celis cum sanctis uirginibus et martiribus.

XI. *M, A*: iudex verus lumen a lumine; *P*: iudex viduarum lumen; *Ma*: iudex viduarum verum lumen. *A*: vincam inimicum *for* videam inimicum. *Ma before* inimicum *inserts* demonium. *M omits*: quid enim nocuerim illi ignoro. *Ma*: immutetur *for* commisceatur.

XII. *Ma omits first sentence*: Theotimus autem erat in carcere et nutrix eius, ministrans ei panem et aquam, et aspiciebat per fenestram et orationem eius scribebat et omnia, quae ei eveniebant, cum Dei timore notabat (*A*). *M*: Continuis *for* Theotimus. *P*: *omits* cum Dei timore notabat. *Ma*: niger *for* anhelabat, super collum eius erat serpens, et gladius candens in manu eius videbatur. *M*: traxit *for* erexit. *Ma*: de naribus draconis *for* de ore draconis. *Ma after* super eam *omits*: et collidebantur (*A*: concutiebantur; *P*: constringebantur) omnia ossa eius. *P omits*: Oblita orationem eius. *Ma*: flexit genua in terra *for* fixit genua. *M*: abyssi et thesauri abyssi; *A, P*: abyssi et thesauri; *Ma*: abyssi. *P*: firmasti *for* formasti. *Ma*: foueam *for* caveam.

XIII. *M, P*: Dum haec diceret; *A*: Cum haec diceret; *Ma*: Cum autem beata *M*. compleret orationem suam. *Ma*: summam oris sui *for* os suum. *Ma*: protendit subter *for* porrexit super. *Ma*: deglutiuit eam *for* suspirans deglutiuit eam in uentrem suum. *M, A*: sed crux Christi quam sibi fecerat b. *M*. creuit in ore draconis, et in duas partes eum diuisit. Beata autem *M*. exiuit de utero draconis nullum dolorem in se habens; *P*: Sed facto sancte crucis signo draco per medium diuisus est et exiuit ipsa de utero draconis illesa nullum in se dolorem habens; *Ma*: et facto signo crucis draco diuisus est per medium, et ipsa exiuit de uentre draconis inlexa. *Ma*: in

angulo carceris *for* in partem sinistram. *Ma omits:* habens manus ad genua colligatas. *Ma omits long prayer of Margaret, which elsewhere concludes the section.*

XIV. *Ma before* et dixit *omits:* Et dum haec in oratione sua diceret, surgens daemon accessit et tenuit manum b.M. *Ma after fecisti inserts:* fratri meo rufoni. *M:* iam a me; *A, P:* iam de persona mea; *Ma:* de mea persona. *M, A:* absorberet; *P:* absorberet te; *Ma:* sorberet te. *Ma before* uirginitatem *omits* obrueret. *M:* tu decorem tuum perderes *for* decorem tuum perderet. *M:* tu uero eum signaculo Christi uicisti; *A, P:* Tu uero interfecisti eum signaculo Christi; *Ma:* tu autem interfecisti eum. *M:* et nunc per canticum et me perdere cupis; *A, P:* et nunc per canticum et me interficere cupis; *Ma:* et per canticum tuum cum signo crucis tui christi me interficere queris. *Ma after* queris *omits:* Peto te cessa iam a me (*M*), Peto te, de mea cessa persona (*A*), Peto te cessa de mea persona (*P*). *Ma omits* dextrum *after* pedem suum. *M:* Ego dominum habeo; *A:* Ego deum adiutorem habeo; *P:* quia ego deum adiutorem habeo; *Ma:* ego enim deum meum habeo in adiutorium. *M, A:* Cessa maligne genus horribile. Cessa homicida. Christus mihi protector est. Cessa faetor maligne, iniqua fera, auctor gehennae. Ego agna Christi, ego domestica eius sum. Ego ancilla Dei. Ego sponsa Christi; *P omits first sentence and* faetor; *Ma:* ancilla christi sum et sponsa eius. *M:* cuius nomen benedictum in saecula; *A:* qui est benedictus in saecula saeculorum; *P:* cuius nomen est benedictum in s. s.; *Ma:* qui uiuit et regnat in s. s.

XV. *Ma:* dixit *for* diceret. *Ma after* sedebat *omits:* super ipsam crucem. *M, P:* Beata es Margareta quae draconem occidisti, quae dentes eius comminuisti. Beata es Margareta quae uirginitatem desyderasti. tibi est parata corona gloriae. te expectant portae paradisi; *A:* Beata es Margareta, te sanctae expectant portae paradisi; *Ma:* Beata es, o Margarita, quia te expectant angeli et porte paradisi aperte sunt tibi. *M, A:* conuersa dixit; *P:* conuersa ad diabolum dixit; *M:* conuersa ad demonem dixit. *Ma:* sunt munera tua *for* est natura tua. *M:* praecor *for* deprecor. *M, A:* alleua; *P:* eleua; *Ma:* subleua. *M:* ut quiescam modicum; *A, P:* ut repausem modicum; *Ma omits.* *Ma:* ego dicam tibi de eo quod me interrogas *for* enarrabo tibi omnia opera mea. *Ma:* remainder of section

omitted except for sentence belcebuct nomen mihi est, quia multorum iustorum labores degluctiui, *which is inserted in section XVI. The omitted passage consists of a long speech of the demon, reciting the wickedness of himself and his companions and bewailing the saint's virtue.*

XVI. *Ma omits a passage between* genus nostrum and Salamon. *M, P:* Nam Salamon in uita sua inclusit nos in uno uase; *A:* Nam et Salomon conclusit nos in uno vase; *Ma:* Salamon in uno uase uitreo religauit, et posuit id uax sic plenum in una ripa. *M, A, P:* sed post mortem eius ignem mittebamus ex ipso uase et uenientes (*P:* uenerunt) homines Babyloniae (*A, P:* nii) putauerunt aurum inuenire; *Ma:* quod uidentes homines uenientes de babillonia putauerunt se aurum inuenisse. *M:* fregerunt ipsa uasa et tunc nos laxati impleuimus orbem terrarum; *A:* fregerunt ipsum vas et tunc relaxati impleuimus orbem terrarum; *P:* fregerunt uas et tunc impleuimus orbem terrarum; *Ma:* fregerunt uax et nos relaxati impleuimus terram. *M, A, P:* demon inique, obmutesce et sile, ex hoc iam non audiam verbum ex ore tuo; *Ma:* demon immunde, obmutesce et caue ne hanc rem amplius a te audiam. *Ma omits final speech of saint:* Vade post (*P:* ex) me, Satanias. Et terra suscepit eum. *M, P add further:* et dixit facias rationem de animabus quas perdidisti.

XVII. *M:* adduci; *A, P:* adducere ante sedem suam; *Ma:* ante se adduci. *Ma omits the statements that the saint crossed herself on leaving prison, and that a crowd assembled to see her.* *Ma:* et bene tibi erit in domo mea for decet namque te deos adorare. *M:* meum deum adorare, et Christum filium eius, ut amicus sis prophetarum si dignus es; *A:* Deum meum adorare et Christum filium eius et amicum esse prophetarum et non amicum esse idolorum surdorum et mutorum; *P, like A except at end:* prophetarum quoniam dignus non es amicus idolorum surdorum et mutorum; *Ma:* magis adorare deum meum et dominum meum yhesum christum filium eius. *M, A, P:* Praefectus dixit: Expoliate eam et in aerem (*M:* carcere; *P:* aera) suspendite eam et incendite eam cum lampadibus ardentibus (*M:* lampade ardente); *Ma:* Tunc iratus prefectus iuxit eam expoliari et in haerem suspendi et lampadibus ardentibus eius latera incendi. *Ma:* questionarii uero ut iussum fuerat ita fecerunt for Questionarii ita fecerunt, comburebant tenerum

(*M omits*) corpus eius. *M, A, P:* Non consentio nec adoro deos tuos surdos et mutos, nec poterit (*M, P:* non enim potest) diabolus vincere castam puellam. Consignauit enim omnia membra mea Christus et posuit coronam gloriæ suae animae meae (*M omits last clause; P:* consignauit me coronam gloriæ suae); *Ma:* Non enim poteris auertere me a fide mea.

XVIII. *P:* tinam magnam plenam *for* uax magnum plenum. *Ma:* et proici in id *for* et ibi eam mortificari. *Ma:* Questionarii ut iussum fuerat ita fecerunt *for* Questionarii ita fecerunt sicut erant docti. *Ma:* in celis *for* in aeternum. *M, A, P:* Fiat (*P:* fac) mihi, domine, haec aqua (*P:* hanc aquam) aqua sanitatis (*A, P:* suauitatis). Fiat mihi suffocatio (*P:* sanctificatio) haec (*P inserts:* aqua et) illuminatio salutis, fiat mihi haec aqua fons baptismatis (*A:* baptismi) indeficiens. Indue me galeam salutis, ueniat super me sancta tua columba, spiritu sancto plena, et benedicat aquam istam in nomine tuo. Expoli (*P:* Expelle) a me ueterum hominem et indue me aquam istam (*P:* indue nouum qui me renouet ut abluat me aqua ista; *A:* in nomine tuo et abluat me aqua ista) in uitam eternam. Confirma uitam meam (*A:* animam meam), clarifica sensum meum et proice a me peccata mea. Salue me in gloria tua, baptiza me in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, qui es benedictus in s. s. Amen; *Ma:* clarifica me, domine, ut aqua ista deleratur omnia peccata mea; fiat etiam mihi hec aqua fons baptismatis indeficientis; obsecro mi, domine, ut ueniat super me sancta tua columba et benedicat in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti aquam istam, ut abluet in ea ab omnibus meis delictis et ducat in uitam eternam. *Ma after pedes inserts:* sine lectione aliqua, *and after aliqua omits:* exiuit de aqua. *M:* praecinxit me; *A:* praecinxit se uirtute; *P, Ma:* praecinxit se. *A, Ma after preceding phrase omit:* Illuminasti me, honorificasti me, domine, glorificasti me, Christe, defendisti me, domine, et miseratus es unice ancille tuae qui est benedictus in s. s. *M, A:* Et facta est uox de caelo; *P:* Et facta est uox columbe; *Ma:* Venit autem uox cum columba. *Ma inserts:* quia christus te uocat. *M, Ma:* paruulis; *A, P:* puellis.

XIX. *M:* in capolim et in armenia ciuitate; *A:* in campo et in Armenia ciuitate; *P:* in decapoli et in armenia ciuitate; *Ma:* in armenia ciuitate. *Ma:* Tunc questionarius quidam nomine malchus duxit eam extra *for* questionarii comprehend-

erunt eam et duxerunt eam foris. *Ma*: peto a te ut concedas mihi spatium donec orationem *for* peto te, frater, ut, si uideas Christum, parcas mihi, dum orationem. *M, P*: spiritum meum in locum refrigerii; *A*: corpus meum in locum refrigerii; *Ma*: animam meam. *Ma*: expecto te quantum *for* Pete, quantum. *Ma*: Illa autem flexis genibus orans dixit *for* Tunc beata *M*. coepit orare et dicere. *M, A*: de suo labore non imputentur peccata eorum; *P omits whole sentence*; *Ma*: de suo proprio labore usualiter dimittantur omnia sua peccata. *M*: quisquis fuerit in iudicio; *A*: quisquis inuentum fuerit in iudicio; *P*: quisquis inuentus fuerit in iudicio; *Ma*: siquis reus inuentus fuerit in iudicio. *Ma omits the petition of the saint that any one who reads or hears her legend may have forgiveness, since we are flesh and blood and prone to sin. Ma inserts*: et eam impetrauit consacari, huic da, domine, dona in celo et in terra. *Ma*: et secum habuerit non nascatur *for* uel de suo labore comparauerit codicem passionis meae, reple illum spiritu tuo sancto, spiritu ueritatis et in domo illius non nascatur. *P after mutus inserts*: nec surdus. *M*: a spiritu temptetur; *A*: ab spiritu in mundo temptetur; *P*: ab spiritu maligno temptetur; *Ma*: a spiritu immundo possessus. *Ma adds at end*: et qui codicem mee paxionis de suo labore comparauerit spiritum sanctum tue ueritatis habeat.

XX. *M after uenit inserts*: de caelo. *Ma*: adstabant *for* stabant. *Ma after fatiem suam omits*: super terram. *M*: in terram ante faciem; *A, P*: in terram ante uirtutem; *Ma*: in fatiem ante uirentem domini. *M*: Beatus est uenter mulieris; *A, P*: Beata es tu inter mulieres, beata es, Margareta, quae oleum sanctum quaesisti; *Ma omits*. *Ma after iuro omits*: et gloriam angelorum meorum. *Ma after petiisti inserts*: a deo dabuntur tibi quia. *A*: quod memorata nunc es *for* quod non est commemoratum. *Ma*: si in domo ulla in quocumque loco codex *for* ubi codex. *Ma*: ullus spiritus nequam inueniatur *for* spiritus nequam ibi non ingreditur. *M*: pax, caritas et spiritus ueritatis; *A*: pax, caritas et spes ueritatis; *P*: caritas et spiritus ueritatis; *Ma*: pax, sanitas, caritas, letitia, gaudium et spiritus ueritatis. *M, A*: et omnis generatio quae; *P*: et omnis qui; *Ma*: et beate omnes gentes. *Ma*: celeriter *for* celerius. *M*: ianuam regni; *A, P*: regiam regni; *Ma*: regnum.

XXI. *Ma inserts:* adite me. *M:* magnum regis saeculorum; *A:* magni regis omnium saeculorum; *P:* magni regis celorum; *Ma:* regis seculorum. *Ma:* martirium *for* nomen. *Ma:* uos mihi *for* me. *Ma:* licet ego peccatrix *for* et si peccatrix. *Ma:* det atque donet *for* donet. *Ma:* concordet *for* heredes. *Ma after glorie omits:* et illuminet uos in regno claritatis suae. *A:* parte *for* sortem. *Ma:* yhesum dico, deum laudo *for* hymnum dico deo, laudo. *P:* quia deus est *for* qui est.

XXII. *M:* gaudium *for* gladium. *Ma:* comple preceptum tibi factum *for* percute me. *Ma:* ego non faciam sanctam dei *for* ego hoc non facio neque interficio sanctam uirginem. *P after* paradiso dei *inserts:* Et ille strauit se ante pedes eius et dixit: Rogo te, famula christi, ut ores pro me. Tunc beata M. orabat, dicens: Domine, ne statuas illi hoc peccatum. *M, P:* timore et tremore *for* timore. *M:* Et tremens percussor cecidit cum percussorio suo ad dexteram partem b. M.; *A:* Et tremens percussor cecidit ad dexteram partem b. M.; *P:* Ipse uero cum gladio in quo percutiebat beatam uirginem semetipsum perfodiens cecidit ad dexteram partem b. M.; *Ma:* Et tremens cecidit in terram. *M:* benedixerunt illud; *A:* benedixerunt dominum; *P:* benedixerunt eam; *Ma:* benedixerunt eum.

XXIII. *M:* Et audientes omnes infirmi, caeci, claudi, surdi, debiles impotentes omnes; *A:* Et audientes omnes infirmi, caeci, claudi, surdi, debiles; *P:* Et audientes hec omnes infirmi, ceci et claudi, surdi et muti, debiles et inpotentes; *Ma:* Itemque idiotas, infirmi, ceci, claudi et ibi. *M:* et salui fiebant; *A, P:* et omnes salui fiebant; *Ma:* et liberabantur et diuino curabantur. *Ma:* Angeli uero cum uirtutibus tulerunt *for* Tunc descendentes angeli cum uirtutibus tollentes. *A:* corpus *for* animam. *Ma after* Margarite *omits:* in gremio suo. *Ma:* nubem candidam *for* nubem. *Ma omits at end:* Benedictus, qui uenit in nomine domini, rex Israel. Et uenientes daemones ad reliquias b. M. torquebantur. Infirmi uenientes sanabantur (*M:* saluabantur) a languoribus suis et credebant.

XXIV. *M:* Tectinus; *A, P:* Theotimus; *Ma:* theodemus. *Ma:* corpus *for* reliquias. *Ma:* scrino *for* scrinio. *Ma:* latone *for* lapide. *Ma after* suauitatis *omits:* et posui eas. *M:* ciuitate in domo Sicliti et Matronae; *A:* ciuitate in domum inclytæ matronae; *P:* ciuitate in domo sincletice matrone; *Ma:* ciuitate in domo. *Ma:* cum nutrice *for* in carcere. *Ma:* inter impios

for contra impios. *Ma after libris omits: chartaneis. Ma omits at end:* Compleuit autem beata Margareta certamen suum in pace die quinto mense Iulio (*A: mense Iulio in dictione tertio decimo; P: mense Iulio die quinto decimo*). Omnes audite, corde compungite, sensus ponite, Deum adorete in una trinitate (*M: unam trinitatem; P: in unitate*), memoriam beatissimae Margaretae facite, ut (*M omits*) in sua nos prece memoretur ante dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, cui est honor et gloria (*M: qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat*) in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

III. VERSIONS IN OLD ENGLISH

There are two surviving versions of the Margaret legend in Old English, both of them in prose and both from the early eleventh century.¹⁵ These translations have the interest of being the oldest legends of the saint in any of the European vernacular literatures; while their age, as well as their sobriety of treatment, gives them critical value in determining the original content of the *Passio*. Although they have sometimes been spoken of as if they were simply variants of a single translation, they are in reality quite independent productions.

The first, that found in MS. Cott. Tiberius A iii,¹⁶ was a careful translation of a text of the *Passio* not differing markedly from the four Latin texts compared in the last section. If one allows for the changes necessarily made in translating from one language to another, the text of the Cottonian MS. varies from them to about the same extent that they differ from one another. It has thus scarcely less critical authority than they, and should be given due weight in any comparison of variant readings. The adequacy of the translation fills one with respect for the anonymous writer who made this version for the unlearned, some nine hundred years ago. One's respect, indeed, is greatly increased by going through the work with the four Latin versions of the *Passio* in view, for only so can one appreciate the faithfulness and the intelligence of the rendering.

Since the Latin texts are accessible and the deviations of this Old English text from them are so inconsiderable, it has not

¹⁵ A third, or perhaps a second text of one of the pair, formerly existed in MS. Cott. Otho B x.

¹⁶ Ed. O. Cockayne, *Narratiunculæ anglie Conscriptæ*, 1861, pp. 39-49.

seemed to me worth while to present a detailed comparison. Any reader who is interested to check my statements can do so by reference to the two preceding sections of this paper.

The Old English text preserved in MS. Corpus Christi, Cambridge, 303¹⁷ stands in a somewhat different case from the other, and is, as I have said, an entirely distinct work. Although it appears to be equally well done as a translation, it could not possibly have been made from the recension of the *Passio* that we have been studying. For example, Theothimus (as he is here named) found Margaret as an infant, after she had been exposed by her father, and took care of her till she was fifteen years old. In this version he does not appear as her biographer. Possibly the lack of the conventional epilogue may account for the second of these variations, but it does not explain the first. Nor does the Corpus version appear to attach itself to any of the Latin texts listed in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*. That it was a reasonably literal translation of some Latin text is clear, however, from its many correspondences of phrase with the texts I have been able to study in detail. My surmise is that it was based on a recension of the *Passio* in some respects fuller, and possibly earlier, than those now surviving in Latin. If this be a correct assumption, the Old English work has a value even beyond its mate from the Cottonian MS. Certainly the rôle ascribed to Theotimus is very interesting, since the least clear part of the narrative in most versions of the legend is that dealing with the childhood of the saint. Compression, for the sake of brevity, seems to have blurred the outline of the vulgate text until it is impossible to be quite sure just why and how St. Margaret was removed from her father's house and given over to the care of her foster-mother. The light thrown by the brief but clear statement of the Corpus text is therefore very welcome, and should not be neglected in any study of the legend. Indeed, this Old English version has much greater importance than has hitherto been assumed.

IV. VERSIONS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

The Middle English legends of St. Margaret were carefully studied with reference to their sources somewhat more than a

¹⁷ Ed. B. Assmann, *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben* (*Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa* III), pp. 170-180.

generation ago. At that time Krahll¹⁸ made a useful arrangement of the anonymous texts into groups and a painstaking comparison of each with the Latin version which it most nearly resembled. The results of his conscientious study need no modification in most particulars. As I have already remarked, however, something is to be learned by reading the English versions with more than one text of the Latin *Passio* at hand. What might appear to be English peculiarities, if the text of Mombritius only were used, are otherwise explained by a comparative study of even four Latin texts. On the other hand, certain points of divergence do appear, which could not well have arisen through the exigencies of translation. Some of these point to the existence in England of Latin texts of the legend about which we have no direct knowledge at present.

There are two translations in Middle English that are thus based on the *Passio*: the first a curious work in alliterative prose from the earliest years of the thirteenth century;¹⁹ and the second a group of poems, various in date, of which the earliest and best representative is the so-called *Meidan Margerete*,²⁰ written in Dorset or near by between 1200 and 1250. The later members of this group of poems²¹ do not much concern us on the present occasion, since they are obviously secondary to *Meidan Margerete*.²² They are useful merely as a check on the conclusions that may be drawn from the earlier work.

¹⁸ Work cited above, note 4.

¹⁹ MSS. Royal 17. A. xxvii and Bodley 34, ed. O. Cockayne, *Sainte Marherete*, 1862 (reissued 1866 as E. E. T. S. 13, and later revised by O. Glauning). To the opinion that this work, like the co-æval *Catharine* and *Juliana*, is in prose (see my *Saints' Legends*, p. 209) I still cling, but I wish some qualified scholar would investigate their rhetoric and rhythm more adequately than I have been able to do.

²⁰ MS. Trin. Coll., Camb., B. 14. 39, ed. Hickes, *Thesaurus* I, 224 ff., and thence Cockayne, *work cited*, pp. 34-43, and Horstmann, *Allengl. Leg. N. F.*, pp. 488-498.

²¹ The versions of MS. Auchinleck (ed. Turnbull, *Legendæ Catholicæ*, 1840, and Horstmann, *Allengl. Leg. N. F.*, pp. 225-235), and of MS. Bodley 779 (ed. Horstmann, *Herrig's Arch.* LXXIX, 411-419) are simply variants of *Meidan Margerete*. The poem in short couplets found in MS. Ashmole 61 (ed. Horstmann, *Allengl. Leg. N. F.* pp. 236-241) and MS. Brome Hall, Suffolk, (ed. L. T. Smith, *A. Common-place Book of the 15th Century*, 1886) derives from the same source and adds nothing to our knowledge of the matters before us.

²² See Krahll, *work cited*, who settled the relationships of these poems for all time.

Let us first consider the case of the prose translation, taking it up section by section in accordance with the division of the *Passio*. I shall use the same letters as before to designate the several Latin manuscripts.

I. This section, the introduction, is rather fuller than the Latin, but does not differ notably. Like *P* and *Ma*, it mentions Christ's passion, as well as the resurrection, in the opening sentence.

II. The name of the narrator is given as Theochimus, which corresponds nearly to the Theotimus of *A* and *P*. Of the Old English versions, Cott. has Theotimus, Corpus Theothimus.

Instead of the "viri et mulieres" who are addressed in the Latin, the work is directed to "widewen mit te weddede ant meidenes nomeliche"—a peculiarity that may be due, as Krahll pointed out, to the translator's special audience.

There is no reference to Thecla and Susanna, which corresponds to the state of things in MS. Corpus.

III. There is nothing in this section not at least suggested by the Latin.

IV. The age of the saint is given as fifteen, as everywhere except in *Ma*. The desire for martyrdom attributed to her is not found either in Latin or Old English.

V. The prayer of the saint that her virginity be preserved, which everywhere occurs, is here expanded. The list of similes by which she describes herself in the prayer is interesting. In *P* she compares herself to a sparrow, a fish, and a doe, and in *Ma* to a sparrow, a fish, and a she-goat, while in *M* to a sparrow and a fish, and in *A* to a sparrow and a she-goat. MS. Cotton has the list: neat, sparrow, fish; MS. Corpus: sheep, sparrow, fish, roebuck. The Middle English text reads: lamb, bird, fish, roebuck. It would therefore appear that the last-named derives the list ultimately from the same source as MS. Corpus. It should further be noted that *capra* (*A* and *Ma*) would easily be confused with *capreola* (*P*), and that *hra* or *roa* (the readings of MS. Corpus and our M.E. text respectively) furnishes a proper translation of *capreolus*.

VI. This section follows the Latin closely, but without the peculiarities found in *Ma*.

VII. As in *Ma* and MS. Cotton, the fact that the next examination took place "secunda die" is omitted. Otherwise the section is like that of *M*, *A*, and *P*. though expanded.

VIII and IX. There are no marked peculiarities.

X. Here there are details of the torture not elsewhere found: "hongin hire on heh up herre þen ha wes ant wið sweord scharpe ant wið eawles of irne hire leofliche lich rondin ant rendin."

XI. The section is somewhat lengthened, but not materially changed.

XII. Three of the four Latin texts have Theotimus and the foster-mother minister to Margaret in prison, while *Ma* omits the episode altogether. Both Old English texts have Theotimus come alone, while our Middle English version makes the foster-mother come alone.

The description of the dragon is more detailed than elsewhere, and the saint's prayer much expanded.

XIII. This section differs little from the Latin except in the more elaborate description of the devil. In this it differs from the Old English versions, which are less explicit than the Latin.

XIV. As in MS. Cotton, the devil does not mention the name of his brother Rufo.

XV. This section is much longer than in the Latin and Old English versions, the devil's recital of his evil doings becoming virtually a homily against sin. It is curious that his explanation of his name, which appears in *A* as "Bel (*M* Beelzes) cognomen est mihi post Beelzbub," becomes: "ich habbe efter bellzebub mest monnes bone ibeon." This explanation is not found in either of the Old English translations, though they are in general somewhat fuller than the Latin texts. Note that at this point *Ma* is much distorted.

XVI. This section, again, is much expanded, though it follows the lines of the Latin texts more intelligently than the Old English versions. In MS. Corpus, for example, Iambres and Mambres appear as place names, while in MS. Cotton the section is cut down to a very few lines.

XVII and XVIII. These sections are longer than in the Latin and Old English texts, but have no striking divergences in content.

XIX. The place at which the five thousand converts were beheaded, which appears variously in the Latin texts, becomes "an burh of armenie caplimet inempnet." MS. Corpus omits the detail, while MS. Cotton has "on limes feold butan ærmeniga þære ceastre." Reference to the Latin variants makes it prob-

able that the last is a "popular etymology" of Campolim or Capolim (see *M*).

XX. No material differences appear.

XXI. The final speech of the saint is longer than in any of the earlier versions.

XXII and XXIII. No material differences appear.

XXIV. Theotimus buries the saint "in her grandame hus þt wes icleopet Clete." No other text corroborates this statement. The Latin texts give a variety of names, but suggest no relationship. MS. Corpus omits the section, while MS. Cotton has Sincletica.

The martyrdom is made to fall on July 20, which adds only one more to the variants elsewhere found. MS. Cotton has July 23, *M* July 5, *A* July 13, and *P* July 15.

An examination of the foregoing statement of differences shows quite clearly that we have not at hand any text from which the Middle English prose version could possibly be derived. It shows also—since similarities of omission have far less weight than similarities in actual statement—that the Latin source of the version must have had at least a family likeness to the source of MS. Corpus. The similes in section V are sufficient, of themselves, to prove this. A Latin version of a peculiar type must, it is evident, have circulated in England for a long time.

When we turn to *Meidan Margerete* and the group of poems related to it, we leave the field of direct translation and enter that of poetic adaptation. Here, in the nature of things, we cannot expect to find such close correspondence to any Latin original; but we shall see that the poem follows the *Passio* more closely than might be expected in a work of the kind. As to the qualities of *Meidan Margerete* itself, I have already expressed my opinion in another place.²³ It has been too little appreciated by readers of our early literature, largely because of the faulty text in which it is preserved. Renewed study of it leads me to modify my earlier conclusions in one respect only: I do not now believe it to be a translation from Old French, though I am unable to prove this satisfactorily. The following summary of similarities and differences, in which I continue to

²³ *Saints' Legends*, pp. 210-212.

use the divisions of the Latin *Passio* as a guide, will show how the poem stands in relation to earlier versions.

I. This section is omitted.

II. Save for the appeal to "olde ant yonge," with which the poem opens, this section is also omitted.

III. This differs in that Margaret's mother sends her away at birth, to save her from the death Theodosius has decreed (vv. 12-15). For this statement the only basis in the Latin texts is the enigmatic "Odiosa erat patri, dilecta domino Iesu Christo." MS. Corpus, however, preserves the explanation that Theotimus found Margaret as an infant, after she had been exposed by her father. The poet was probably merely conventionalizing some such statement as this.

It is further stated that Margaret's foster-mother had seven children of her own, of which there is no hint in the earlier versions.

IV. The specific reference to St. Laurence and St. Stephen (v. 20) is not in the Latin or the other English versions.

The statement (v. 25) that Margaret was "prettenè winter elde" at the time of her adventure has no special importance, since the later texts of MSS. Auchinleck and Bodley have the normal age, fifteen.

V. Probably the picturesque promise of Olibrius to clothe Margaret in "ciclatoun ant pelle" (v. 43) is an invention of the poet, since there is no hint of this detail elsewhere. The same thing may be said of the statement that the saint was herding her sheep "nout fer from þe strete" (v. 46). Of more importance is the fact that she makes a reply to the soldiers (v. 55-60) before she prays, which may well indicate a difference in the source. The speech is nowhere else recorded. The prayer that follows (vv. 61-68) has also no similarity to the prayer in the other texts except that Margaret prays for the sending of the "holi gost" ("angelum" in the Latin) and describes herself as caught by "þes houndes."

VI. There are here three points in which the poem is unique. All of them may be due, however, to the poet himself. Olibrius complains (v. 74): "Of alle mine sergauns gode nabbi none"; he makes a direct proposal to Margaret (vv. 81-84); he, rather than she, makes the reference to the crucifixion of Christ (vv. 89-92).

VII. The somewhat remarkable stanza of vv. 105-108, although it is a bo'd addition, probably elaborates the thought of some such phrase as "super omnem familiam" or "super omnes puellas meas," both of which appear.

Lef on me ant be my wif; ful wel þe mai spede.
 Auntioge ant Asie scaltou hau to mede;
 Ciclatoun ant purpel pal scaltou haue to wede;
 Wid alle þe metes of my lond ful wel i scal þe fede.

VIII. "Honget ir up bi þe fet" (v. 115) is a detail not elsewhere found. The Latin has "in aere". Possibly this represents an otherwise lost reading.

IX and X. Here the poem is an adequate, though free, rendering of the Latin texts that we know.

XI. This section is omitted.

XII and XIII. The vision of the cross (vv. 154-168) here precedes the appearance of the dragon, which is a more logical order than that of the Latin and the earlier English texts, where the vision comes in section XV. Krahll (pp. 40-42) discussed this passage in some detail. The new arrangement is so much preferable that I believe we shall do well to await the examination of other Latin versions before deciding it to be a vagary of the English poet.

Similarly I am not sure that the description of the devil in v. 183: "E heuede eien on is cleu ant eken on is to" may not obscurely preserve a detail otherwise lost. The Latin (save Ma, which omits the description) has: "habens manus ad genua colligatas." It is interesting to note the reading of MS. Auchinleck: "He hadde honden on his knes and eie on euerich to." This combines, it will be seen, the two ideas.

XIV. The statement that Margaret bound the devil "wid her wempel" (v. 186) is probably an addition of the poet's, since he goes on to say that she seized the devil by the hair, as in the Latin text. The rest of the section is omitted.

XV. See section XII, above, for the vision of the cross. The complaints of the devil and his name (Belsebug) correspond to the Latin; but his account of himself and his companions is represented only by vv. 209-212, which tell of his exploits at the birth of children—a detail not found in the older versions.

XVI. This section is omitted in MS. Trinity save for Margaret's dismissal of the fiend. MSS. Auchinleck and Bodley,

however, have the reference to the capture of the devils by Solomon, which must therefore belong to the original form of the poem.

XVII. The speech of Margaret (vv. 225-232), when again brought before Olibrius, has no resemblance to the one in the older texts. The account of the torture by torches is more detailed than in the Latin versions that we know. They must, however, be less full at this point than earlier texts, since the Middle English prose has the same account as *Meidan Margerete*. See Krahl, p. 48, note 1, for the incident as it appears in various vernacular versions from the Continent. It is to be noted, further, that the Old English text of MS. Corpus has "wallende stanes" instead of torches as the instruments of torture, corresponding with a Provençal version, which indicates a double tradition.

XVIII. The alterations in this section—the bursting of the vat of hot water and the appearance of an angel instead of the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove—are probably vagaries of the poet. Indeed, his statement that "a þousend ant fue" (v. 249) were converted is contradicted by MS. Auchinleck, which reads "fif þousend and fue," which is only five more than the usual number and quite explicable on the score of a needed rhyme.

XIX. The statements that a throng followed Margaret to the place of execution and were frightened when the sun turned pale, and that a voice from heaven reassured her (vv. 257-264) are in neither the Latin texts nor the earlier English ones. Yet this passage serves to introduce the subsequent speech of the executioner Malchus, who asks the saint for pity, since he sees her under the protection of Christ and His angels. This speech is elsewhere quite without a proper cue. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the source of *Meidan Margerete* was at this point fuller than the accessible Latin texts.

The saint's final prayer is made up of a selection of the petitions found in the Latin.

XX. The reply of Heaven is made by our "louerd" instead of through a dove, as elsewhere, and is very brief.

XXI. This section is omitted.

XXII. This section is remarkable only because of vv. 297-300, which elaborate the bald statement that angels came and

sat above the body of the saint. The stanza must be, one concludes, a picturesque addition of the poet's.

XXIII. This section is omitted, except for the statement that the angels bore the soul of Margaret to Heaven.

XXIV. Here, again, a variation on the part of the source must be accepted. That "Theodosius þe clerik" stands for Theotimus does not matter, since that name appears in several forms; but the statement that he and the foster-mother took the body of the saint to "þe toun of Asie" (v. 302) and built a church where many miracles were performed, which has no counterpart in the Latin or older English texts, is not likely to have been an invention of the poet.

The death of the saint is made to fall on July 20, which corresponds with the date given by the earlier Middle English version, but by no other.

The foregoing analysis indicates that *Meidan Margerete* and its successors are completely independent of the Old English and the earlier Middle English versions, though they have certain common divergences from the Latin texts. It suggests, further, that a recension of the *Passio* different from the source of MS. Corpus and the Middle English prose version must have circulated in England during the Middle Ages—a second variant recension. I can see no reason, from the evidence at hand, to believe that *Meidan Margerete* was translated from an Anglo-Norman poem. If it was, the Old French text has not yet come to light. Its existence would not, in any case, vitiate my conclusion as to the ultimate source of the English work. To speak of the text in the *Sanctuarium* by Mombricitus or of one of its variants, as the source, is to speak inaccurately. We have to do, it is obvious, with a very complex problem of interrelationship among Latin texts, most of which are either not extant or not yet accessible in print.

It would be folly to attempt any detailed reconstruction of the *Passio* as it circulated in mediaeval France or England: the variations of the English texts are too inconsistent with one another and too uncertain in nature to furnish a basis for that interesting exercise. At the same time, I believe it safe to say that at least two Latin recensions at present unknown to us must have existed, and that each must have been somewhat fuller than the known texts. It appears, moreover, that they

were better recensions in the sense of avoiding inconsistencies and unexplained turns in the narrative. The story has been injured, it seems, by an injudicious effort for brevity of statement. The recovery of a longer Latin text, if such a text still exists in European libraries, is therefore greatly to be desired.

GORDON HALL GEROULD

XXIV. THE PUNCTUATION OF SHAKESPEARE'S PRINTERS

Until within a few years past, as all students of Shakespeare are aware, it was generally believed that the punctuation of his text in the early quartos and the First Folio was negligent, erratic, and wholly unauthoritative; the corollary being that modern editors must practically repunctuate the plays in accordance with modern usage, though avoiding scrupulously all other unnecessary alterations of the old texts. Even the late Dr. Furness, editor of the *New Variorum Shakespeare*, whose veneration for the text of the Folio showed some tendency to become an obsession in his later years, did not permit this veneration to extend to punctuation, but commonly spoke of that element of the text as the negligible work of Elizabethan printers.¹ Recently, however, there has been observable a disposition to claim no little authority for the punctuation of the old texts, and, on the part of certain scholars indubitably worthy of respectful attention, to draw inferences as to their significance of a remarkable, not to say revolutionary, character. The time would seem to be ripe for a careful consideration of the evidence which has been adduced.²

The first important representative of the new view was an interesting little book by Mr. Percy Simpson called *Shakespearean Punctuation* (1911), though Mr. Simpson acknowledged his

¹ On the other hand it is but fair to note that he observed that "every comma should be held sacred" if there were "any evidence that Shakespeare had ever corrected the proof-sheets" or that the plays were "printed from his manuscript." (*Romeo & Juliet*, Preface, p. xi.) And he made at least one remark which represents an exceedingly mild form of the doctrine of Mr. Pollard and Mr. Dover Wilson: "A full stop in the middle of a line is so unusual in F₁ that it deserves more attention than the punctuation in that edition generally merits. Frequently it indicates a change of address." (*As You Like It*, p. 204).

² Fugitive discussion of the theories here to be considered will be found in letters written by Mr. William Pool, Mr. Bernard Shaw, Mr. A. W. Pollard, and Mr. Dover Wilson to the editor of the *London Times Literary Supplement* in February, March, and April 1921; see pages 91, 107, 127, 178, 196, 211, 228, 244, 259. Also in two or three letters concerning Sir Sidney Lee's criticism of the theories in question, in his revision of his *Life of Shakespeare*; see the *Literary Supplement* of 1922, pp. 459, 476.

indebtedness to certain Shakespeare editions made by A. E. Thistleton in 1901-03. The principal thesis of this essay is that Elizabethan punctuation was not haphazard, but, when analyzed, will be found to be intelligible and fairly consistent according to its own rules of practice; that modern editors very often spoil a Shakespearean passage by altering the original stops to conform to modern usage; that they have been led to do so because of a failure to understand the fundamental distinction between the system of seventeenth century printers and that of to-day, namely, that "Modern punctuation is, or at any rate attempts to be, logical; the early system was mainly rhythmical."

Simpson's work was highly praised, and followed out in a most interesting fashion, by Mr. A. W. Pollard, in his lectures on *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates and the Problems of the Transmission of his Text* (1917); but in this instance it was not the printing of the First Folio, which Simpson had chiefly defended, but that of a fair number of the early quartos, which was lifted to a new plane of importance. Pollard's characteristic statements are these: "The normal punctuation was much nearer to normal speech than is the case with our own, which balances one comma by another with a logic intolerable in talk. Thus the punctuation which we find in the plays omits many stops which modern editors insert, and on the other hand inserts others, sometimes to mark the rhythm, sometimes to emphasize by a preliminary pause the word or words which follow, sometimes yet for other reasons" (p. 94). And further (especially in the new edition of these lectures published in 1920), the opinion is set forth that in many instances the old texts give us "the lines as Shakespeare punctuated them himself when he wrote them down while he heard the accents" in which the dramatic characters were to speak them.

Finally, these views of Mr. Simpson and Mr. Pollard have been put into full effect by Mr. Dover Wilson in the new edition of Shakespeare in process of publication at the Cambridge University Press. The Textual Introduction prefaced to the first volume, containing *The Tempest*, tells us that the new textual criticism of Shakespeare is based on three recent "discoveries," and as the interpretation of these is of some importance I must quote Mr. Wilson's statement of them pretty fully:

The first is that of Mr. A. W. Pollard, [who] . . . has demonstrated that dramatic MSS which reached the printer's hands in Shakespeare's day were generally theatrical prompt-copy; that many of these are likely to have been in the author's autograph; and that, therefore, the first editions of Shakespeare's plays—the quartos in particular—possess a much higher authority than editors have hitherto been inclined to allow them.

The second discovery, originally made by Mr. Percy Simpson, . . . affects the vitally important question of the stops in the Folio and Quartos, which are now seen to be not the haphazard peppering of ignorant compositors, as all previous editors have regarded them, but play-house punctuation, directing the actors how to speak their lines (p. xxix).

[The third discovery concerns the alleged proof, by Sir Edward Thompson, that we have three pages of Shakespeare's autograph manuscript in the manuscript play of *Sir Thomas More*; but with this we are not here particularly concerned.]

The reader should observe carefully the peculiar use of the term "discoveries" for these three matters; peculiar, because none of them concerns what is ordinarily called by scholars a discovery. Each of them is an hypothesis, supported by more or less convincing reasoning. Mr. Pollard, for his, claimed nothing more than this, as Mr. Wilson's paraphrase of his modest contentions indicates. Mr. Simpson claimed that he had shown much more rationality in the old punctuation than had hitherto been admitted, but did not even approach the matter of "play-house punctuation," or the question how actors should speak their lines. Yet Mr. Wilson, in the paragraph immediately succeeding those cited above, leaps with extraordinary agility to these satisfying conclusions:

In short we believe that we know how Shakespeare wrote; we have a definite clue to his system of punctuation; we feel confident that often nothing but a compositor stands between us and the original manuscript; we can at times even creep into the compositor's skin and catch glimpses of the manuscript through his eyes.

It can only be the new-born sense of confidence depicted in these sentences which leads Mr. Wilson, in the Note on Punctuation immediately preceding the text of the play, to make such statements as the following:

The pause, especially with the semicolon, the colon or the period, often needs filling by a sob, a kiss, or by other and lengthier "business." . . .

[The semicolon] has been retained wherever possible; at times, however, it has been translated by a dash, and at others by three dots . . .

Where [the comma] appears to possess special dramatic significance, it is given as a dash . . .

Shakespeare generally conveyed emphasis by the use of the pause. Sometimes, however, he indicated the emphatic word by beginning it with a capital letter [Most of the Folio capitals are certainly non-Shakespearian, but] here and there we can catch a Shakespearian emphasis Where we have felt tolerably certain that Shakespeare himself intended emphasis we have printed the word with spaced lettering (pp. lvii-lix.).

In view of so remarkable a combination of the historical and the intuitive methods as is here revealed, I submit that it is quite time to reconsider with some care the steps by which this group of scholars has been led to their new view of the subject. And I begin by some consideration of the fundamental processes involved in the method of Mr. Simpson's monograph.

If we are to seek, or think we have found, evidence that Elizabethan punctuation was fairly systematic and accurate, it is clearly important to know whether we are chiefly concerned with manuscript habits, followed with accuracy by printers, or with the normalizing accuracy of the printers themselves. This question does not seem to have been definitely considered by Simpson. One would say that the latter alternative represents his assumption, for he makes no reference to manuscripts, and emphasizes such matters as the long apprenticeship of the Elizabethan printer. On the other hand he draws one of his chief instances from an argument in the late George Wyndham's edition of the Poems of Shakespeare, where the accuracy of punctuation is alleged to be so "exquisite" that it could not have been the work of a "journeyman-printer," but reveals "an author's hand." A second general problem concerns the relative accuracy of different printers, either in following their copy or in normalizing it to an intelligent system. To this also Simpson gave no apparent heed. He was chiefly concerned to justify the punctuation of the First Folio as "on the whole sound and reasonable," to show that "Isaac Jaggard and Edward Blount and their workmen . . . knew how to print" (p. 15). Pollard, on the other hand, as we have seen, is chiefly concerned with the comparative excellence of the printing of the quartos, and with that excellence as dependent upon well-punctuated manuscripts. Now we know that of the plays in the Folio some were set up from existing quarto texts, others from manuscripts of one or another character. It is of elementary importance, then, to know whether there seem to be differences

in printing which result from these differences in copy; whether, for example, the punctuation of all portions of the Folio conforms substantially to the rules set forth by Simpson; if so, whether this is due to the normalizing habit of the printers or to identical practices in their sources; if not, whether the differences are to be attributed to differences in the copy, to the employment of different compositors, or to negligent want of uniformity in the practice of the composing room. Some of these points, as we shall see later, have been raised by Mr. Pollard and Mr. Wilson. Simpson does not seem to have been disturbed by them: he quotes all portions of the Folio indiscriminately, with occasional admixture of passages from Shakespeare quartos and from other books of the same age. This, it may be said, is fair enough, since his main purpose is merely to analyze the prevalent practice of early seventeenth century printers; but it must be recalled that he makes the analysis primarily because of its bearing on the authenticity of the punctuation of the Shakespeare text, and that it has been used to the same end by those who have followed him.

I cannot now discuss in detail the problems just suggested, but in illustration I shall mention an interesting example. Simpson notes that the Folio printers often omitted the comma before a vocative, and often also omitted the comma *after* it (§§2, 3); as—

Well Shylocke, shall we be beholding to you?

Now infidell I have thee on the hip.

Again (§39, i), he includes the vocative as among the parenthetical phrases for which round brackets are properly employed; as

You do looke (my son) in a mov'd sort.

From all this there is no means of inferring what the actual practice of the Folio printers was, respecting the punctuation of vocatives; are we to assume that they regarded all these methods as equally good? If so, it can hardly be taken as proof of their having a definite system of punctuation, which modern editors should hesitate to disturb. Or was there a single preferred way, characteristic of the more accurate compositors? If so, departures from that method, which one infers were abundant, may properly be regarded as inaccuracies. I have by no means

gone through the Folio with such diligence as to be able to clear up the matter; but so far as my observations have reached, they may be summarized as follows. In ordinary vocative clauses a speaker makes no pause before the name or title of the person addressed, when this name or title occurs after some brief introductory word or phrase (as in "Well Shylock"), and the early printers commonly represented this fact by omitting the preceding comma which a more logical punctuation demands; while, on the other hand, they represented the fact that there is likely to be a pause following such a vocative, by putting a comma after it. This, I believe, is what we may call the normal habit in the Folio; and, so far as it is the case, it tends to substantiate Simpson's claim that their punctuation was based on vocal usage rather than grammar or logic. But we have seen that he recognizes, side by side with this practice, that of omitting the comma altogether, even where, as in the "Now infidell" passage, there would be a pause after the noun of address, and also recognizes the more grammatical or logical practice of setting off the vocative, as essentially parenthetical, by brackets. We may say, then, that we have two methods which may be regarded as legitimate, the first and the third, with a second which is more naturally viewed as a mere negligence. There is, to be sure, another interpretation of the facts, which I assume from analogous instances would be Simpson's: namely, that the printer carefully discriminated between sentences in which the vocative was to be hurried over rapidly, and those in which it was to be followed by a polite or otherwise emphatic pause. The "Now infidell" is actually of a character to admit of this interpretation. But, aside from the perilously subjective nature of such judgments, it is certain that they cannot be carried out consistently. Simpson would surely not claim, for example, that in such cases as

Now Thomas Mowbray do I turne to thee

or

Be by good Madam when we do awake him,

there is any hasty utterance to account for the omission of commas. In general, as I have said, I have obtained no systematic account of the Folio printing of vocatives; but my attention chanced to be struck by the fact that in the text of one

play, *The Winter's Tale*, the brackets or parentheses are used in remarkable abundance, where in the rest of the Folio one would expect commas. For example:

You (my Lords)
Looke on her, marke her well:

Tell her (Emilia)
He use that tongue I have:

I have heard (sir) of such a man.

Was this method of punctuation—which, whatever it may mean, certainly cannot signify a different *reading* of the vocatives from that characteristic of other plays—due to a differently punctuated manuscript? or to its having chanced to be set up by a particularly scrupulous compositor?³

The method followed by Simpson in analyzing the punctuation of vocatives is typical of a weakness—one may venture to call it a fallacy—prevalent in his account of the whole subject. His method is to enumerate and classify an indeterminate number of examples of seventeenth century punctuation, under headings which distinguish the usage in question from that of standard modern printing, and which sometimes express or imply a reason for the usage. Thus: "Appositional phrase without comma," "Comma marking a metrical pause," "The emphasizing comma," "Comma marking interrupted speech," etc. It will be noted that he does not seek to make these headings amount to a formulated rule, such as, "An appositional phrase is regularly attached to its noun without an intervening comma," or "A metrical pause is normally indicated by a comma, whether or no it coincides with a grammatical break." This, indeed, is often forbidden by the facts; since, as we have seen in the case of the vocatives, at least three conflicting rules would result from an analysis of the printers' usage. In like manner we have "Comma marking interrupted speech," "Semi-colon marking interrupted speech," and "Full stop ending an interrupted speech" (§§9, 28, 36). The natural inference would be that an interrupted speech was treated pretty

³ Compare Dr. Furness's observation to the effect that *The Winter's Tale* was printed with unusual care, as evidenced by eight instances of the apostrophe to indicate the absorption of one consonant in another: e.g., "le 't not be doubted." (New Variorum ed., pp. vi, 71.)

much in accordance with the printer's whim, though it is of course possible that a sufficient number of instances would indicate some rationale in the distinctions. On the matter of the number or proportion of instances we have no light. The main point to be observed is, that to show by a few examples the existence of a particular practice in no way implies an intentional, a significant, or a systematic practice. In other words, it amounts to very little, for the purpose in hand, to say that the Elizabethan printers punctuated thus and thus when handling vocatives, or relatives, or interruptions, unless we can say that they did so consistently, or in accordance with some discriminating method of variation.

A similar weakness affects the instances where some explanation of a particular style of punctuation appears. Simpson has brought together (§11) a number of examples of adverbial phrases which are separated from the clauses they modify by a comma at the end but not at the beginning; as—

If I prophane with my unworthiest hand,
This holy shrine,

Thou like an Exorcist, hast conjur'd up
My mortified Spirit.

This by his voice, should be a Mountague.

Such instances are familiar in every period, and could be readily paralleled in our daily experience. Whether it be a matter of logic or of vocal interpretation, there should, of course, be either commas after "prophane," "Thou," and "This," or else no commas at all. But the writer or printer instinctively associates the adverbial phrase so closely with what precedes it that he feels no need of a comma; whereas, a moment later, finding that the phrase is separating the verb from its object, or the subject from its verb, he inserts the comma to mark the fact. (Young students do this every day in the academic year.) We should naturally view such punctuations, then, as perfectly normal irregularities, which in the revision of a text it is usually desirable—though not extremely important—to correct. In any case, to classify and account for the instances in no way regularizes them.

But in all this we have taken slight account of the principle which to Simpson appears fundamental, namely, that the punc-

tuation of the seventeenth century was "rhythmical" instead of being largely logical like our own. If true, this is a matter of no slight importance. In the first place, it appears that the term "rhythmical" is regrettably vague or ambiguous in this connection. One would suppose that it had primary reference to the movement of verse, and some of the illustrations offered concern this aspect of the subject. Thus Simpson gives one heading (§6) to the "comma marking a metrical pause." One can conceive methods of printing to which this would accurately apply; for example, the practice of putting a stop at the end of every metrical line, even where the sense is "run on," as one often sees done by ignorant copyists and printers, or that of putting one at the caesural pause in every line, whether or not required by grammar and rhetoric, as was done in the first edition of Gascoigne's *Steel Glass*. But the Shakespeare texts give no regular instances of practices of this character. The Folio printers, of course, commonly indicate "run-on" lines, just as we do, by the omission of stops. The printer of the 1609 quarto of Shakespeare's Sonnets, on the other hand, was strongly tempted to punctuate verse endings with small regard to the sense; and one is puzzled to find Simpson observing that this printer was "at great pains to indicate the rhythm by the punctuation." Does he refer to cases like the following?

Or who is he so fond will be the tombe,
Of his selfe love to stop posterity?

Unthrifty lovelinesse why dost thou spend,
Upon thy selfe thy beauties legacy?

Not unless a "rhythmical" punctuation here, one would say, is just the opposite from what it is in the Folio. But Simpson's own example (which he takes from Wyndham) of the excellence of the punctuation of the Sonnets is from the 148th, where there has been some difference among editors as to the propriety of the colon after "mens" in line 8:

If it be not, then love doth well denote,
Loves eye is not so true as all mens: no,
How can it? O how can loves eye be true, etc.

Simpson quotes with approval Wyndham's extravagant note: "There is revealed a piece of punctuation so exquisite as to affirm an author's hand. . . . It leads up, with the prescience

of consummate art, to the rhythmical stress on the second 'can' in line 9, and, in its own way, it is as subtle." The point of both critics is that certain modern editors have been without justification in changing the reading to "Love's eye [= aye] is not so true as all men's no." Now this is clearly not a matter of rhythm at all, but of meaning. If there is no pun between "eye" and "no," and the sentence means, "Love's eye is inferior to the eye of every one else," then of course the strong stop of the colon is decidedly needed, and "no" must go with the following, not the preceding, words. The present writer agrees that this is probably the true reading; nor is there serious objection to any one's finding the resultant rhythm "exquisite." But that surely does not mean that the colon exists for a primarily "rhythmical" purpose, or that its use is in any way exceptional; the only exceptional feature is in placing so strong a rhetorical pause so near the end of the line.

In like manner, Simpson protests (p. 13) against the editors who "have imagined that they improved the rhythm" of a passage in *Macbeth*,

Confronted him with self-comparisons,
Point against Point, rebellious Arme 'gainst Arme,

by pointing the second line

Point against point rebellious, arm 'gainst arm.

He goes far to make a case for the original reading, by adducing a group of passages where Shakespeare "points a double antithesis . . . by putting an adjective with the second pair." But the question of punctuation is a mere matter of the sense. The editors who change it do so, not from any concern to improve the rhythm of the line, but because they imagine that "point against point" does not make sense by itself, and requires that "rebellious" be introduced into the phrase. If that were true, neither the comma of the Folio nor the resulting rhythmic cadence should stand in the way of the change.

The examples given under the head of a comma "marking a metrical pause" again seem to show that Simpson confuses metrical with grammatical or rhetorical phenomena. Some of them are merely the typical blunders of the printer of the Sonnets, such as have been noticed above; as—

Loe in the Orient when the gracious light,
Lifts up his burning head,

and

My soule doth tell my body that he may,
Triumph in love.

But Simpson does not mean that these commas occur merely because of the metrical line-pause; for him they have a more transcendental character. In the latter passage, he observes, "the pause after 'may' suspends the voice for a moment before the ringing note of 'triumph' in the line which follows" (p. 26). This is worse than the "exquisite" colon discovered by Wyndham. Here is another case, from Sonnet 12:

And nothing gainst Times sieth [scythe] can make defence
Save breed to brave him, when he takes thee hence.

Since "to brave him" is more closely connected in meaning with what follows ("when he takes thee hence") than with the preceding noun, modern editors have pretty generally altered the punctuation, reading

Save breed, to brave him when he takes thee hence.

This, according to Simpson, ruins the line, which in the original form is carried on "to the pause where the voice seems to falter at the thought of a final parting." Most of us, more prosaically minded, would be likely to say that the printer had in mind the more common medial pause, and put the comma where his ear expected it, so long as the sense did not positively forbid. In other words, this probably is a mild form of "rhythmical punctuation" in the literal sense of the term.

But the fact is, as has already become clear, Simpson does not mean what we should expect him to mean, when he says that the punctuation of the seventeenth century was rhythmical while ours is logical. His actual meaning is better expressed by Pollard, when he tells us that "in Shakespeare's day, at any rate in poetry and the drama, all the four stops . . . could be, and (on occasion) were, used simply and solely to denote pauses of different length, irrespective of grammar and syntax," and that "the normal punctuation was much nearer to normal speech than is the case with our own" (p. 94). The next question, then, is whether the evidence indicates that the punctuation of the

Shakespeare texts is primarily a matter of picturing vocal expression, rather than of representing sentence structure. Most of Simpson's interpretations, wherever they depart from the obvious, may be put under this head.

Now we all know that punctuation is almost essentially either a combination of, or a compromise between, these two things,—the representation of speech pauses, and the representation of grammatical structure. Normally they coincide; when they do not, punctuation tends the one way or the other, according as the one employing it is more a realist or a theorist. In our own time it is by no means exclusively logical. One might argue, *a priori*, that in earlier times punctuation would be more nearly a realistic representation of speech utterance than in later and more sophisticated times; assuredly it would if by "earlier times" we meant any really primitive and unreflecting period. But there can hardly be said to be any such period, in the field of punctuation. We all know what happens to punctuation under primitive and unreflecting conditions: it is dispensed with. When it arises as a system, we are already in the sophisticated era, and the system is primarily the work of pedants. Hence it may as plausibly be argued that punctuation will appear first as an attempted logical system, and tend toward more of descriptive realism as time goes on.

We are now concerned, however, with a condition, not a theory. What of Shakespeare's printers? Were they not, like ourselves, always struggling between a logical and a descriptive punctuation? One of Simpson's headings (§10) is "Comma marking the logical subject," with such examples as—

The Cowslips tall, her pensioners bee.
For beasts that meete me, runne away for feare.
No, no, 'tis all mens office, to speak patience.

Does this mean that Shakespeare and his contemporaries made a distinct pause in order thus to mark the logical subject? One could not easily prove the contrary, but the burden of proof surely lies on one so affirming. The lines look like typical cases of an excess of the *logical* element in punctuation, as Simpson's caption itself implies. The same thing is true of the "comma between accusative and dative" (§12), exemplified by

And now I give my sensuall race, the reine,

and

I could have given my Unkles Grace, a flout.

Surely there is no reason to view these commas as in any way descriptive of a peculiar vocal utterance, as distinguished from a cautious indication of the construction of the sentence. In fact we constantly do the same thing, where there is a chance of obscurity. Simpson's example following those just cited differs in no way from a common modern practice:

Thou ow'st the Worme no Silke; the Beast, no Hide; the Sheepe, no Wooll;
the Cat, no perfume.

The same is true, again, of the headings "comma between object and complement" (§13)

Wilt thou make a trust, a transgression?,

"comma before a noun clause" (§14)

They say, the Bishop and Northumberland
Are fiftie thousand strong.

"comma with inversion" (§22)

The last leave of thee, takes my weeping eye,

and "comma marking ellipse of copula" (§24)

The Lanthorne is the Moone; I, the man in the Moone; this thorne bush,
my thorne bush.

All these are obvious devices of the logical or grammatical mind, working through punctuation; and none of them, as it happens, is obsolete.⁴ Closely related to them is the use of the "comma before the 'defining' relative" (§15), formerly regarded as obligatory by all scrupulous writers, as up to the present time in German. We find the Folio printers using it both where a vocal pause would be natural and where it would not be:

Those wounds heale ill, that men doe give themselves:

This is the deadly spite, that angers me.

And their want of consistency is further implied in Simpson's ingenious comment: "This construction is often printed without the comma."

⁴ Since this paper was begun, I have noted in students' manuscripts these examples: "To him, he was indebted for practically all his material;" "Contrast, there certainly is."

Another alleged example of expressive rather than logical punctuation, emphasized particularly by Pollard, is the distinction between period and colon. It is known to every reader of seventeenth century texts that the colon was regularly used as a stop of value intermediate between the semi-colon and the period, in a manner now almost wholly abandoned;⁵ that it frequently appeared at the end of what we should call a complete sentence, and was followed by an initial capital. All this is systematic, not blundering, practice, and it is well worth while to recall the facts, as Pollard does in this passage:

If an Elizabethan printer had been given a typical passage of Macaulay to punctuate, he would have replaced many of his famous full stops by colons and some by commas. In such a case, where each sentence was grammatically complete in itself, but all were directed to building up by accumulation a single effect, an Elizabethan would have regarded all the sentences as co-ordinate parts of a whole, and would have refused . . . to separate them by any stop heavier than a colon (p. 95.).

With this, I say, we may agree. But is it a matter of descriptive or expressive punctuation, rather than logical? I should rather call it one of the most striking instances of the latter. In putting together a number of grammatically complete sentences, the careless writer, accustomed not to bother himself with other points than the comma and the period, commonly ends each of them with a period. One with a nicer sense of their relative importance, or their logical relations, separates some of them by semi-colons, to indicate their co-ordinate character and their subordination to the larger elements of the composition; and if he is still more scrupulous for such distinctions, and is aware of the traditional use of the colon for the purpose, he will perhaps use that stop to indicate still larger subdivisions of the paragraph. It is also quite likely that an excellent reader will make similar adjustments of pauses, in the vocal rendering of such sentences. But surely the matter is primarily one of intellectual discrimination; and it is rather less likely that the

⁵ The practice, however, remained common well into the nineteenth century. Compare the following, from the collected essays of Francis Jeffrey (1844): "It is scarcely possible to regret the subversion of a form of government, that admitted, if but once in a century, of abuses so enormous as this: But the tone in which M. Grimm notices it, as a mere *foiblesse* on the part of le Grand Maurice, gives us reason to think that it was by no means without a parallel in the contemporary history" (I. 358).

distinction between colon and full stop is represented accurately by the voice than that it is noted in the mind of the writer and the eye of the reader. In this particular, then, our current punctuation is *less* logical than that of the seventeenth century, rather than more,—except for the circumstance that we have developed the paragraph as an instrument for the grouping of sentences.

Nor were the Elizabethans so chary of using the period as one would infer from Pollard's remarks. It is quite impossible, I think, to follow him to the position taken in the following sentence: "A full stop, except when a speech is completely finished, always means business—very often theatrical business: at the least a change of tone or of the person addressed; occasionally, a sob or a caress." But compare the following passages from the Folio:

I have heard, that guilty Creatures sitting at a Play,
Have by the very cunning of the Scoene,
Bene strooke so to the soule, that presently
They have proclaim'd their Malefactions.
For Murther, though it have no tongue, will speake
With most myraculous Organ. Ile have these Players,
Play something like the murder of my Father,
Before mine Unkle. Ile observe his lookes,
Ile tent him to the quicke: If he but blench
I know my course. The Spirit that I have seene
May be the Divell.

You, or any man living, may be drunke at a time man. I tell you what you shall do: Our General's Wife, is now the Generall. I may say so, in this respect, for that he hath devoted, and given up himselfe to the Contemplation, marke: and devotement of her parts and Graces. Confesse your selfe freely to her: Importune her helpe to put you in your place againe. She is of so free, so kinde, so apt, so blessed a disposition, she holds it a vice in her goodnesse, not to do more then she is requested. This broken joynt betweene you, and her husband, entreat her to splinter. And my Fortunes against any lay worth naming, this cracke of your Love, shall grow stronger, then it was before.

There are some pretty cases of the Elizabethan colon here, but they are certainly such as to be readily explained by logical relationship; and the use of the full stop between principal sentences does not appear to differ in any marked degree from our own.⁶

⁶ In like manner I cannot agree with the observation of Dr. Furness, cited in the first note to this paper, respecting the rarity of a full stop in the middle of

Simpson and Pollard are also of the opinion that either Shakespeare or his printers carefully indicated, by the *omission* of normal punctuation, a hurrying utterance desired for dramatic effects. Thus Simpson (page 12) cites the Folio printing of Pistol's speech after he has tasted the leek, "I will most horribly revenge I eate and eate I sweare," commenting, "It is a pity to clog this disordered utterance with the puny restraint of commas." Now it may very well be true that these ejaculations were so printed in order to heighten the effect of Pistol's comic garrulity (the same thing may be found in some of the Nurse's speeches in *Romeo & Juliet*); but if we should infer that there was a standard practice, or a habit of Shakespeare's or his printers, according to which disordered utterance was indicated by the omission of stops, we should pretty certainly go astray. The passages which first occur to me, where one might look for instances of such a method, are the ravings of the mob in *Julius Caesar*, and those of Othello just before he falls into a kind of cataleptic trance. These the Folio punctuates with considerable thoroughness:

Teare him, tear him; Come Brands hoe, Firebrands: to Brutus, to Cassius, burne all. Some to Decius House, and some to Casca's; some to Ligarius: Away, go.

a line in the Folio. Strong stops of any kind are pretty few, of course, in the middle of lines in Shakespeare's plays of the earlier periods. Turning to some of the late plays in which they become fairly frequent, I note in a single column of the Folio text of *Timon* (p. 90b) 11 instances of full stops inside the line, excluding interrogation points, and not counting the ends of speeches; in one column of *Antony & Cleopatra* (354a) 7 instances; in one of *Coriolanus* (22b) 11 instances; in one of *Cymbeline* (373b) 12 instances; in one of *The Winter's Tale* (279a), 9 instances. On the other hand it is interesting to find in the text of *The Tempest* a marked tendency to use the colon where a period would be expected, precisely as Furness and Pollard allege of the Folio as a whole. That this was a mere mannerism of some copyist or compositor, and not a matter of careful intent, would seem to be indicated by the appearance of the practice where the result is certainly unfortunate; in other words, where a period is demanded by the principles of Pollard as well as of modern printing. Such a case is the appearance of a colon after "sleepe" in Prospero's great speech in Act IV:

we are such stuffe
As dreames are made on; and our little life
Is rounded with a sleepe: Sir, I am vext,
Beare with my weaknesse, my old braine is troubled:

Lye with her: that's fullsome: Handkerchiefe: Confessions: Handkerchiefe. To confesse, and be hang'd for his labour. First, to be hang'd, and then to confesse: I tremble at it It is not words that shakes me thus, (pish) Noses, Eares, and Lippes: is't possible. Confesse? Handkerchiefe? O divell.

Another of Simpson's important allegations is concerned with the use of stops for poetic or dramatic emphasis, at the expense of grammatical structure; we have already come upon one or two instances of his readings under this head. "The emphasizing comma" (§7) covers a number of others. In Pompey's sentence, "I have heard that Iulius Caesar, grew fat with feasting there," Simpson believes that the comma "points the innuendo with a significant pause," being "equivalent to a stage direction." In Starveling's line, "My selfe, the man i'th Moone doth seeme to be," it indicates "the speaker's self-importance by an emphatic pause" (p. 11). The peril of such inferences is obvious. For example, the latter instance belongs also under Simpson's heading of "the comma with inversion," and is quite sufficiently explained by the familiar practice noted in that connection. Another example in the same context,

He shall finde
Th' unkindest Beast, more kinder than Mankinde,

is explicable either by the principle of the comma supplying an omitted copula or by that concerned with the rhythmic cesura. Other instances, susceptible of no such rational explanation, are certainly not made rational by the principle of emphasis. For instance,

Love, is a smoake made with the fume of sighes;

will it be seriously claimed that there was any extraordinary reason for pausing emphatically after the subject of this sentence, as distinguished from a thousand others not so punctuated? Or for emphasizing the word "son" in the following passage from the 41st Sonnet:

And when a woman woes [woos], what womans sonne,
Will sourely leave her till he have prevailed?

The difficulty into which Simpson's view leads us is well illustrated by his similar treatment of the colon in §31. Finding such a strong indication of pause in this passage,

Th' endeavour of this present breath may buy:
That honour which shall bate his sythes keen edge,

he observes that in this and some other speeches "the sense hardly seems to justify so strong a pause," since "the check to the rhythm could be given equally well by the emphasizing comma." This is to put it mildly.⁷

It would seem important to inquire here, as in other cases, whether the general practice of Shakespeare's printers indicates scrupulous attention to such details of emphasis. Take the quarto of the Sonnets, with which, according to Simpson, much pains was taken in this particular, and note the conclusion of Sonnet 3:

But if thou live remembered not to be,
Die single and thine Image dies with thee.

Is not the word "single" precisely the place for such a metrical emphasis (of the backward-looking sort) as we are invited to expect? And the conclusion of the 8th Sonnet,

Whose speechlesse song being many, seeming one,
Sings this to thee thou single wilt prove none,

is an outstanding opportunity for the forward-looking pause of emphasis, between "thee" and "thou." All which goes to show that, while it may be quite possible that scribe or printer sometimes introduced an unexpected stop because of his feeling that the reader should pause for a desired rhetorical effect, the attempt to find any such system in the existing texts, such as either to support doubtful readings or (with Pollard) to "dangle before us" the hope that we may learn Shakespeare's own wish regarding their vocal interpretation, leads only to confusion worse confounded.⁸

It may also be noted that we are left in doubt whether an emphatic word is to be indicated by a special stop before or after it. In the lines just cited Simpson is of the opinion that the pause is intended to throw special stress upon the *following* words, whereas in the quotations from the Sonnet, just above, it was intended to stress the word standing before it.

I need hardly observe that this is confirmed by Mr. Dover Wilson's note on the "Emphasis capitals" of the Folio, quoted above. The great number of such capitals, he recognizes, are non-Shakespearean, but "here and there we can catch a Shakespearian emphasis." It is surely to be hoped that here and there we can, but, under such doubtful circumstances, what the capitals have to do with it might well be asked.

As for the poet's own view of the right reading of his verse, we must also notice Pollard's interesting theory that Shakespeare felt a strong preference for a light or rapid utterance, and indicated this by "light" punctuation. His reasoning is this:

When we find this notably light punctuation in editions of several different plays, set up by several different printers, it seems a fair bibliographical deduction that this light punctuation, though the printers may have corrupted it grossly, yet reflects a light punctuation in their copy. (Page 96.)

This raises several queries. In the first place, as I pointed out near the beginning of this paper, we have not yet sufficient data from which to judge whether any uniformity of practice which appears in a piece of Elizabethan printing is due to the author's manuscript or to habits of printers. Judging from conditions today, some kinds of uniformity would be due to the one cause, some to the other.⁹ If a certain type of punctuation is found to be characteristic of Shakespeare's printed plays, there is, in the first place, the possibility that it is characteristic of books of the same period generally, and this is precisely what we have seen is alleged by Simpson of the system which he has professed to find. Indeed Pollard himself has just been urging that *any* Elizabethan printer, setting up a modern text, would change many of our heavier stops to commas, because "the value of all the stops was greater than at present." How, then, can he offer the frequent occurrence of commas in Shakespeare's text, where heavier stops might be looked for, as evidence of a style peculiar to the author, or one representing his preference as to the reading of his lines? Again, if a comma had a greater value with the Elizabethans than with us, how does its use in a Shakespeare text indicate a particularly "light" utterance? And if it was used as readily as Simpson believes, to indicate the very slight pause marking a rhythmical or rhetorical emphasis, how can we say that it had, in general, more value than with us?

I may further illustrate this by an example. When Titania says, according to the Folio,

I pray thee gentle mortall, sing againe,
Mine eare is much enamored of thy note.

⁹There are some interesting remarks bearing on this matter in the correspondence of Mr. Bernard Shaw and others in the *Times Supplement*; see Note 2 above.

it can scarcely be maintained that she makes no longer pause after "again" than after "mortal." The "light stopping" of the passage (§1 in Simpson) means either that the comma after "again" stood for a longer pause than it does in other situations, being the substantial equivalent of our semi-colon, or that the printer carelessly used it where, even according to the usage of his own time, he should have put a semi-colon. In either case the editor of a modernized text would seem to be justified in changing the pointing.

In the 1920 edition of his lectures, Pollard comments more expansively and still more hopefully (Intro. pp. xx, xxi) on his theory of Shakespeare's personal punctuation, illustrating it from a passage in the first quarto of *Richard II*, admittedly an excellent and fairly authoritative text. The punctuation here seems to Pollard to be "obviously deliberate."

What must the King do now? must he submit?
 The King shall do it: must he be deposde?
 The king shall be contented: must he loose
 The name of King? a Gods name let it go:
 Ile giue my iewels for a set of Beades:
 My gorgeous pallace for a hermitage:
 My gay apparel for an almesmans gowne:
 My figurde goblets for a dish of wood:
 My scepter for a Palmers walking staffe:
 My subiects for a paire of carued Saintes,
 And my large kingdome for a little graue,
 A little little graue, and obscure graue,
 Or Ile be buried in the Kings hie way,
 Some way of common trade, where subiects fecte
 May hourly trample on their soueraignes head;
 For on my heart they treade now whilst I liue:
 And buried once, why not vpon my head?

The punctuation [here, says Pollard,] accents the despondent slowness of the beginning, the swiftness of the cry of impatience, and the pauses between the meditative lines in which Richard soothes himself with his fancies. Then at the idea of death it shows him swept away by a flood of self-pity, which will bear no stops heavier than commas till it slows down for the final reproach, and (after a long pause) the sombre sarcasm which succeeds it. No printer could have invented this exquisitely varied punctuation. Is there any room for doubt that it gives us the lines as Shakespeare trained his fellows to deliver them? Is there any greater room for doubt that it gives us the lines as Shakespeare punctuated them himself as he wrote them down while he heard the accents in which Richard, as he conceived him, was to speak them? These colons and commas take us straight into the room in which *Richard II* was written and we look over Shakespeare's shoulder as he penned it.

How far any reader will find such an analysis convincing depends a good deal on subjective conditions. To some of us it seems to be the sort of process which could be applied to almost any punctuation of almost any elaborate passage, and consequently cannot be applied with proper assurance to any. But, in order to test it a little, compare a similar passage in the same play, and in one of the most highly respected portions of the text, namely, the "deposition scene," which was inserted in the fourth quarto, and (as is generally believed) corrected in the Folio from an authoritative manuscript.

I giue this heauie Weight from off my Head,
 And this vnwioldie Scepter from my Hand,
 The pride of Kingly sway from out my Heart.
 With mine owne Teares I wash away my Balme,
 With mine owne Hands I giue away my Crowne,
 With mine owne Tongue denie my Sacred State,
 With mine owne Breath release all dutious Oathes;
 All Pompe and Maiestie I doe forswear:
 My Manors, Rents, Reuenues, I forgoe;
 My Acts, Decrees, and Statutes I denie:
 God pardon all Oathes that are broke to mee,
 God keepe all Vowes vnbroke are made to thee.
 Make me, that nothing haue, with nothing grieu'd,
 And thou with all pleas'd, that hast all atchieu'd.
 Long may'st thou liue in Richards Seat to sit,
 And soone lye Richard in an Earthie Pit . . .

Nay, if I turne mine Eyes vpon my selfe,
 I find my selfe a Traytor with the rest:
 For I haue giuen here my Soules consent,
 T'vndeck the pompous Body of a King;
 Made Glory base; a Soueraigntie, a Slaue;
 Prowd Maiestie, a Subiect; State, a Pesant.

Surely this is a speech calling for the utmost effort to express dramatic values,—the mingled formality and impetuous irony of the king's public self-abasement; and I suppose that Pollard would find in the former element, the formality, a sufficient explanation of the rather "heavy" punctuation of the whole, in contrast with what he believes to be Richard's usual rapid speech. If one happened, however, to be looking for "logical" punctuation, marked by the careful discrimination of the relationship of clauses, full sentences, and sentence groups, it would be found a peculiarly happy passage, with no troublesome

indications of those vocal *nuances* which, of course, a competent actor would introduce.

The Folio text of *Othello* is another which is independent of any earlier quarto, and of relatively high authority. Not to go into details, I can only say that it gives small support for the theory of specially "light" stopping. Iago's first long speech, not particularly deliberate, has ten periods and two colons in twenty-five lines. Othello's famous speech in defence of his wooing, which again is to be presumed to be fairly rapid, has 12 periods and 11 colons in forty-four lines. Iago's advice to Roderigo, also apparently pretty fluent and rapid, runs thus:

Put Money in thy purse: follow thou the Warres, defeate thy fauour, with
an vsurp'd Beard. I say put Money in thy purse. It cannot be long that
Desdemona should continue her loue to the Moore. Put Money in thy purse:
nor he his to her.

No doubt with sufficient imaginative theorizing it would be possible to explain the periods, colons, and other stops in all such passages, according to one's idea of the vocal utterance demanded by them. But the burden of proof is on the allegation that we have any such dramatic system of stopping; hence the evidence must not be merely possible, but unmistakable. The fact is, obviously, that no two persons could be expected to agree as to the best system of punctuation for purposes of vocal interpretation; and I think it almost equally obvious that no author could hope to ensure understanding of the vocal interpretation he desired by the use of the familiar stops as we have them in the Shakespeare texts.¹⁰

¹⁰ Pollard further supports his view of Shakespeare's preference for a rapid, light-stopped style, by citing Hamlet's address to the players, where he asks them to speak the speech "trippingly on the tongue." This is certainly an interesting conjecture, though one on which it is difficult to speak with assurance. I suppose that most readers understand Hamlet to be referring primarily to an agile distinctness of enunciation, an easy and flexible naturalness of utterance, such as is characteristic of the cultivated as distinguished from the uncultivated speaker, of the sensitive-minded gentleman in contrast with the town crier, popular orator, or vulgar actor, who "mouths" his lines with solemn clumsiness. It is therefore very doubtful whether it involves punctuation. But on this point one student's conjecture may be as good as another's; and I am not at all concerned to disprove the view that Shakespeare's actors spoke his lines far more rapidly than their modern successors,—a point whereon the wish may well be father to the thought.

I referred, near the beginning of this paper, to the seeming failure on Simpson's part to attempt to distinguish between different portions of the Shakespeare text, or to raise questions respecting the relations of manuscript copy, quarto text, and Folio. For his main purpose it was not essential to do so, that purpose being merely to demonstrate a fair degree of rationality and authority in Elizabethan punctuation as a whole. But for the applications which have been made of his theories (some of them, as we have seen, being very different from, if not actually inconsistent with, the original hypothesis) such distinctions become extremely important. Mr. Pollard and Mr. Wilson have realized this, and in particular the successive issues of the new Cambridge Shakespeare contain careful estimates of the special evidences as to the origin and history of the copy for the play in question. No one can fail to be grateful for the bibliographical research and ingenuity which have thus been expended upon the problem; but, for reasons already indicated, I cannot feel that the results bid fair to substantiate the new theories of Shakespearean punctuation. It is certain that they suggest many queries a full answer to which must depend upon detailed research of a character apparently not yet really begun, much less completed to the point of giving results like those summarized by Mr. Wilson in his general Note on Punctuation. Let me give one final example of such inquiries as I have in mind. The Folio text of *The Merchant of Venice* was set up, as is generally believed, from the so-called "second" or "better" quarto of 1600, bearing the imprint of Thomas Heyes. It follows the text of that quarto very closely, with a few familiar exceptions, and the reproduction of details of punctuation and capitalization is closer than could easily be accounted for in any other way. Yet in the first act there are no less than 62 instances in which the punctuation of quarto and folio differ. In the vast majority of these (all, indeed, but some half dozen) the editors or printers of the Folio strengthened the stops found in the copy, changing a comma to a colon, a colon to a period, and the like;¹¹

¹¹ Typical cases are the change of "I should thinke of shallowes and of flatts," to "I should thinke of shallows, and of flats," and the change to a colon of the comma after "lost" in the following from the quarto:

I owe you much, and like a wilfull youth
That which I owe is lost, but if you please
To shoote another arrow that selfe way [etc.].

and I gladly acknowledge that this fact, so far as it goes, tends to confirm Mr. Pollard's impressions as to the prevalence of "light" stops in the better or more authoritative quartos. But to me it chiefly suggests such questions as these: If, in the space of some four pages of the Folio, the printers, though following with no little care an excellent printed copy of their text, made some sixty alterations in its punctuation, for better or worse, how much authority can be attached to the pointing of any passage in the numerous plays of which we have no other good copy for comparison? and again, If the Folio printers took such liberties, either through negligence or because of a belief that they could improve the pointing of their copy, how safely can we assume that the printers of the quartos followed the pointing of their manuscript copy—even admitting (a very generous admission) that that pointing was fairly complete, careful, and authoritative?

Further than this it is impossible to go for the present purpose. As we have reviewed the new theories of Shakespearean punctuation, the chief issues have appeared to be these: (1) Were the original texts punctuated with such care as to indicate that their printers were normalizing the copy consistently, in accordance with sound principles of contemporary usage? (2) Were they punctuated in a manner which we can call consistently expressive or descriptive, as distinguished from a system wholly logical, or one vacillating between the logical and descriptive? (3) Were they so punctuated as to imply that we have the author's own precise phrasing of his lines? To all these questions, so far as the evidence has gone thus far, we must answer at best, Not proven.

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More than half the changes would be generally viewed as improvements, from the standpoint of logic, grammar, or modern usage; but the same disposition is observable at times to the disadvantage of the sense, as when the Folio inserts a comma after "affections" in the sentence: "The better part of my affections would Be with my hopes abroad."

XXV. THE SECRET OF *LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST*

[In the following paper, for reasons of brevity, a working hypothesis has been presented in narrative form: wherever a definite statement of historical fact has been made in support of a literary theory, the authority has been given in the footnotes. The article aims at elucidating certain problems in *Love's Labour's Lost* by correlating them with certain matters of historical fact which took place in and about the year 1591. The following points constitute problems in *Love's Labour's Lost*: (a) date of composition and first performance; (b) The unexpected dénouement in the postponed marriages; (c) The choice of names for the leading male characters, Navarre, Berowne, etc.; (d) The curious emphasis laid upon the killing of the deer by the Princess; (e) The similarity of the Pageant scene at the close of the play to the Tragedy of Pyramus and Thisbe in *The Midsummer Night's Dream*; (f) The satire on Euphuism and Sonnets and other courtly affectations; (g) The unique observance by Shakespeare of the unities of time and place. The ensuing narrative has been evolved by applying to these problems the following matters of historical fact: (a) Burleigh's attempts, 1589-94, to force Southampton into marriage with his grand-daughter, Elizabeth de Vere, and Southampton's successful evasion of his betrothal; (b) Southampton's flight to France, 1591, to take part in the war in Normandy; (c) The Royal Progress, 1591, to Portsmouth and certain incidents in the entertainment of the Queen at Cowdray House.]

On the sixth of October, 1589, my Lord Burleigh found leisure to make the following careful entry in his Diary in his customary judicial Latin:

Henry Co[m]es] Southampton erat aetatis 16 annorum

Edward Co[m]es] Bedford erat aetatis 15 annorum

Roger Co[m]es] Rutland erat aetatis 13 annorum¹

In after years the names of these three young noblemen were often enough to be bracketed together, in State papers as well as in Court gossip, but why, at this early period in their lives, should Burleigh take the trouble to record their names and ages with such loving care? Thereby, as Shakespeare's clowns were wont to say, hangs a tale, and it is my purpose to unravel that tale in the ensuing pages.

The first thing that we observe with regard to these three boys is that they are all of noble birth, and then, from the very fact that they are all three in possession of their titles, that they are fatherless. In other words, they are "children of state," wealthy and high-born orphans for whose welfare and general

¹ C. C. Stopes, *Third Earl of Southampton*.

up-bringing Queen Elizabeth herself is responsible. Therein lay their interest for Lord Burleigh. As Lord Treasurer to Her Majesty, many lucrative jobs fell his way, and in none did he find greater profit or interest than in his post of Master of the Queen's Wards. In theory the Queen herself was guardian to the high-born fatherless, but in actual practice she farmed out her nurselings to ministers and favourites. The sons of needy aristocrats or mere country squires would go to a favourite, such as the Earl of Leicester or Sir Christopher Hatton, but the really important minors fell to the share of more responsible persons, such as ministers of state, and as Master of the Wards Burleigh could always arrange that the wealthiest of all should come to him. And at this moment the three young Earls of Southampton, Bedford, and Rutland were his three most important wards.

As acting guardian of a Royal Ward, Burleigh could assume all the powers and privileges of a Roman father. Mere mothers were set ruthlessly on one side, if they were not amenable to discipline, and uncles and aunts were shut out into outer darkness. A goodly proportion of the boy's childhood would be spent at Theobalds under the eye of Burleigh himself—in fact, that rambling, spacious palace was a college for aristocratic youth for whose proper education a whole faculty of Cambridge scholars was provided. Even when the pupil went home, his tutor accompanied him and reported on him to his guardian and from time to time sent a Latin exercise to Theobalds as a token of the progress made. Furthermore, the pupil himself was obliged to correspond every month with Burleigh, in Latin and in English, on subjects of an edifying nature, and, between two bouts of State papers, the great Lord Treasurer would scan these stilted, boyish lucubrations and make corrections of grammar or ethics in the margin. But the mere attainment of a sound knowledge of Latin was not all that Burleigh expected of his wards. He also provided them with Italian riding-masters, French fencing-masters, teachers of dancing, tennis, and archery, professors of the lute and viol, in a word, of all the accomplishments that went to make a fine gentleman in the days of Elizabeth. And, finally, to put the finish to this elaborate system of education, in due time the young ward was packed off for the study of Humane Letters at Cambridge, Burleigh's

own University, and preferably at his old college, Saint John's. Here he was still under the supervision of tutors, and then, at the end of three years, he claimed the nobleman's privilege of taking his M.A. without examination, and came up to London and the Court. Even then Burleigh was not finished with him. As a great landowner and as a hereditary legislator, his ward must possess some knowledge of the law, and so, before he was finally launched upon the town, he had to put in a year's study at one of the Inns of Court.

But this was only one side of Burleigh's activities as a guardian to "a child of state." While he was thus superintending his mental and moral development, he was by no means forgetful of his worldly interests. So soon as a minor fell into the efficient hands of the Lord Treasurer, his estate underwent a prolonged system of rigorous nursing. Commissioners sallied forth from Theobalds with quill-pens and ink-horns in their hands and made an elaborate survey of the whole estate. Acres and farms and cottages were carefully counted up, with the names of tenants, the numbers in their families, the rent they paid, the rent they owed—everything down to the very smallest detail found its way into the archives of Theobalds. Unjust stewards were dismissed, unsatisfactory tenants turned away, and where the rent would stand a little raising without expelling a good tenant, it was discreetly raised. Farm-houses were repaired and fresh cottages built; here a field was turned over to pasture and there another field went back to crops. In fact, Burleigh was not above enclosing a little common land on behalf of his wards, and if a Royal Forest, such as the New Forest or Sherwood, lay upon the confines of the estate, he would manage that his particular orphan should be appointed its Ranger while still a boy at school, and so, by a little adroit trespassing on the Royal Preserves, open up fresh avenues of wealth. And last of all, if a populous city or a great harbour was included in the boundaries of the estate, let mayors and aldermen and harbour-masters beware! The Lord of the Manor had certain rights and privileges, which might or might not have been evaded up to date, but now my Lord Burleigh, with the power of the Privy Council behind him, was here to see that every penny was duly paid.

The consequence of all this lavish care on Burleigh's part was that, on attaining to his majority, the young nobleman could not only boast of the best education that was possible in those days, but, what was more to the point, was master of a very pretty estate into the bargain. But Burleigh was not the man to give his services for nothing. He was a statesman and he was a man of business, and in fitting out his ward with a good education and a well-managed estate, he was incidentally gratifying certain ambitions of his own. He was a self-made man, and he had a very wholesome respect for the great landed nobility. From such a class, he felt, should come the natural leaders of the people, its captains in war, its statesmen in peace, the arbiters of fashion and the patrons of learning and scholarship, and consequently no trouble was too great to undertake in moulding young sprigs of the aristocracy into great gentlemen of the Elizabethan age. They must, one and all, subscribe to old Roger Ascham's ideal of the "Euphuës"—they must be

The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword,
The expectancy and rose of the fair state.

and they must furthermore be faithful knights to Gloriana, ready to carry out her policies as dictated to her by her chief minister. Therefore, in educating the youth of the nobility, Burleigh was breeding up capable servants for himself, whom he hoped subsequently to use against such supercilious creatures as the Duke of Norfolk or Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. But in nursing the estate Burleigh's aims were less patriotic and far more personal. He was anxious to found a family which should take its place beside the great county families, and with that purpose in view he always kept a shrewd eye upon the marriage market. His sons were married off to aristocratic heiresses or to wealthy widows, and his daughters to young noblemen of broad acres and titles not too fresh from the mint. It was in this last respect that the business of wardship proved so profitable, for, as acting parent to a high-born orphan, the royal guardian was not only responsible for his education and the management of his estates during his minority, but was also expected to arrange his marriage. And who could be more eligible as a great nobleman's wife than one of the learned daughters of the rising house of Cecil?

Burleigh's first great matrimonial catch among his wards had been Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, head and almost sole survivor of one of the oldest families in England. When he passed as a boy under Royal Guardianship, his estate was in a poor enough way, but Burleigh had carefully nursed it back into health, had taken more than usual pains about the boy's up-bringing, and then had found his reward in marrying him in 1573 to his eldest and favourite daughter, Anne Cecil. In many ways Oxford did honour to his training. He had the grand manner of the assured aristocrat; he was an athlete, an accomplished horseman, an excellent cavalier for a mock tourney at Court; he was a scholar and a friend to scholars; he took a more than intelligent interest in the native drama that was just rising into existence—Lyly was his protégé and he kept his own troupe of actors—and, last of all, he was by no means contemptible as a lutanist and a poet. But over against these brilliant qualities of birth and training, there must be set certain blemishes of temper. He was an ambitious politician, without either the shrewdness or the patience to satisfy his ambitions. By nature, he was insolent but, like most bullies, he had a poor reputation for courage. He once insulted Sir Philip Sidney on the tennis-courts, and then evaded the consequences of his action by declining to fight a duel with a man who was not his equal in birth. But, last and most fatal blemish of all in the eyes of Burleigh, he was selfish, thriftless, and extravagant, and once he became his own master, he started to throw away the large fortune that Burleigh had accumulated for him.

With all his faults, however, Burleigh considered him good enough for his daughter. As might have been foreseen, the marriage was unhappy. Anne Cecil was by nature as sedate and demure as her husband was rash and heedless. If he was a songster, she was a blue-stocking, and a pattern of wifely virtue to boot. As a maid of honour she had won the favour of the Queen by her learning, her domestic accomplishments and the general gravity of her demeanour. While the other maids of honor philandered with the young nobles in the galleries of Richmond or made the palace melodious with madrigals and part-songs, Anne Cecil, it was observed, was always deep in some learned work or plying her needle or discoursing gravely with reverend signors in the embrasure of a window. So when

she paired off with the most eligible bachelor of the hour, there was some shrugging of shoulders and many prophecies of impending discord. Nor did the prophets have to wait long to find honour in their own circles. Once married, Oxford gave rein to his own extravagant tastes and selfish caprices. He soon found fault with his wife, because she presented him with nothing but daughters, and never a son to carry on the line, and as he had no reasonable prospect of an heir, he felt no compunction in dissipating his fortune in his own life-time. When Burleigh expostulated with him, he flew into a passion, talked about being trapped and cheated and for ever afterwards cherished a grievance against his father-in-law. To make his anger obvious to the world, he repudiated his wife, and after forming certain obnoxious political relationships, forsook the Court, turned frank Bohemian and by 1589 had disappeared from the ken of all respectable people. As a matter of fact, he was living in great poverty in Southwark, in the society of Alsatians, needy soldiers of fortune, actors, water-poets and such-like folk, and had fallen so low as to beg his board and lodging of the unfortunate John Churchyard of minor poetic fame.

In the meantime, the unfortunate Anne Cecil had returned in tears to her father's house, bringing with her three small daughters, the Ladies Elizabeth, Bridget and Susan de Vere. On June 5th, 1587, the Countess of Oxford died at Theobalds and less than two years later, on April 5th, 1589, Burleigh's own wife, Mildred, also died, so that at the time when he entered the ages of his three wealthiest wards in his Diary, he was sole guardian of three motherless grand-daughters. Of these, the eldest, the Lady Elizabeth de Vere, was fourteen years of age, old enough, according to the notions of that time, for marriage, and as an earnest of the fact that she was now in society, Burleigh had just procured her appointment as maid of honour to the Queen, along with Lady Bridget Manners, the elder sister of his young ward, Roger, Earl of Rutland.

From this brief record of the married life of Anne Cecil and Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, it now should be clear why Burleigh noted down the ages of his wards with such care. He had three grand-daughters to marry, and here were their obvious and predestined husbands. Of the three, Rutland was

still in the hands of his tutors, and Bedford had just been packed off to Cambridge, but the eldest, young Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, had turned sixteen and was now ripe for marriage. He had in the June preceding graduated as a Master of Arts from Cambridge and was now studying law and polite manners at Gray's Inn. Probably he had already made his congee at Court, and so no time was to be lost, if he was to make the right marriage.

To decide was to act. Probably on this very day of October 6th, Burleigh had revealed to his ward the path along which he was to travel. The young man had apparently been startled—at sixteen the fancy does not fly lightly to thoughts of matrimony—and he had pleaded for a year's grace, which Burleigh had benignantly granted him. But, in the meantime, while Southampton was enjoying the first thrill of being almost his own master, his wily old guardian was following up the attack elsewhere. Ever since the ill-fated and cantankerous second Earl of Southampton had died, his son had been left under the care of his mother, and, so far as Burleigh had permitted it, had enjoyed the benefits of family life amid a numerous company of young uncles and aunts at Cowdray House in Sussex, the home of his maternal grandfather, Anthony Browne, Lord Montagu. To the widowed Countess, accordingly, and to her father, Lord Montagu, Burleigh promptly wrote and made his offer of marriage. Lord Montagu accepted the offer with alacrity and promised his best endeavours in bringing his daughter and his grandson to an amenable state of mind. The Montagu title was not so old that an alliance with the house of Vere would not shed lustre upon it, and as a Roman Catholic his lordship would welcome any connexion with a minister so powerful as my Lord Treasurer. The Countess of Southampton, too, looked in relenting sort on the proposed match—on the whole, none more eligible would offer if they waited longer—but she was in no such hurry as her father or her son's guardian. As a mother, she could appreciate her son's desire for a fling into life before he settled down, and therefore, though she gave the proposal her blessing, she held that nothing would be lost by a little delay.

Unhappily, Burleigh was importunate. He was not accustomed to having his offers of marriage met in lukewarm fashion. As the summer of 1590 passed, the young Earl showed

little sign of settling down, and finally Burleigh wrote in some displeasure to Lord Montagu, and when the Countess came up to London, he sent Sir Thomas Stanhope over to sound her and find out where she stood on this question of her son's marriage. Sir Thomas reported in full and with commendable zeal the result of his interview with the Countess—his zeal was no doubt the greater for the fact that Burleigh had twitted him with trying to net the wealthy young nobleman for his own daughter.

"Talking with the Countess of Southampton," he wrote on July 15th, 1590, "she told me that you had spoken to her in that behalf [i.e. the marriage]. I replied she should do well to take hold of it, for I knew not where my Lord her son could be better bestowed. Herself could tell what a stay you would be to him and his, and for perfect experience did teach her how beneficial you had been to that lady's father [Lord Oxford], though by him little deserved. She answered I said well, and so she thought, and would do her best in the cause, but, saith she 'I do not find a disposition in my son to be tied as yet. What will be hereafter, time shall try, and no want shall be found on my behalf.'"²

Such passive approval was not enough for Burleigh. He summoned Lord Montagu to Oatlands, where he was staying in attendance on the Queen, and bespoke a little more vigorous prosecution of this highly important matter. Montagu hurried back to Cowdray, where his wife and grandson were staying, and demanded a more explicit statement of their sentiments, and then finally sent to Burleigh his own rather unsatisfactory report on the general situation (Sept. 19th, 1590).

"First," he writes, "my daughter affirms upon her faith and honour that she is not acquainted with any alteration of her son's mind from this your grandchild. And we have laid abroad unto him both the commodities and hindrances likely to grow unto him by change; and indeed receive to our particular speech this general answer, that your Lordship was this last winter well pleased to yield unto him a *further* respite of one year to ensure resolution in respect of his young years. I answered that this year which he speaketh of is now almost up, and therefore the greater reason for your Lordship in honour and in nature to see

² C. C. Stopes, *op. cit.*

your child well placed and provided for, whereunto my Lord gave me *this* answer, and was content I should impart the same to your Lordship. And this is the most as touching the matter I can now acquaint your Lordship with."³

Obviously, the young Earl was a most unwilling bridegroom and even showed some temper in replying to the arguments of his grandfather. And rightly or wrongly, he claimed a second year's respite from the toils of matrimony. The utmost that Lord Montagu could propose was a family conclave of the Cecils and Brownes in London, when he came up to London in the winter with his daughter. Presumably, the conclave debated the question, and, in all probability, Southampton made good his claim to a second year of grace, for when the year 1591 opened he was as far off as ever from being married to Lady Elizabeth de Vere.

The truth was Southampton's ambitions lay far beyond the scope of matrimony. When a student at St. John's College, Cambridge, among many other dissertations in Latin administered to his guardian, he had sent him one upon the theme that all men were incited to the practice of virtue by the hope of fame. And at this moment in his life he was animated by a vague and youthful desire to distinguish himself in some way or another—as a poet, perhaps, or, at any rate, a patron of poets, or as a soldier, or, failing that, as a propounder of new fashions in clothes at court. In after years he was to earn the reputation for being "fantastic" and "easily carried away,"⁴ in other words, he was romantic and something of a poseur, and, in all probability, both the romance and the pose were well on their way at the age of seventeen. He had already made his bow at court, and with his long curling auburn hair, which he wore down to his shoulders, his blue-grey eyes, his radiant complexion and the general pensiveness of his demeanour, he had made an impression upon the ever susceptible heart of the Virgin Queen, so much so, in fact, that the gossips were already talking of a new favourite to take the place of the Earl of

³ C. C. Stopes, *op. cit.*

⁴ So Lady Bridget Manners described him and his friend and fellow-ward, the Earl of Bedford, in 1594, when it was proposed that she should marry either one or other of them. Mary Harding to the Countess of Bedford; Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. XII.

Essex. But Southampton was not for the platonic courtships of an elderly spinster nor for the schemes and intrigues of the Court. The famous portrait at Welbeck Abbey gives us some clue into his character in this early period of his life. There he stands "in a suit of white" with a plumed helmet beside him and a richly inlaid corselet of armour lying on the floor behind him. The "white suit" is symbolical—it stands for the maiden heart, the white flower of a virgin youth, a soul far above all the little emptiness of love. And the helmet and the armour show which way his affections tend—towards war and deeds of prowess done upon the field of battle. At seventeen the pose of cold virginity was, probably, not yet fully developed; it grew in the next few years under the clumsy persecutions of Burleigh, but the martial ardours were there and straining to find some noble outlet.

At no time in his life was Southampton remarkable for his worldly wisdom. He had already given proof of that by his refusal to marry the grand-daughter of the most powerful man in the kingdom—a lady, too, of unexceptionable birth and the chief heiress of one of the noblest families in England. He was to give yet further proof of his "fantastic" disposition in the next few months by forming a friendship with the very last man with whom a youth of ordinary sagacity should have made friends. When he had first dawned upon the admiring court in all the splendour of his auburn hair, the Queen was, for the time being, without a platonic lover. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the most recent favourite, was temporarily in disgrace—for the time-honoured reason at the Virgin Queen's court—an unauthorised marriage; in his case he had secretly married Frances Walsingham, the young and flippant widow of his dead friend, Sir Philip Sidney. So the path to the Queen's favour and to all the pomp and circumstance of office lay open to the latest handsome stripling who should come up to Court, and Elizabeth in one way and another had been graciously pleased to let her liking for the young Earl of Southampton be known abroad. But with the light of the royal countenance beaming thus auspiciously upon him, with my Lord Treasurer to back him, if he only willed, with his most formidable rival out of his path, whom should Southampton choose for philosopher and friend but the very man whom he should have looked

upon as an enemy, a man quite fallen from the royal favour—Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex himself?

This, from a purely human point of view, was not so remarkable a choice after all. Leicester was dead and Sir Philip Sidney was dead, and Essex had stepped into their shoes. He was the rising hope of the patriotic and war-like party in the state which had been left without a leader by the death of Leicester in 1588; he was the glass of fashion and the mould of form, the Prince of the Youth of the nation, under whose standard were rallied all "the fiery, rash voluntaries with ladies' faces and fierce dragons' spleens," the young "fantastics" and the "springald paladins," as before they had followed the graver leadership of Sidney. In the company of Essex, Southampton touched life on many sides; he met Spenser, home from Ireland with the manuscript of his *Faerie Queene*, and he visited the theatres and made acquaintance with the actors, with whom Essex was always to remain a popular hero. But, best of all, in following this new friend, Southampton felt that he would ultimately be able to tread the path to that martial glory upon which his soul was bent, for, just at this moment, Essex was busily intriguing to lead an army into France, to fight on the side of the great continental champion of Protestantism, Henry of Navarre.

The last of the Valois kings, Henry III, had been stabbed by a crazy monk in 1589, and since then his successor, Henry of Navarre, had been waging more or less ineffectual war against the faction of the Guises in support of his claim to the crown. On the side of the Guises was Paris and the whole power of Spain; on the side of Henry of Navarre the northern states of France, particularly Normandy and Brittany. Finally in the late summer of 1590, the English Government, ever watchful and anxious where any machinations of Spain were concerned, decided to give aid to Henry of Navarre, by sending him a subsidy of £20,000 and a force of 4000 men to win and hold the Channel ports of Dieppe and Le Havre, which Great Britain was loath to see in the hands of a powerful enemy like Spain. The subsidy had, before the close of 1590, passed over into Henry's keeping, and the first batch of soldiers was already encamped outside the walls of Dieppe, under the leadership of Lord Willoughby d'Eresby and Sir John Norris. In England,

and particularly in London, with the fervours of the Armada victory not yet dead, the war was popular; Henry of Navarre was hailed as a great Protestant hero, and the citizens of London alone raised a force of 1000 men. To fan the popular enthusiasm, the theatres staged anti-Spanish plays, and some of the feeling of the hour is echoed in Marlowe's shapeless tragedy, *The Massacre of Paris*, in which the Guises play the part of villains. So far as there is any hero in this rambling production, it is Henry of Navarre, who is carried through St. Bartholomew's Eve and over the murdered bodies of Guise and Henry III to the throne of France, and is left at the end of the play uncrowned King, transmitting messages of friendship to Elizabeth, Queen of England. By these and similar plays, the campaign in France was kept before the eyes of the London public, and the names of the chief actors in the tale became common property. If Navarre was the hero of Marlowe's play, the Duke Dumaïne (in French, the Duc de Mayenne), sole surviving brother of Guise and chief of the League which opposed Henry, was one of its villains, and Henry's great general, the Marshal de Biron, grew to be so popular a character that in later years Chapman could devote a whole tragedy to his memory. Nor were the minor characters in the tale wholly unknown, such as Henri de Dunois, Duc de Longueville, the Governor of Normandy, who had declared on Henry's side, or the fire-eating Duc de Mercade (commonly called Mercurio) who had challenged the Catholic Prince de Dombes to a duel, or Henry's amiable diplomatist, the Marquis de la Mothe.

It was of this campaign that Essex wished to make himself the leader, and it was under his leadership that Southampton purposed to fight his way to glory. But for the time being, both were doomed to disappointment. Queen Elizabeth would not have a word to say to Essex as commander of the troops in France; over and above her displeasure with him on account of his marriage, she very rightly doubted his capabilities as a general. And as for Southampton, Burleigh was not going to allow him to leave the country, until he had done his duty by the Lady Elizabeth de Vere. On the whole, Southampton's case was the more hopeless of the two; Elizabeth might be wheedled, but on a question of marriage, Burleigh was adamant.

Foiled in all his efforts to join the troops in France by open means, Southampton had recourse to cunning. In January 1591 he obtained leave of absence from Court and travelled down to Titchfield in Hampshire. Now Titchfield lies only a few miles from Southampton, and in Southampton Water rode the transports for the Army of France, and without the city walls were encamped the troops, awaiting the favourable winds of spring to waft them across the Channel, so that there the warlike young Earl would be living in daily temptation. But then Titchfield House was the ancestral home of the Wriothesleys, and what could be more sweet and commendable than for Southampton to spend the winter with his mother and glance through his stewards' accounts?

For a time he kept up appearances. On January 9th he visited his name-city of Southampton and was solemnly accorded its freedom by the mayor and corporation.⁵ But by the end of February, the bird was flown. Probably in disguise and under his own sails he slipped over to France and landed in Dieppe. Thence on March 2nd, 1591, he wrote to Essex, who was still intriguing for the command in London, as follows—

"Though I have nothing to write about worth your reading, yet can I not let pass this messenger without a letter, be it only to continue the profession of service which I have heretofore made verbally unto your Lordship, which, howsoever in itself is of small value, my hope is, seeing it wholly proceed from a true respect born to your own worth, and from one who hath no better present to make you than the offer of himself to be disposed of by your commandment, your Lordship will be pleased in good part to accept it, and ever afford me your good opinion and favour, of which I shall be exceedingly proud, endeavouring myself always with the best means to deserve it. As I shall have opportunity to send into England, I will be bold to trouble your Lordship with my letter, in the meantime wishing your fortune may even prove answerable to your greatness of mind, I take my leave, etc. Dieppe, 2nd March."⁶

This breathless and involved letter, evidently written in a pleasant thrill of excitement, found its way into England and

⁵ C. C. Stopes, *op. cit.*

⁶ Salisbury Papers.

now reposes among the Salisbury Papers, a sure sign that it reached Burleigh's hands, through the medium of some spy, and never came to the Earl of Essex at all. By the beginning of April the young truant was back in London, studying Italian under "resolute" John Florio.

The dissipation of his martial hopes and dreams did not help to reconcile Southampton to the knowledge that, unless some miracle intervened, he was due for marriage in the following October. It was probably during this period of enforced idleness, when the future looked most forbidding, that he turned for solace to plays and poems. If he could not win fame upon the field of battle, at any rate, he would live in the poet's line. Probably, his first essays as a patron of the arts had been made in 1590. In that year Spenser came to town from Ireland with the manuscript of the *Faerie Queene* and made diligent search for a patron. According to legend, he called upon the Earl of Southampton at an hour in the morning when a young nobleman is only just waking from his well-earned slumbers and sent up his manuscript and waited below in suspense for a judgment. Southampton became so engrossed in the poem that he forgot to dress, but whenever he came upon a line that more than usually pleased his fancy, he sent his steward down with a gift of twenty pounds to the waiting poet and his apologies for his own delay in descending. As the number of pleasing lines mounted up with their accompanying fees of twenty pounds, he grew cautious and finally returned the manuscript to its author, with the message that, if he read the poem to the end, he would die a poor man. Probably, there is more poetry than truth in this anecdote, but perhaps here we have a glimpse of Southampton's fantastic methods of bestowing his patronage on poets.⁷ In any case, it is pleasant to suppose that our young Hippolytus was among the first to appreciate Spenser's high-flown tales of knights of chastity and temperance and to drink in the full and sensuous music of his verse.

Be that as it may, in the next two years Southampton had his full measure of dedications. First among his protégés in

⁷ Cf. with this anecdote the story that Southampton gave Shakespeare £1000 for his poems. Obviously, Southampton had a reputation for lavish and eccentric generosity to poets.

point of time was John Florio, who seems to have entered his service in April, 1591. Later came Barnabe Barnes, who aimed a sonnet at "the holy fire of his gracious eyes" in his *Parthenophil and Parthenope* (pr. May, 1593); and after him "the witty Juvenal," Tom Nash, with his picaresque romance of *Jack Wilton* and his "wanton elegie" entitled *The Choice of Valentines*, a poem of so erotic a tendency that it was not set up in print until this present age of chastity. But at some time in the late spring or early summer of 1591, Southampton made the acquaintance of "sweet Master Shakespeare," and was shrewd enough to realize that here he had made the greatest find of all. ✓

It has always been a matter for wonder among Shakespearean scholars why and where a great nobleman like Southampton struck up acquaintance with a mere rogue and vagabond of an actor like Will Shakespeare, but in reality there is little mystery in the whole question. Shakespeare did not differ from any other of the early Elizabethan dramatists in his reasons for coming up to London. Like Marlowe and Greene and Peele before him, he came as a poet, with the intention of making his way as a poet. But an absolute necessity for a poet in Elizabethan days was a noble patron, and since this was something difficult of attainment for an obscure school-master from Warwickshire, Shakespeare, like Marlowe and the other University wits, hired out his poetic gifts to the actors until such a time as chance should throw a wealthy nobleman with artistic tastes across his path. When at length that portent did arise, then, no doubt, Shakespeare fully intended to forswear the stage and devote himself to literature proper; in fact, at one time in his career, as Professor Adams has pointed out in his recent life of Shakespeare, when he had once won the ear of the Earl of Southampton, when, too, the theatres were closed on account of the plague and his own company of actors (the Earl of Pembroke's Servants) had been broken up, it seems likely that Shakespeare for a moment thought of quitting the theatre and devoting himself entirely to poetry of the type of *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. In any case, in the summer of 1591 his poetic ambitions were strong within him, and he was forever watching keenly for a possible patron, and in the young and susceptible Earl he seemed to have found one.

As for the place of their first meeting, it was surely in the theatre. Southampton's passion for plays a few years later became a theme of sarcastic and disapproving comment.⁸ Probably the passion first declared itself in these months of enforced idleness which followed upon his abortive attempt to take part in the war in France. As he sat upon the stage with his dog at his heels, and his pipe in his mouth, the tall, well-made man who played the parts of kings and old men would be pointed out to him; as often as not he would be informed that this was the poet of the very play in which he acted a minor part; this was Master Shakespeare, author in part of *Titus Andronicus*, the most popular tragedy, not excepting the *Spanish Tragedy* of Tom Kyd, upon the London stage; author, too, no doubt, at that time of that excellent Plautian farce, known in common speech as *The Errors*, and not a displeasing comedy of love, entitled *The [Two] Gentlemen of Verona*. And if Southampton ever witnessed a performance of *Titus Andronicus*, he must have realized that here, amid all the blood and lust of the tale, was a new poet, with a gift for pretty pathos, a warm and luxuriant imagination, which, in the love-scene in the forest between the Empress Tamora and Aaron the Moor attained a certain erotic ecstasy, which would not be displeasing to the ear of him to whom Nash dedicated his frigid and amorous *Choice of Valentines*.

It was a case of two needs meeting. Southampton wanted a poet all to himself, Shakespeare needed a patron for his wares. It is more than probable that in this first year of their acquaintance the famous "sugared sonnets" began to flow. A sonnet-sequence was, after all, a conventional tribute for a poet to pay to his patron. It was equally conventional, no doubt, for the poet to beg his patron to marry and beget children, so that his beauty should not die with him, but in this case there was a double meaning in such a plea, a perverse touch of humour which must have tickled Southampton's fantastic taste as much as it satisfied Shakespeare's own ironical disdain for the whole tribe of "wailful sonneteers" with their outworn conventions and flatteries.

⁸ "My Lord Southampton and Lord Rutland come not to the Court . . . they pass the time in London in merely going to plays everyday." White, in *Sidney Papers*, Oct. 25, 1599.

But while Southampton was playing with his poets and actors, matters were proceeding rapidly with the war in France. It must have come with a pang of envy and chagrin to Southampton to learn that at last his friend Essex had had his own way and had been appointed commander of the troops in France. On July 21st, 1591, the Earl, with his brother, Walter Devereux, was summoned to Richmond Palace, where the Queen gave him his commission and took a tearful and affecting farewell of him. A fortnight later Essex was in France. In the meanwhile, to emphasize the importance of the war and as a friendly action towards Henry of Navarre, the Queen had decided to make a Royal Progress through her faithful counties of Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire as far as Portsmouth and Southampton, where she intended reviewing the troops ere they sailed for Dieppe. Burleigh, as usual, drew up the plan of the Progress. The onus of the entertainment would fall upon the chief noblemen whose houses lay upon the road to Southampton and back—the Bishop of Winchester at Farnham, Lord Montagu at Cowdray, the Earl of Southampton at Titchfield and the Earl of Hertford at Elvetham. As usual, the shrewd old gentleman was killing two birds with one stone. He was arranging a purely public function, but at the same time, while at Cowdray and Titchfield, he could reopen the whole question of his grand-daughter's marriage and bring it to a conclusion, for Southampton's year of grace would be up on October 6th, only some five weeks after the visit to Titchfield. Moreover, with the Queen in the house to enforce his desires, and the Lady Elizabeth de Vere in attendance on her as a maid of honour, it would be difficult for Montagu or Southampton to back out of the bargain.

At once, all along the road to Southampton, there was a great hurrying to and fro in preparation for the Royal Visit. The Lord Chamberlain despatched waggon-loads of beer to the various country-houses at which the Queen and her long train of courtiers would stop, and wooden "standings" were raised at Cowdray and Titchfield from which Her Majesty and her ladies might indulge in the royal sport of deer-shooting.⁹ Lord Montagu and the Earl of Hertford hurried up to London to obtain the services of the poets for the entertainment with

⁹ *Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber*, as quoted in *Third Earl of Southampton*.

which they were to regale their august visitor, and were lucky enough to procure the famous Mr. John Lyly, Master of the Tents and Toils in the Revels Office, and of Thomas Watson and Nicholas le Breton.¹⁰ But Southampton had his own designs, and in working them out he was going to use his own poet. Burleigh was, after all, not the only man who could play a double game during a Royal Progress. If he needs must receive the Queen with masques and entertainments at Titchfield instead of following Essex to France, at any rate, he would find a way to checkmate Burleigh on the question of marriage, and in this task Shakespeare was to help him.

On or about August 1st, the Queen and the Court set out upon their travels. Lord Burleigh was in attendance as Master of the Ceremonies, and with him went, among others, his granddaughter, Lady Elizabeth de Vere, and Lady Bridget Manners as maids of honour. Mr. John Lyly and the poets accompanied them with the "Queen's Musitiens" and the Children of the Chapel Royal to perform in the Entertainments.¹¹ In a sort of unofficial attendance went various troupes of actors—the Earl of Pembroke's Servants (Shakespeare's company) and those of the Earl of Sussex and the Earl of Hertford.¹² Two nights were passed at Croydon, where the Children of the Chapel Royal regaled the citizens with a comedy, probably written by Tom Nash.¹³ From Croydon, the Court passed on to Sir William More's at Loseley, and thence on August 4th to Guildford. From Guildford they moved a slow ten miles to Farnham Castle, the seat of the Bishop of Winchester, and finally arrived at Cowdray House on the evening of August 18th, where the first great Entertainment of the Progress was held.

When Her Majesty with her train hove in sight, there was a sound of loud music from the palace towers which ceased suddenly as she set foot upon the draw-bridge. A giant porter in armour, bearing a club upon his shoulder, advanced to meet her, and after an elaborate and euphuistic speech of welcome, penned by Mr. Lyly, in which he hailed the Queen as "Time's

¹⁰ R. W. Bond, *Works of John Lyly*, Vol. 1.

¹¹ Nichol's *Royal Progresses*.

¹² Various town-records, as quoted by Tucker Murray in *Elizabethan Stage Companies*.

¹³ Murray's *Elizabethan Stage Companies*, sub Croydon.

Miracle," "Nature's Glory and the World's Wonder," he presented her with a golden key. The Queen pocketed the key, alighted from her coach, and embraced her hostess, the Lady Montagu, and her married daughter, the Lady Dormer. "The Mistress of the House," notes the recorder of the Entertainment with approval; "as it were weeping in her bosom, said 'O happy time! O joyful day!'"¹⁴

That night the Queen took her rest. The following day being Sunday, nothing of importance happened, save that a breakfast was served of three oxen and one hundred and forty geese. But on Monday at eight the Queen and her ladies were abroad on horseback in Virgin-white hunting costume, and rode through the park until they came to "a delicate bower," where the Queen's "musitiens" were playing. From this bower emerged a Nymph (in real life one of the choristers of the Chapel Royal), and "with a sweet song" presented Her Majesty with a cross-bow. Armed with this cross-bow, the Queen proceeded to three several "standings" in a paddock and there killed three or four deer amid the respectful applause of her subjects. The Countess of Kildare, presumably by accident, also killed one deer and was banished from the royal supper-table for the rest of the visit. In the afternoon, the Queen mounted a turret and beheld sixteen bucks "all having fair lawe, pulled down with greyhounds in a laund." On Tuesday, she left the ladies of the house to their own devices, and rode over to Oseburn Priory, where Lord Montagu and the male members of his family, arrayed as hermits, received her "in Batchelors' Hall" and gave her dinner. After dinner came another Entertainment from the pen of Mr. Lyly. A Pilgrim, clothed in a coat of russet velvet with scallop-shells of silver on his hat, after a speech of compliment and allegory, led her to a tree on which hung all the escutcheons of the leading gentry of the county. From the branches of this tree, the customary Wild Man of pastoral drama, clad in ivy, addressed another complimentary speech to the Queen, and then suddenly, with a loud blowing of cornets, a company of gentlemen rode past in pursuit of a deer. Wednesday was given to music in the park, to fishing and to a Masque of Anglers, and on Thursday the country folk, headed by the Curate and

¹⁴ Nichol's *Royal Progresses*.

the Schoolmaster, came with an address of welcome and danced on the lawn to the tune of pipe and tabor "to the great pleasure of all the beholders and the gentle applause of Her Majesty."¹⁵

On Friday, the Queen rose early, and after knighting half a dozen of her hosts, departed on her way to Chichester. From Chichester by slow degrees she made her way to Portsmouth, where on September 1st she took the march-past of the troops, and thence passed on to Titchfield House. Here the Earl of Southampton awaited her and Burleigh with grim malice. He had an entertainment in store for her, written by the hand of a quite new poet, but it was not a tedious masque. It was a comedy, and it bore the mocking Euphuistic title of "*Lore's Labour's Lost*," and it was performed for the first time in the park of Titchfield House on the afternoon of September 2nd, 1591.

Before we pass on to witness the first performance of this play, let us stop a moment to examine it. It is different from all Shakespeare's comedies, with the single exception of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The reason for this general unlikeness and for this single likeness lies in the fact that, alone among Shakespeare's comedies, both plays were written for a performance before the Court. When we compare the two more closely, we shall find certain striking similarities. Both are poetical and rhetorical rather than dramatic; both take for their main theme a courtly romance of love, which is unravelled in a more or less mock-serious vein; both have a minor plot which is, to a certain extent, a burlesque of the main plot, and both culminate in the same device—a show acted before a highly critical audience of courtiers by a troupe of village yokels. Incidentally both plays spin fancies round the theme of virginity, and fling a compliment or two in the face of the "imperial votaress," Queen Elizabeth, directly in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and by implication in *Love's Labour's Lost*. Add to all these that both plays contain one of the stock incidents, as we have seen at Cowdray, of a Progress Entertainment—to wit, a hunting scene, and we may rest assured that they were originally composed for special performances before the Queen and her Court.

¹⁵ Nichol's *Royal Progresses*.

Or, again, look at the structure of the plays. It is the same in both cases. There are two plots, a serious and a humorous one, and each plot is in the hands of a different group of actors. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, we have Navarre, his courtiers and the ladies of France on the one hand, and Don Armado, Holofernes and Sir Nathaniel on the other. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* we have Theseus, Hippolyta, the lovers and the fairies on the one hand, and Bottom and his "base mechanicals" on the other. Neither of these two plots really join hands until the last act, and then they do so in the same fashion—in the device of the play acted before a group of mischievous courtiers—*The Pageant of the Nine Worthies* in *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Tragical Comedy of Pyramus and Thisbe* in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

In reality, both these two plays are built up round the framework of a Court Masque and are acted by the usual performers of a Court Masque. In its earlier stages, a Masque was a more or less standardized affair. It was performed in two sections by two different groups of actors—the courtiers or Masquers proper and the professional actors or Mummers. The first section was the Masque proper and was in the hands of the courtiers. Accompanied by the Mummers as their musicians and torch-bearers, they made their entry to the ladies seated on the "state" in masks and disguise and performed a dance before them. After that, still masked and disguised, they drew the ladies out to the Grand Dance, and under the fiction of incognito, many painful truths or humorous personalities would be bandied among the dancers. Then, at the close of the dance, the gentlemen would unmask and take their seats beside the ladies on the "state," and witness the performance of the Antic-Masque by the Mummers, which, as its name implies, was of a humorous nature. The Antic-Masque over, the gentlemen rose, took leave of the ladies in a final dance, and then withdrew in procession, the Mummers filing off in one direction and the Masquers in another, often to the accompaniment of a choric song, known as the "Going-Out Song."

In the last act of *Love's Labour's Lost*, this Masque construction is obvious enough. The King of Navarre and his courtiers enter masked and disguised as Russians and are ushered in by

minstrelsy from a rout of blackamoors.¹⁶ After a break-down performance before the ladies, the gentlemen draw them out to a dance, during which, under cover of the masks, both sides indulge in some very pointed badinage. Then the King and his gentlemen withdraw and unmask, and return to witness the *Pageant of the Nine Worthies*, as performed by Don Armado and the villagers. At the close of the Pageant comes The Device of the Owl and the Cuckoo, or of Spring and Winter with its songs, and then Don Armado comes forward and says "The words of Mercury are harsh after the songs of Apollo. You (i.e. the Masquers proper, Navarre and his companions) that way; we (i.e. the Mummings, the Nine Worthies) this way," and the actors file off in two processions as the play closes.¹⁷

This business of the Masque raises one last interesting point, and that is, who were the performers of *Love's Labour's Lost* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*? When the Masque became a Court Comedy, the courtiers, of course, took no part in the acting, but delegated their share of the performance to the Children of the Revels and other hired entertainers at Court. Now—if we look at the two plays closely, we shall notice the large number of boy parts in both—the Princess of France, Rosaline, Maria, Katharine, Jaquenetta and Moth the page in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Hippolyta, Hermia, Helena, Titania, Oberon, Puck and all the fairies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Obviously, Shakespeare allowed himself so many boy-parts for the simple reason that he could count upon boys to act them, and, for that matter, to sing them, if need be. Now in a Court Comedy, the distinction between the Masquers and the Mummings still held good in the assignment of parts to two different groups of actors, one group representing the courtier, the other the professional, element. The more serious portions of the

¹⁶ The blackened faces of the Mummings were an old tradition inherited from the old Mummung Plays of the country-side.

¹⁷ In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* the Masque structure is less obvious. The Masquers proper are the Fairies, and the Grand Dance is performed in the "fairy roundel" round Titania's couch in Act II, Sc. 2. The Tragical Comedy of Pyramus and Thisbe with its concluding Bergomask is, of course, the Antic-Masque. The closing Epithalamium song of the Fairies, in which the "device" of the Masque is explained, is the Going-Out Song. The song "Through the house give glimmering light," however, shows that the Fairies here are torch-bearers, and, therefore, Mummings as well as Masquers in the final scene.

play were acted by the accredited performers of the Court, the Children of Paul's or the Children of the Chapel Royal, the humorous portions were acted by "clowns" from some troupe of professional actors. So we may come to this conclusion, that the courtly and more or less serious part of *Love's Labour's Lost*, the King of Navarre, Berowne, the Princess, Boyet, etc., were performed by the Children of the Chapel Royal, (who, we know, accompanied the Queen on this particular Progress), while the comic parts of Don Armado and the village worthies were taken by clowns from one of the many professional troupes which were, at that time, on the road between London and Southampton.

Don Armado and his cronies deserve a word or two. It is supposed by some that here Shakespeare is sketching from real life—that Don Armado in the flesh was a certain fantastical Spaniard hight Antonio Perez, and that Holofernes and Sir Nathaniel are memories of the Vicar and the Schoolmaster of Stratford-on-Avon. As a matter of fact, they are no more than typical "clown" parts written for the ordinary Progress Entertainment, and they have strayed into the play from the Italian *Commedia dell' Arte*. They are our old friends the Braggart Soldier, the Pedant and the Clerk. Sidney was the first man to introduce any of them, so far as we know, into a Progress Entertainment. When Elizabeth visited his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, at Waltham in 1578, he regaled her with a play entitled *The Lady of May*, in which much fun was made of Rhombus the Pedant who with the villagers came to welcome the Queen with a confused and bombastic speech, half English and half Latin. Later on, in his euphuistic Court Comedies, Lyly followed in the same line, and Don Armado and his page Moth are simply a repetition of Sir Thopas and his page Epiton in *Endimion*.

One last point, the *mise-en-scène* of *Love's Labour's Lost*, and we pass on to its first performance. *Love's Labour's Lost* differs from all Shakespeare's other plays in that it shows no change of scene. It begins, passes and closes in the park of the King of Navarre's palace. There is no possible sub-division, either, into scenes and acts. As fast as one group of actors passes out, another takes its place. Now let us examine some of the features of the landscape. To the back of the scene is a hill up which the King of Navarre rides with his hounds and

horns in Act II. Nearer to view is a copse into which the Princess of France retires to shoot the deer in Act III. Before the copse stands her pavilion. On one side in the distance lies the Lodge, in which Don Armado lives: on the other side is "the curious-knotted garden" round the palace. And in the centre of the scene, dominating the whole play, is an oak tree. Under its shade, the King and his friends discuss the principles of their Academe; on the bench, round its trunk, sit Don Armado and Holofernes and bandy euphuistic chop-logic; and in its branches sits Berowne, "like a demi-god in the sky," to spy out the back-slidings of his fellow-hermits. These details of the landscape, without being emphasized, are constantly implied, and it wants little effort of the imagination to realize that they were actually there before the eyes of the audience, the hill, the lodge, the garden, and particularly the oak-tree, and that the whole play was performed in the open air in a nobleman's park.¹⁸

Now let us witness the first performance of *Love's Labour's Lost* in Titchfield Park, and try to gage the conflict of emotions with which the Queen and Burleigh followed the various incidents of the play. Remember that a Court Comedy was stuffed full of allusions to contemporary persons and events, which were patent to its first audience but are as much Greek to posterity as the gags of a modern vaudeville show will be a hundred years hence. But remember, too, that these ephemeral allusions were rendered all the more clear to the first audience by the fact that all the actors, be they paladins of France or shepherds in Arcadia, were arrayed in contemporary doublet and hose or ruffs and fardingales, and were made up in discreet imitation of the persons in real life of whom they were an allegory on the stage. Let us imagine the Queen as seated on a dais in the Park before a wide-spreading oak-tree, with Lady Elizabeth de Vere and Lady Bridget Manners and the other maids of honour grouped around. Hard by stands Lord Burleigh¹⁹ in his favourite pose, leaning upon his long white staff of office; as usual, he is clothed in a long black surcoat, with a chain over his shoulders and a little round black hat perched on his

¹⁸ As Sidney's *Lady of May* had been performed in Wanstead Forest.

¹⁹ Burleigh was at Titchfield House in attendance on the Queen on Sept. 2nd, 1591, v. his letter dated on that day "from the Court at Titchfield," *Rymer's Foedera*, Vol. XVI.

head. Stretched at the royal feet, like Hamlet in the play, lies the host and purveyor of the entertainment, my Lord of Southampton. A fanfare of trumpets; the Queen leans forward with an eager smile, and the play begins.

From behind the tree emerge four small boys. There is something familiar in their aspect. One of them, no doubt, bears a strong resemblance to the Earl of Essex; another, most certainly, in his suit of white, with his curling auburn hair hanging down upon his shoulders, is a small edition of the Earl of Southampton. As the comedy proceeds the audience recognize in the quick play of wit and fancy, the contradictory humours, the gay contempt for all pedantry of this auburn-haired boy something of their host's own tricks and foibles of speech. Apparently, he is railing at an absurd vow of celibacy that his companions have sworn to keep for a three years' space. The Queen smiles. This unknown poet of Lord Southampton's knows enough about his task to open up on the highly commendable theme of virginity, just as Mr. Lyly had done. The dialogue continues, and it turns out that the scene of this play is laid in the park of the King of Navarre, and that one of the characters is no less a personage than the King of Navarre himself, and that the other three gentlemen go by the names of Berowne, Longaville and Dumain. Think of that now! and only yesterday her Majesty was reviewing the troops at Portsmouth, which were going to help the King of Navarre in real life and the Marshal Biron and the Duc de Longueville to fight against the Duc de Mayenne. Certainly this new poet is right up to date in his choice of names! And now the play proceeds and it appears that the King of Navarre has somewhat carelessly forgotten that he is pledged to marry the Princess of France, and that that lady is now knocking at the gates of the park, with the full intention of forcing the marriage. The Queen laughs heartily over this incredible *bévue*; it promises an interesting complication of the virginity *motif*. But my Lord Burleigh looks startled, and the rest of the audience imitate the Queen's laughter with a far-away look in their eyes—had not my Lord of Southampton forgotten a contract of marriage to a certain lady in the audience, and was not my Lord Burleigh here at Titchfield, amongst other things, to enforce that marriage?

However, all such reflections vanish with the entry of the Clowns or Mummers from some itinerant troupe of nobleman's "Servants," who are following the Progress. First comes our old friend, the Braggart. Obviously and of course, he is a Spaniard and his name is Don Armado, in honour of the great Armada, defeated three years since. And if Mr. John Lyly has followed the Court up from Cowdray, it is his turn to look sour. Don Armado and his page Moth are Sir Thopas and Epiton all over again, but the jargon affected by Armado is a very impudent parody of the style of Euphues. Then after a comic scene between the fantastic Spaniard, his tuneful page, the village constable and a typical English country bumpkin, the clowns pass out, and the doors of the pavilion open and out step four young ladies and a little old man. This is the Princess of France, with her three ladies, Rosaline, Maria and Katharine, and her male chaperone, the Lord Boyet, come to insist upon the terms of marriage. And now here comes another thrill. The Princess is tawny-haired, arrayed in virgin white, the very image of her Majesty when she shot the deer from a "standing" in Titchfield Park only a few hours since.²⁰ And the dark-eyed Lady Rosaline—is she not a little like the Lady Elizabeth de Vere in the audience? And Lord Boyet? he wears a long black surcoat, he has a little round black hat on his head, a gold chain over his shoulders, a white staff in his hand. No wonder my Lord Burleigh looks glum! And again the minds of the audience fly to alien themes—my Lord Burleigh's three grand-daughters, his three wealthy wards, the unconscionable time my Lord of Southampton has been about marrying the eldest of the grand-daughters.

But the King of Navarre and his three gentlemen have entered, and good-bye to celibacy! One and all they are struck to the heart by the bright eyes of the ladies. Only now it is the turn of the ladies to affect hardness of heart. And what, ask the audience of themselves, may *that* mean? Does my Lord of Southampton hereby dutifully give notice that he has surrendered to his fate? If so, this strange new poet has stumbled on an interesting complication. It appears that the Lord Ber-

²⁰ That she had done so is evidenced by the entry in the Royal Household accounts of payment for two "standings" in Titchfield Park, for Sept. 1591.

owne of the play cannot get married to the Lady Rosaline, unless that boy who is dressed up to look like the Queen consents to marry the King of Navarre, Her Majesty's ally in real life. How intriguing! What does her Majesty think of that? However, her Majesty is simpering complacently and not thinking of that at all.

After another interlude from Don Armado and his page and the village yokel, in the course of which Berowne transmits a love-letter to Rosaline, there comes a loud peal of trumpets and hunting horns, and the King and his gentlemen go riding up the hill in pursuit of a deer, just as the gentlemen at Cowdray had ridden past the Queen during the Masque of the Pilgrim and the Wild Man in the tree. Then the Princess enters with her ladies, accompanied by a forester carrying a cross-bow. After a little badinage with Boyet and Costard the yokel, she takes the cross-bow from the forester's hands and disappears into the copse to shoot the deer. A moment later there is a sound of loud cheering, and she returns triumphant, with the foresters dragging the slain deer behind them, and the whole audience applauds with a right good will, while the Queen looks demurely down the side of her nose. Then, with a turn of the wrist, we are introduced to Holofernes the Schoolmaster and Sir Nathaniel the Curate who concoct learned odes and lyrics upon the slaying of the deer, and arrange with Don Armado to perform the Pageant of the Nine Worthies before the court. And then we next find Berowne sitting in the tree, and overhearing his three companions in celibacy avowing their passion for the ladies of France. One and all they forswear celibacy and resolve to approach their *inamoratas* under cover of a Masque of Russians.

The last scene of the play is given up to the Masque and the Antic-Masque. The King and his friends enter and pay their court, in the disguise of Russians, but they are discomfited by the superior wit of the ladies and retire in confusion. Eventually they return in their proper characters, and are graciously received into favour, and sit down happily beside their affianced wives to witness the Pageant of the Nine Worthies as performed by Armado and Holofernes and the village yokels. But by this time the Queen is looking as black as thunder. This is the most impudentest play of all the rest! So this is what my

Lord Berowne-Southampton would give her to understand—he will marry the Lady Rosaline-Elizabeth de Vere on the day on which she marries the King of Navarre—not before! And he is actually going to wind up this comedy of his with that red-haired boy pairing off with his King of Navarre. Nothing but a miracle can save the play now from breaking up in disorder, and accordingly the miracle happens. The King and the Princess, Berowne and Rosaline, Longaville and Maria, Dumain and Katharine are all sitting hand in hand, when suddenly a strange gentleman enters with a broad grin on his face (was he plain Will Shakespeare in real life?): “God save you, madam,” he says to the Princess. “Welcome, Mercade,” replies the Princess; “but that thou interruptest our merriment.” “I am sorry, Madam,” answers Mercade, with a deep bow; “for the news I bring is heavy in my tongue. The king your father—” “Dead, for my life!” says the Princess, languidly. “Even so, my tale is told,” replies Mercade, and goes out with the grin still on his face.

The marriage is off! Love’s Labour is lost! For one year the Princess must go home and mourn her father’s death, for one year (more) Berowne will be unable to marry his Rosaline, and so with one final skirmish of wit the comedy draws to a close. “Our wooing doth not end like an old play,” says Berowne, turning with a mischievous smile to the audience; “Jack hath not his Jill.”

The Queen had been kept in a most charming state of suspense, and she graciously deigned to be pleased with the play. In fact, she called for it again in after years, and *Love’s Labour’s Lost* is the one play of Shakespeare’s for which we possess documentary evidence that it was acted before her at Court (title-page of 1598 Quarto). Whether she took the hint which it conveyed and recommended Lord Burleigh to grant the Earl of Southampton another year of grace, who shall say? Probably she did, for Southampton did not marry Lady Elizabeth de Vere in October of 1591, nor yet again in October of 1592. In fact he never married her at all. Instead he gave himself up more and more to the patronage of poets, and in April 1593 appeared Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis*, dedicated in modest and dutiful terms to the Earl of Southampton. This poem, in reality, is no more than an expansion of the love-scene in the

wood in *Titus Andronicus* between Tamora and Aaron the Moor; it is enacted to the same music of distant hunting horns and baying dogs, and some of the similes and metaphors are the same. But in place of Aaron with his raven hue, we have "the rose-cheeked Adonis," and Adonis, with his contempt of love and his ardour in the chase, is our fantastic and virginal young friend, the Earl of Southampton—do not the Sonnets say "Describe Adonis, and the counterfeit is poorly imitated after you." Thanks to this poem, the state of Southampton's affections where love and marriage were concerned, became notorious to the world, and the case of Lady Elizabeth de Vere was now hopeless.

Finally Burleigh gave up the chase. In 1594 he broke off the contract upon the payment by Southampton of the good round sum of £5000 as balm to the wounded heart of the Lady Elizabeth.²¹ With this sum for dowry, he sought to affiance the lady elsewhere. Having failed with his eldest ward, he tackled the next eldest, the young Earl of Bedford, but that gentleman took refuge in the arms of the clever and beautiful Lucy Harrington, Ben Jonson's beloved Countess of Bedford. He then tried the "wizard" Earl of Northumberland, the friend of Raleigh and Kit Marlowe, but, no doubt, drew back on account of that nobleman's rather sinister reputation. Finally, in 1595, he managed to procure a husband in a quite unexpected quarter. On April 16th, 1593 Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange and Earl of Derby, had died quite suddenly, so suddenly indeed that the scandal-mongers did not hesitate to say that he had been poisoned by Lord Burleigh, because he wished to marry his grand-daughter to Ferdinando's brother and heir, William Stanley. Herein, however, they were arguing after the event. Affianced to the new Earl, Lady Elizabeth de Vere most certainly was, and eventually the marriage was celebrated with great pomp and circumstance on January 26th, 1595, at the royal palace of Greenwich in the presence of the Queen.

This marriage raises one last point of Shakespearean scholarship. Francis Meres in his famous catalogue of Shakespeare's plays (1598), mentions one, a comedy, which is not to be found in the Folio of 1623, or anywhere else —*Love's Labour's Won*.

²¹ Stopes, *Third Earl of Southampton*.

It is now pretty generally conceded that this is simply a variant for the title of one of the comedies already in the Folio. The problem is, which?

Now it may be remembered that Ferdinando Stanley had been the patron of the company of actors to which Shakespeare belonged in 1593-4. On his death, they passed temporarily under the patronage of his widow, Alice, Countess of Derby (the Cybele of Milton's *Arcades* and a distinguished patroness of Masques). When the new Earl of Derby was married in state at court, it was only natural that the Servants of the widowed Countess should be conscribed for the marriage entertainments along with the Children of the Chapel Royal. Wherefore Shakespeare, the accredited playwright of the troupe, found himself called upon to furnish forth a Prothalamium play in honour of the occasion, constructed on much the same lines as his *Love's Labour's Lost* of three years back. And by the irony of time he was called upon to write this, his second play at court, to grace the marriage of the very same lady from whose arms he had helped the Earl of Southampton to escape by means of his first court comedy. The result was a pleasant and innocuous comedy of classic lovers and English elves, which Shakespeare entitled vaguely *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, although it was first acted during the winter and the events with which it deals take place on the eve of the first of May. But the wits and cynics at court could not forget the long and tedious journey that Lord Burleigh had made before he found a husband for his grand-daughter. Nor could they forget, either, that this fellow Shakespeare had written a few years back an impudent comedy entitled *Love's Labour's Lost*, which had been the means of helping a certain fantastic nobleman to evade marriage with this new Countess of Derby. And so they forthwith dubbed this new play—*Love's Labour's Won*.²²

One more word, and we have done with *Love's Labour's Lost*. Eventually, Southampton fell into disgrace at court for making a secret marriage with another maid of honour, Elizabeth Vernon, a cousin of his friend, Essex. Then, with his two

²² Probably Berowne's gibe about "Jack not having Jill" is discreetly echoed by Puck in his "Jack shall have Jill, naught shall go ill" as he squeezes the flower-juice in Lysander's eye in Act III. Sc. 2. l. 460.

former fellow-wards, Bedford and Rutland, he took a leading part in the Essex rebellion, and, after the execution of Essex, was confined in the Tower during the pleasure of Her Majesty. James I, on his accession, released him, and in gratitude Southampton invited him and his Queen and his brother-in-law, the King of Denmark, to an entertainment at his London House on the evening of January 12th, 1605.²³ Shakespeare and Burbage and the Globe Players were called upon to perform a comedy, and the comedy they performed was—*Love's Labour's Lost*. Probably, Southampton felt himself to be both hero and creator of that play, and in Berowne he beheld the picture of his lost Adonis youth.

AUSTIN K. GRAY

²³ Stopes, *op. cit.*

[Note on the Elvetham Entertainment, Sept. 1591.—In Act IV of *Love's Labour's Lost*, Dumain sings a song, beginning

"Upon a day, alack the day
Love, whose month is ever May."

This May-song was subsequently printed separately under Shakespeare's name in the *Sonnets Set to Sundry Notes of Music*. In rhythm and metre and its May-time motif, (and probably in tune, therefore) it is similar to the Plowmen's or Three Men's Song, commonly called *Phyllis and Corydon* and ascribed to Nicholas Le Breton, which so pleased the Queen at the Elvetham Entertainment. The song begins

"In the merry month of May
In the morn by break of day"

and was set to "an old tune." Probably the Children of the Chapel Royal brought this tune along with them as part of their *répertoire* for the Progress and had many May-songs set to it by different poets.

Mr. Arthur Acheson (*Shakespeare's Lost Years*), with some reason, traces back Oberon's speech about the maiden singing on the dolphins back while "certain stars shot madly from their spheres," to the Water Pageant of Tritons and Nereids at Elvetham, which was accompanied by a firework display. To this may be added the Masque of Aureola, The Faerie Queen (also at Elvetham) in which that lady announces herself as the wife of Auberon, and the connection between the Elvetham Entertainment and Shakespeare's second court-play seems clear.

Finally, Shakespeare may have been present at Elvetham as a critic. Falstaff's famous mock-euphuistic simile of the camomile actually occurs seriously in one of the Elvetham lyrics.]

XXVI. SHAKESPEAREAN CRITICISM IN THE *TATTLER* AND THE *SPECTATOR*

The contribution made to the liberalization of neo-classical criticism by the small but interesting body of Shakespearean comment in the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*, deserves more than the passing mention it has hitherto received. The first to point out the entirely unclassical character of some of this material was apparently John Foster, Victorian biographer and man of letters. He notes specifically the absence of any set analysis or fine spun theory about Shakespeare's art, and the spontaneous outbursts of admiration for his philosophy, poetry, ethics and passion, which characterize much of Steele's remarks.¹ G. A. Aitken, in his edition of the *Tatler*, refers to Steele's plan for improving the "vitiating tastes" of his contemporaries by means of stage representations of the noble characters of Shakespeare and others.² Lounsbury discusses Addison's attitude towards the problems of poetic justice and tragi-comedy. Mr. Harold V. Routh³ observes that Steele discovered in Shakespeare a sublime moralist of middle class life at a time when a poet was generally valued for his rhetoric rather than for any serious reflections on men and manners. Professor Nichol Smith, in his volume of Shakespearean essays,⁴ dwells upon Addison's attitude towards Shakespeare's disregard of the "rules," that veritable touchstone of neo-classical criticism. These remarks are obviously in the nature of chance observations. No attempt has yet been made, as far as the writer is aware, to examine this critical opinion in its relation to the whole history of eighteenth century criticism of Shakespeare. This, therefore, is the purpose of the present paper.

Shakespearean criticism in the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* centered itself mainly upon four points: first, upon *Shakespeare's* dramatic theory and the problem of his neglect of the rules; second, upon an appreciation of his art in the matter of style and stage technique; third, upon an exposition of the ethical value

¹ John Forster, "Sir Richard Steele," in *Biographical Essays*, pp. 172ff.

² *Tatler*, ed. Aitken, I, xxii.

³ *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, ix, 42.

⁴ D. Nichol Smith, *Shakespearean Criticism - a Selection*.

of his sentiments; and finally, upon an essentially romantic admiration for character, plot, and situation.

With the strictly Horatian theory of dramatic construction as formulated by the French school, neither Addison nor Steele seem to have had much sympathy. Their hearty contempt for the rule-bound critic is nowhere better expressed than in the rollicking satire on Sir Timothy Tittle, the man about town in the *Tatler*, who is disgusted with the rehearsal of a play in which the unities are not properly observed, and who breaks off his engagement to the young lady upon whom he has been calling when she persists in the heretical belief that the purpose of comedy is pleasure.⁵ Addison rebukes critics who form their opinions not by direct contact with the works of the authors, but by the commentaries of the French school, who, in short, "without entering into the sense and soul of an author," attempt to sit in judgment upon him and pronounce him perfect or defective in accordance with preconceived mechanical rules.

How does all this apply to Shakespeare? To both Addison and Steele, as indeed to many neo-classicists, Shakespeare stood in a class by himself. He was not to be judged by the laws of Rapin and Bossu, much less by the rules of native "smatterers in criticism" who misinterpreted Aristotle and the ancients, and deliberately shut their eyes to poetic merit. Shakespeare, it is true, was frequently "irregular"; he was even occasionally "wild." But genius is its own excuse; it never submits to the corrections and restraints of "art." Nay, it is sheer impertinence to mark out limits for "boundless wit."⁶ In one of his characteristically analytical papers Addison distinguishes two classes of geniuses: the first consisting of those who "formed themselves" by rules, and the second, of those "great natural geniuses that were never disciplined or broken by rules of art." Shakespeare belongs to the latter.⁷ It is in this respect, therefore, that Addison and Steele differed from neo-classical extremists. What to Rowe seemed serious errors of judgment in dramatic theory and to Rymer unpardonable

⁵ *Tatler*, 165.

⁶ "What critic dares prescribe what's just and fit,
Or mark out limits for such boundless wit!"

—Steele's Prologue to Phillips' *Distrest Mother*.

⁷ *Spectator*, 160.

sins in plot construction, ethics and poetry, these two were willing to ignore as matters of secondary importance, completely overbalanced by excellencies of expression and sentiment.

Our critics do not seem sensible, [says Addison,] that there is more beauty in the works of a great genius who is ignorant of the rules of art, than in those of a little genius who knows and observes them. . . . Our inimitable Shakespeare is a stumbling block to the whole tribe of these rigid critics. Who would not rather read one of his plays, where there is not a single rule of the stage observed, than any production of a modern critic where there is not one of them violated? *

Addison was, however, too much of a true classicist to ignore the value of formal rules and rigid precepts. Rules are good in themselves when applied to certain types of poetic composition—to the poetry of Milton, for example—but they must in turn yield to the requirements of dramatic art, especially when the creating spirit is that of a genius.

Addison's attitude towards the vexed question of Shakespeare's "art" is admirably summed up in a short passage which glows with as warm a tribute to the poet as is to be found anywhere in the whole range of neo-classical criticism, a passage comparable only to the "Gothic architecture" tribute of Pope, or the "silver-in-the-melting-pot" metaphor of Dryden.

Shakespeare was indeed born with all the seeds of poetry, and may be compared to the stone in Pyrrhus's ring, which, as Pliny tells us, had the figure of Apollo and the nine muses in the veins of it, produced by the spontaneous hand of nature, without any help from art. †

Another matter of dramatic theory on which Addison held liberal views was the notion of poetic justice. The idea that virtue in distress ought invariably to be delivered and made happy was apparently a very popular one in neo-classical circles. Several of Shakespeare's plays were amended in order to distribute rewards and punishments more equitably. Even Dr. Johnson, writing nearly half a century later, felt uneasy at the thought of a Cordelia executed in prison. "A play," he says, "in which the wicked prosper and the virtuous miscarry may doubtless be good . . . but I cannot be easily persuaded that . . . if other excellencies are equal, the audience will not always rise better pleased from the final triumph of persecuted

* *Spectator*, 592. Steele expresses similar sentiments in *Englishman*, 7.

† *Spectator*, 592.

virtue."¹⁰ To Addison the whole notion was a "ridiculous doctrine in modern criticism." Like Hazlitt, he saw that there was no attempt in Shakespeare to force an interest, no prejudice for or against a character. Addison mentions several plays in which the doctrine is not carried out, among them especially *Othello*, and *King Lear*.

King Lear is an admirable tragedy of the same kind, as Shakespeare wrote it; but as it is reformed according to the chimerical notion of poetic justice, in my humble opinion it has lost half its beauty.¹¹

Addison takes pains, however, to acknowledge that some very excellent plays have been written, framed upon the theory of poetic justice. He does not argue against that method of writing tragedies. He is concerned solely with those who would establish the doctrine as the *only* method, and thereby "very much cramp the English tragedy."

On the subject of tragi-comedy there is little to note in the Shakespearean passages of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*. This was a matter which especially drew the censure of Rowe and Dennis and Pope. Addison does, as a matter of fact, denounce the mixing of the two as a "monstrous invention" of the English stage, but curiously enough omits all reference to Shakespeare.¹² Probably here, too, the "irregularity" involved was written off to the account of Shakespeare's genius.

The second matter with which Shakespearean criticism in the two periodicals concerns itself is the poet's stage technique. Shakespeare's skill in characterization and in managing supernatural elements is frequently commented upon. In one of the very first numbers of the *Tatler*, Addison takes up the question of the introduction of imaginary characters in tragedy. An age that tolerated spectacular perversions of *Lear* and *Macbeth* that delighted with the merely unusual, that was spellbound by the representation of witches and fairies, was likely to run to extremes in exploiting the possibilities of stage "mechanics." Against this tendency both Addison and Steele exert a wholesome restraining influence. Addison tells of

¹⁰ Johnson's ed. of Shakespeare (1765) vi, 159.

¹¹ *Spectator*, 40; see also *Spectator*, 548. For Hughes's attitude towards the "mending" of Shakespeare's plays see *Spectator*, 539.

¹² *Spectator*, 40.

visiting the Playhouse for the "first rehearsal of the new thunder," of seeing lightnings that "flash more briskly than heretofore" and clouds "better furbelowed and more voluminous," of noticing a "violent storm locked up in a great chest that is designed for the *Tempest*."¹³ Addison finds no fault with the artifices provided they are "introduced with skill and accompanied by proportionate sentiments in the speeches." But such, unfortunately, is not often the case. He ridicules mechanical efforts to "give the sublime" to tragedies by introducing ghostly tenants of the world of spirits. The best example of the successful use of these stage devices is afforded by Shakespeare.

The appearance of the ghost in *Hamlet* is a master-piece in its kind, and wrought up with all the circumstances that can create either attention or horror. The mind of the reader is wonderfully prepared for his reception by the discourses that precede it: his dumb behaviour at his first entrance strikes the imagination very strongly; but every time he enters he is still more terrifying. Who can read the speech with which young Hamlet accosts him without trembling?¹⁴

Steele, too, in commenting on Shadwell's *Moll White, or the Lancashire Witches*, notes that the use of witchcraft is a proper "machine" in tragedy, "where the business is dark, horrid, and bloody," but that it is absurdly out of place in comedy. Here, again, Shakespeare has shown the way. The incantations of the witches in *Macbeth* have a solemnity adapted to that tragedy, and fill the mind with a suitable horror. Besides, are not the witches as much a part of the story itself as the characters of the very principals? Subjects of this kind, concludes Steele, are always disagreeable; they become entertaining only by passing through an imagination like Shakespeare's. He quotes with approval Dryden's couplet:

But Shakespeare's magic could not copied be;
Within the charmed circle none durst walk but he.¹⁵

Steele's line of argument in the whole essay is distinctly suggestive of Lamb's observation that the weird sisters are "serious things" whose presence cannot coexist with mirth.¹⁶

¹³ *Tatler*, 42.

¹⁴ *Spectator*, 44.

¹⁵ *Spectator*, 141. The couplet is from Dryden's Prologue to the *Tempest*.

¹⁶ Lamb, *Specimens of the English Dramatic Poets*.

That the introduction of supernatural characters is a delicate piece of work requiring ability of a very high order is also emphasized by Addison in one of his well-known papers on the "fairy kind of writing." The English, says Addison, excel in this manner, and among the English, Shakespeare is incomparably the best. His imaginary persons ring true; we cannot help thinking them natural though we have no rule by which to judge them. We must confess, he continues, that if there were such beings in the world, they would surely talk and act as he has represented them. The whole essay constitutes as keen an appreciation of Shakespeare's "myriad-mindedness" as may be found in Coleridge or Lamb. The subject is summed up by Addison in a passage which might well supply the retort courteous to Rymer's charge that Shakespeare's "head was full of villainous, unnatural images."

It shows a greater genius in Shakespeare to have invented his Caliban, than his Hotspur or Julius Caesar; the one was to be supplied out of his imagination, whereas the other might have been formed upon tradition, history and observation.¹⁷

Another question of technique deals with the propriety of introducing the "trappings" of heroism for the purpose of magnifying the hero. Steele deprecates the attempts to seek dignity for a hero on the stage by the grandeur of his dress and the glory of his retinue. "The man is to be expressed by his sentiments and affections, not by his fortune or equipage." He points out that in *Julius Caesar* Shakespeare has the hero enter in a nightgown, this at a time when he held all the power in Rome, when "deposed consuls, subordinate generals, and captive princes might have preceded him." Shakespeare's genius, says Steele, was above such "mechanic methods" of characterization.¹⁸ Addison, too, writing on the same subject, asks:

Can all the trappings or equipage of a king or hero give Brutus half the pomp and majesty which he receives from a few lines in Shakespeare?¹⁹

Matters of style and diction come in for only secondary consideration in the Shakespearean criticism of the *Tatler* and the

¹⁷ *Spectator*, 279; see also Dryden's critical introduction to *Troilus and Cressida*.

¹⁸ *Tatler*, 53.

¹⁹ *Tatler*, 47.

Spectator. The prevailing tendency of the time to lay stress upon Shakespeare's occasional indulgence in high-flown rhetoric is reflected in Addison's disapproval of the poet's "swelling into a false sublime," an error into which he falls when he attempts to avoid "the common roads of expression." He holds with Dryden, that the "fury" of his fancy often transports him beyond the bounds of judgment, and that the perspicuity of his style consequently suffers.²⁰ Shakespeare's fondness for puns is similarly condemned as a species of "false wit."

The sermons of Bishop Andrews and the tragedies of Shakespeare are full of them. The sinner was punned into repentance by the former, as in the latter nothing is more unusual than to see a hero weeping and quibbling for a dozen lines together.²¹

Both Addison and Steele, however, were fully alive to the greater merits of Shakespeare's style, to the boldness of his figures, to the clearness of his vision. The description of Dover Cliff in *Lear* is so "actual," says Addison, that whoever can read it without growing giddy, must have a very good head or a very bad one.²² The allusion to the hounds of famine, sword and fire held in leash²³ by warklike Harry in *Henry V*, or the thought of Caesar's spirit ranging for revenge—

With Ate by his side come hot from hell—

in *Julius Caesar*,²⁴ are pictures which Steele comments upon especially as full of majesty and terror, a kind of strangeness added to beauty.

In an age which revelled in indecencies of restoration comedy the *Tatler* struck a significant note in directing attention to the ethical teachings of Shakespeare's heroes and heroines. It was to Steele, especially, the author of the *Christian Hero*, that the poet appealed in this rôle. Steele's appreciation of this phase of Shakespeare's genius grew out of his theory of the drama. It is not the business of a good play, he says, to make every man a hero, but it certainly ought to give one "a livelier sense

²⁰ *Spectator*, 285.

²¹ *Spectator*, 61.

²² *Tatler*, 117.

²³ "Rubens if he had painted it, would not have improved upon this simile," (Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*).

²⁴ *Tatler*, 137.

of virtue and merit than he had before he entered the theatre."²⁵ And so he recommends the use of the stage as the "most agreeable and easy method of making a polite and moral gentry."²⁶ For this purpose, of course, the presentation of noble characters from Shakespeare, "from whence it is impossible to return without strong impressions of honor and humanity," offers the best method of direct approach. Thus, for example, *Hamlet* is full of circumstances which dwell strongly in the minds of the audience, and would certainly "affect their behaviour in any parallel occasion in their own lives."²⁷ The *Taming of the Shrew* provides a text for a sermon on conjugal felicity;²⁸ and the character of Falstaff another on supersensitiveness in matters of personal appearance.²⁹ *Othello* illustrates the danger of "giving way to the first transports of rage and jealousy,"³⁰ while *Richard III* shows that crime bears within itself the seeds of its own destruction.³¹ The tragedy of *Macbeth* teaches us that

... all that is in a man's power to do to advance his own pomp and glory, and forbears, is so much laid up against the day of distress; and pity will always be his portion in adversity, who acted with gentleness in prosperity.³²

In the character of Desdemona one may find all the sentiments of a virtuous maid and a tender wife;³³ and, indeed, all of Shakespeare's heroines are "mothers, sisters, daughters and wives," not "shining wits, politicians, virtuosae, free thinkers and disputants."³⁴ This keeping to the high road of life is to be expected in an author whose mind was "thoroughly seasoned with religion," whose age had "a greater sense of virtue than at present."³⁵ Steele approves of the taking of children to the theatre to see Shakespearean plays, and thus "entering youth into the affections and passions of manhood beforehand, and,

²⁵ *Tailor*, 99.

²⁶ *Tailor*, 8.

²⁷ *Tailor*, 71.

²⁸ *Tailor*, 231.

²⁹ *Spectator*, 17, 238.

³⁰ *Tailor*, 188; see also *Guardian*, 37.

³¹ *Tailor*, 90.

³² *Spectator*, 206.

³³ *Tailor*, 188.

³⁴ *Tailor*, 42.

³⁵ *Tailor*, 111.

as it were, antedating the effects we hope from a long and liberal education."³⁶ Indeed, in such great esteem did Steele hold Shakespeare for the practical reformation of manners that he proposed the establishment of an academy where young men might be exposed to the ethical influence of Shakespeare by acting scenes from his plays.

Amidst these noble amusements, we could hope to see the early dawns of their imagination daily brighten into sense, their innocence improve into virtue, and their unexperienced good-nature directed to a generous love of their country.³⁷

Historically, the most important critical *loci* in the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* are those which deal with character, plot and situation. These passages reveal an appreciation of Shakespeare's art quite unusual for the period in which they were written. Like the criticism of Coleridge, Lamb, DeQuincey and Hazlitt, they suggest the pleasure derived from an admiration for the poet that is entirely oblivious of mechanical rules and formal precepts. A great deal of this material is incidental to critical interpretations of Shakespearean actors and acting. Betterton in the rôle of Othello provides occasion for a brief exposition on the aptness of short speeches in moments of extreme grief.³⁸ Wilks as Macduff illustrates that "quiet, soft-eyed distress" is more likely to provoke tears than "shrieking sorrow."³⁹ Colley Cibber as Richard III shows that "to rally pleasantly, to scorn gracefully, to flatter, to ridicule and to neglect" requires technical skill of real excellence.⁴⁰ Occasionally, too, whole speeches and scenes are analyzed with the care and attention to detail that marks so much of later eighteenth century criticism. The manifest purpose, however, of these analyses is not enjoyment for its own sake, but generally the providing of a suitable background for the criticism of a contemporary play.

It is a common fault of those who write in the "buskin style," says Steele in one of his papers, that they give the sentiments

³⁶ *Tatler*, 71.

³⁷ *Spectator*, 230.

³⁸ *Tatler*, 167. In the *Tatler*, 35 Steele quotes Hamlet's speech to the players as an admirable criterion for the judging of actors and acting.

³⁹ *Tatler*, 68.

⁴⁰ *Tatler*, 182.

of those who *behold* tragic events, rather than of those who have an actual part in them themselves. There is no medium, he insists, in these matters. "You must go to the bottom of the heart or it is all mere language." He urges young dramatists to read Shakespeare with care, and offers a specific illustration of a good emotional scene from *2 Henry IV*. In the first act, when the Earl of Northumberland is about to hear the report of his son's death, he surmises the character of the news carried by Morton, as soon as he sets his eyes upon him. He compares his own lot with that of Priam who read the whole story of the destruction of Troy in the very whiteness of his messenger's face.

The image in this place, [says Steele] is wonderfully noble and great; yet the man in all this is butrising towards his great affliction, and is still enough of himself, as you see, to make a simile; but when he is certain of his son's death, he is lost to all patience, and gives up all the regards of his own life; and since the last of evils is fallen upon him, he calls for it on all the world.⁴¹

A similarly tense situation is commented upon in another number of the *Tatler*. The scene is the one in *Macbeth*, where Macduff is informed of the murder of his children by the crazed usurper. When Wilks, says Steele, plays the part of the bereaved father,—

he skilfully seems to be out of breath, and is brought too low to say more, and upon a second reflection cry, only wiping his eyes, 'What, both children! Both my children gone?' there is no resisting a sorrow which seems to have cast about for all the reasons possible for its consolation, but has no recourse. . . Such sudden starts from the thread of the discourse and a plain sentiment expressed in an artless way, are the irresistible strokes of eloquence and poetry.⁴²

The tent scene in *Julius Caesar* where Cassius undergoes a change of heart when he learns of the death of Portia, and regrets his having vexed Brutus with trifles, is similarly cited in illustration of the general principle that when a person is to be pitied he must be shown struggling to bear the greatest grief with patience and decency. "In this case we sigh for him, and give him every groan he suppresses."⁴³ One might contrast this interpretation with Dryden's grudging approval that the

⁴¹ *Tatler*, 47.

⁴² *Tatler*, 68.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

thoughts in the speeches of Brutus and Cassius are such as arise from the matter, and that the expression of them is not "violently figurative."⁴⁴

That the successful presentation of passion in tense moments depends not on the use of appropriate descriptive phrases and "rants," but upon the judicious use of few words—or none at all—is also illustrated by the death-bed scene of Cardinal Beaufort in *2 Henry VI*. The criticism this time is by Hughes.

The despair which is here shown, without a word or action on the part of a dying person, is beyond what could be painted by the most forcible expressions whatever.⁴⁵

Hughes also turns to Shakespeare for characterizations of the passions of anger and fear, quoting for the former passages from *King Lear*, for the latter from *Macbeth*.⁴⁶

The best analysis of a Shakespearean scene we owe to Steele. The theme, again, is the portrayal of strong emotion, a matter which appealed particularly to the sentimental strain in Steele. The scene is the one in *Hamlet* where the young prince, not yet convinced of his mother's guilt, reflects upon the indecency of her marriage, so soon after his father's death.

The several emotions of mind and breaks of passion in this speech,⁴⁷ are admirable. He has touched every circumstance that aggravated the fact, and seemed capable of hurrying the thoughts of a son into distraction. His father's tenderness for his mother, expressed in so delicate a particular; his mother's fondness for his father, no less exquisitely described; the great and amiable figure of his dead parent drawn by true filial piety; his disdain of so unworthy a successor to his bed; but, above all, the shortness of time between his father's death and his mother's second marriage, brought together with so much disorder, make up as noble a part as any in the celebrated tragedy. The circumstance of time I could never enough admire. The widowhood has lasted two months—this is his first reflection; but as his indignation rises, it sinks to scarce two months; afterwards into a month; and at last into a little month. But all this so naturally, that the reader accompanies him in the violence of his passion, and finds the time lessening insensibly, according to the different workings of his disdain.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Preface to *Troilus and Cressida*.

⁴⁵ *Spectator*, 210.

⁴⁶ *Spectator*, 541.

⁴⁷ "That it should come to this, etc. . . ." *Hamlet*, I, iii.

⁴⁸ *Tatler*, 106.

This is something quite different from the endless discussions about Shakespeare's "art" and the tedious disputes about his learning that mar so much of neo-classical criticism.

For a study of Shakespearean characters Steele's comments on Desdemona and Othello are particularly illuminating because they stand in such sharp contrast to the "ferocious" remarks of Rymer on the same play.

In the character of Desdemona he [Shakespeare] runs through all the sentiments of a virtuous maid and tender wife. She is captivated by his virtue, and faithful to him, as well from that motive, as from regard to her own honor. Othello is a great and noble spirit, misled by the villainy of a false friend to suspect her innocence, and resents it accordingly. When, after the many instances of passion, the wife is told her husband is jealous, her simplicity makes her incapable of believing it, and say, after such circumstances as would drive another woman into distraction,

I think the sun where he was born
Drew all such humors from him.

This opinion of him is so just that his noble and tender heart beats itself to pieces before he can affront her with the mention of his jealousy; and owns, this suspicion has blotted out all the sense of glory and happiness which before it was possessed with, when he laments himself in the warm allusions of a mind accustomed to entertainments so very different from the pangs of jealousy and revenge.⁴⁹

These, in brief, are the most important critical passages in the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*. In general, there is much in them that is characteristic of the period in which they were written: the attribution of Shakespeare's "irregularities" to the vagaries of genius, for example, or the frank didacticism of so much of Addison's comment. On the other hand, there is also a great deal that indicates a breaking away from strict neo-classical standards, and that looks forward to the romantic criticism of the late-eighteenth century with its emphasis on the development of character and the interpretation of dramatic passages in accordance with newer theories of art.

JOSHUA H. NEUMANN.

⁴⁹ *Tatler*, 188.

XXVII. THOMAS HEYWOOD, D'AVENANT, AND THE SIEGE OF RHODES.

Everyone is agreed that the historical importance of *The Siege of Rhodes* easily surpasses its intrinsic interest, and everyone knows that the play was one of the most influential of the pioneer works of Restoration drama—and of the heroic drama in particular. Even those who like to discount the value of "source-hunting" in general will be inclined to admit its usefulness in establishing the antecedents and relationships of a work which in so many ways marks the beginnings of a new era. It is not surprising, therefore, that the sources of the play have been studied with care and to good effect. One fact about them has been established so clearly by the several investigators¹ that it may be dismissed here with a mere mention; namely, that D'Avenant drew chiefly upon Knolles's *Historie of the Turkes* (1603) for such incidents of the historical siege of Rhodes as he wished to use. As D'Avenant tells us, however, he undertook to "soften" for the sake of variety, "the martial encounters between Solyman and the Rhodians" by "intermingling the conjugal vertues of Alphonso and Ianthé."² The scholars who have looked into the matter are not altogether agreed as to where to place the ultimate blame for the softening: as to how much of the romantic story D'Avenant may have invented, or whence he may have drawn it. In 1898 Professor Campbell examined,³ and, perhaps somewhat unguardedly, "dismissed from the probabilities" as a source, Mlle. de Scudéry's romance, *Ibrahim, ou l'Illustre Bassa* (1641). Instead he proposed the literary cycle of Solyman and Perseda material, first treated in Yver's *Le Printemps* (1572) and later in Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda* (printed 1599), not to mention several additional French and English versions which D'Avenant might

¹ Campbell, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIII, 177 ff.; C. G. Child, *id.*, XIX, 166 ff.; J. W. Tupper, *Love and Honour and The Siege of Rhodes*, Belles Lettres ed., pp. 180 ff.

² Dedication, *S. of R.*, Tupper, p. 188.

³ See note 1. Campbell grants, however, that the romance may have given D'Avenant "a possible suggestion of the subject as affording a good dramatic plot."

well have known.⁴ We shall see presently that Campbell offers strong evidence in support of this source. Six years later Professor C. G. Child—who could not have seen Campbell's article, since he was under the impression that "D'Avenant's indebtedness to Mlle. de Scudéry has never been noted"—undertook to prove (with no great amount of specific evidence but not, I think, without some success) that *Ibrahim*, after all, suggested to D'Avenant "the ideals and coloration" of his play.⁵ Campbell's evidence in favor of the Solyman and Perseda materials is entirely passed over in this paper, but it was given full weight five years later by Professor J. W. Tupper, who reviewed the problem in the Belles Lettres edition of *Love and Honour* and *The Siege of Rhodes*. Tupper leans towards Campbell's view, though he does not altogether dismiss Child's claims for *Ibrahim*. In general his statement of the case is a fair one, but I shall show presently why I cannot follow him altogether and why I think that he, like all his predecessors, did not go far enough. A summary and discussion of the documents will indicate the resemblances between them, but it will show also that there are signal differences between the characters, themes, and incidents of *The Siege*, and those of any source yet suggested. Campbell, for one, recognized that these differences exist, and sought to account for them on the ground that D'Avenant was trying to preserve the unities and to find a happy ending. My own belief—and this is my reason for going into the whole matter again—is that D'Avenant "softened" the outlines of his material as he found it in Knolles, in *Ibrahim*, and in the Solyman and Perseda cycle, by adding certain sweeping strokes from still another source, not hitherto noticed. All students of D'Avenant know his fondness for borrowing ideas from many sources,—indeed, his habit of telescoping two or three old plays to make a new one.⁶ They will not be greatly surprised, therefore, at the suggestion that a

⁴ Since, as Campbell notes, the several members of this group repeat the story without material variation, Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda* will be referred to hereafter as representative of the cycle. Abstracts and discussion of other members of the cycle appear in Ernst Sieper's "Geschichte von Soliman und Perseda in der neueren Litteratur," *Zeitschr. für Vergl. Literaturgeschichte*, IX, 32 ff.). Cf. Campbell, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIII, 179, notes 6 and 7.

⁵ See note 1.

⁶ Thus, for example, his *Playhouse To Be Let*, and *Law against Lovers*.

good old Elizabethan play would seem to be more or less at the bottom of *The Siege*. This, if I am correct, is Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West*, both parts of which, as we shall see, were very popular when D'Avenant was winning his early successes upon the boards in the 1630's.

To prove this suggestion would be not only to clear up most of the remaining difficulties as to the sources of one of D'Avenant's plays—in itself perhaps no great matter—but to establish a new and direct bond between the prophet of the new order and one of the most interesting of the Elizabethans. Further, it would supply a fresh illustration for the point that the "new" heroic play of the Restoration was not particularly new after all. It has long since been noted⁷ that there is a direct line of descent from the incipient heroics of Fletcher,—indeed, from those of Marlowe and Chapman: from the high-astounding vaunts of a Tamburlaine and a Bussy d'Ambois—to the rant of an Almanzor. The French and Spanish romances were, of course, utilized by the English playwrights before the Restoration as well as after. No one would deny that the new playwrights kept an eye upon France. We are too likely to forget, however, that for all this they did not allow their Elizabethan forebears to get out of their sight. Before observing that Heywood, at all events, was not forgotten, we shall do well to review the case for the sources previously presented, and, first of all, to recall in outline the plot of *The Siege of Rhodes*.⁸

While Alphonso, Duke of Sicily, is visiting in Rhodes, the town is besieged by Solyman the Magnificent. Alphonso's hosts urge him to leave, but he makes it a point of honor to stay and lead in the fight. Upon hearing of this, Ianthe, his bride, sells her jewels, buys ammunition, and fits out a ship to rescue her husband. She is captured by the Turks, but, in recognition of her virtue, is released by Solyman, in spite of the fact that he has become enamored of her. She rejoins Alphonso, but the pair of them consider themselves honor-bound to reject Solyman's safe-conduct home. They stay to fight with the Rhodians, whose position, none the less, grows steadily worse. Ianthe, finally, remains the town's only hope. She returns alone, without any passport or protection whatever, to Solyman's camp, to make terms for Rhodes. The Sultan, more strongly enamored than at first, detains her. He temporizes, however, by sending her for safekeeping to his queen, Roxalana, who is fiercely jealous of

⁷ Cf. Schelling, *English Drama*, p. 243; C. G. Child (see n. 1); J. W. Tupper, *P. M. L. A.*, XX, 584 ff.

⁸ This summary is based upon Campbell's, which, however, it supplements at certain points.

Ianthe, secretly warns Alphonso of Solyman's passion, and all but makes way with her, only to be finally conquered by Ianthe's steadfast virtue and to become her friend. Meanwhile the Rhodians have sallied to rescue Ianthe. Alphonso, who has come to doubt his wife as well as Solyman, is captured, and, with Solyman's consent, turned over successively to Roxalana and Ianthe. In final generous recognition of Alphonso's bravery and Ianthe's virtue, Solyman sets them free and allows Ianthe to make her own terms for Rhodes.

Next in order will be a summary of that portion of the *Ibrahim* which may be related to *The Siege*:

Ibrahim's real name is Justinian. He is a Christian and the son of a noble Italian family. After winning, by devoted and heroic service, the love of Isabella, Princess of Monaco, he is forced into exile by the machinations of his enemies. He returns to the wars, and, in spite of his great valor, is finally brought into Constantinople as a slave. Through the intervention of the sultan's daughter, Solyman's attention is called to him; he is attached to Solyman's service, and besides saving the sultan's life turns the tide of victory in battle. Thereafter, assuming his Turkish name and dress but retaining his faith, he wins war after war and becomes Solyman's bosom friend, grand vizier, and the second man of the empire. Word comes to him that Isabella, whose marriage to another had been falsely reported, has remained constant to him after all. Solyman, upon hearing Ibrahim's story, allows him six months' leave to visit his lady. While Ibrahim is away, Solyman pursues an independent love affair. He sees a picture of Axiadora, Princess of Persia, becomes enamored of her, and has her kidnapped by one of his vassals. She escapes in a shipwreck, however, and falls into the friendly hands of Solyman's sons, Giangir and Mustapha. The latter, Solyman's son by an earlier wife, is the heir apparent. Roxalana, the sultana, who wants her own sons to succeed Solyman, actually encourages his infatuation, and brings about the death of the two princes. Ibrahim, however, returns in time to save Axiadora. He leaves Isabella in Monaco, against her wishes, for he fears that Solyman may desire her for himself. His fears are justified. Ibrahim droops in his lady's absence and Solyman causes her, too, to be kidnapped, and then presents her to her lover. The sultan, however, has become enamored of her, and, while Ibrahim goes off to war, Solyman seeks to win Isabella for himself, Roxalana once more encouraging the project, in order to destroy Ibrahim's power. Isabella, however, remains constant, and Ibrahim returns in time. The lovers try to escape, but are recaptured. Solyman, egged on by Roxalana, orders that Ibrahim be strangled, but, at the last moment, religious scruples (he had sworn that Ibrahim should not be killed) and some remaining vestige of generosity, lead him to change his mind, and he sends the lovers off happily.⁹

I have given a much fuller summary of the romance than is available elsewhere,—partly because it is voluminous and not easily accessible, but chiefly because we need the details, first, to observe the likenesses between *Ibrahim* and *The Siege*, and,

⁹ *Ibrahim*; ou *L' Illustre Bassa*, Paris, 1723.

in the second place, to show that the most notable differences between the two disappear if we substitute incidents or traits of character drawn from corresponding portions of *The Fair Maid*. Let us consider, first, the resemblances. As Child has noted, and as even Campbell admits, *Ibrahim* and *The Siege* both make much of Solyman's infatuation for a lady who remains constant to her own lover; of the latter's brave defense of his lady; of Roxalana's machinations; and of Solyman's struggle between desire and the obligations of honor. None of the commentators, however, has observed that Solyman's greatest difficulty arises from the fact that his rival in love is also his bosom-friend, the man who saved his life and empire. We shall see that this situation is almost exactly paralleled in *Soliman and Perseda*.¹⁰ Perhaps it is significant, therefore, to note that it has entirely disappeared both in *The Fair Maid* and in *The Siege*. Again, none of the commentators seems to have observed that the Roxalana of the romance is not jealous of other ladies: she is jealous only for power. We may look far enough ahead here to remark that the sultana does not appear at all in *Soliman and Perseda*, whereas her personal jealousy does figure prominently both in *The Fair Maid* and in *The Siege*.¹¹

More important are two additional points. In the first place, Child's statement that D'Avenant "modeled his hero, Alphonso," upon Ibrahim, requires qualification. Alphonso, to be sure, is Ianthe's husband, and Ibrahim achieves the same relationship to Isabella. But whereas Ibrahim is the perfect knight of romance—of valour and unquestioning loyalty all compact, and with never a doubt of himself or his lady—¹² Alphonso is the typical, irresolute, jealous, brave but impossibly sentimental lover of heroic drama. We shall find that Erastus, the hero of *Soliman and Perseda*, is somewhat more like him than is Ibrahim, but that whereas his ancestors are the Philasters of Fletcherian romance, there is an unmistakable family resemblance between him and Spencer, the hero of *The Fair Maid*. The next point is more vital still. We have seen that Ibrahim

¹⁰ See below, n. 18 and text.

¹¹ See below, pp. 632-633, 637.

¹² He does grieve early in the story, when it is reported that she has married another man, and he takes hard the enforced separation later, but he is free from the sentimental jealousy of the heroic lover.

himself absolutely dominates the romance: he is not only the hero, but, if I may say so, the whole show. On the other hand, it is not Alphonso but Ianthe who dominates the play. She takes ship to share Alphonso's danger, she fights at the gates, she goes to make terms for Rhodes,—in a word, the whole action revolves about her, and when things slacken she constantly moves to start new heroics. The heroine of *Ibrahim*, on the other hand, is passive. She is constant to her lover, but for the rest she only stands and waits, or, for the most, allows herself to be kidnapped. In *Soliman and Perseda*, similarly, the heroine remains passive during most of the action. She takes no part in the siege except to allow herself to be taken prisoner. Thereafter she simply remains constant to her lover. At the very end, to be sure, she becomes active, but in a manner entirely differing from Ianthe's: after the murder of Erastus she fights and dies on the walls of Rhodes, after poisoning Solyman, the murderer, with a kiss.¹³ Ianthe's sensibility would have kept her from any such ungenteel doings. Yet she dominates the stage as inevitably as any of the heroines of Fletcher and his school,—so much so, indeed, that one wonders why the commentators did not seek her prototype among the many heroic ladies of late Elizabethan drama. But, as we shall see presently, her sensibility, her almost prurient prating upon the subject of her own virtue, and, even more, the immediate details of her adventures, seem to be so patently a "heroic" heightening of the character and doings of Bess, the heroine of *The Fair Maid*, that it is difficult to understand why no one has put the two together before this.

Though everyone knows that adventure plays were one of the most popular of the late Elizabethan types, Tupper alone among D'Avenant's commentators has touched upon the problem of the source of Ianthe's adventures, and I am convinced that he is on the wrong track. He suggests that "there is a slight resemblance in the adventures of Ianthe to those of Axiomira in the romance,"¹⁴ and that from them D'Avenant may have gotten "some hints" for Ianthe's doings. The resemblance, however, is very slight. It will be remembered that Ianthe, upon hearing of Alphonso's situation, sails forth to join him,

¹³ See below, p. 631.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

and is captured by Solyman's admiral after a brave fight. In the romance Axiandra is kidnapped at Solyman's orders, and it happens that her capture also involves a fight at sea. But the fact of the matter is simply that the Princess of Persia is devoted to the sport of deep-sea fishing, and that Rustan, Solyman's henchman, who knows this, attacks her vessel while she is peacefully at sea, "surrounded by all her ladies and dressed in the habit of an Amazon."¹⁵ To be sure, she, her men, and presumably all her ladies, fight to the death,—but thereafter her active adventures come to an end. She is shipwrecked and captured again, and then does nothing further but wait for Ibrahim to get her out of her difficulties. But, as we shall see, Ianthe's adventures do parallel with surprising closeness the brave career of the intrepid Bess Bridges.

The *Ibrahim* is none the less close enough to D'Avenant in several respects to stand as a probable source for at least some of the background and atmosphere. Campbell's objection that the romance does not touch upon the historical siege, and that its lovers are not Sicilians nor Rhodians, does not seem to me to be conclusive, since D'Avenant admittedly got his history elsewhere, and because the local habitation of romantic lovers does not seriously matter anyhow. Child's point that *Ibrahim* was first published in 1641, when D'Avenant was in France, is not altogether to be ignored, and to this I may add that the romance proved sufficiently popular to be "Englised" by one Henry Cogan of London in 1652, four years before D'Avenant produced the first part of *The Siege*. Nor is Child without warrant in suggesting that D'Avenant may have drawn some of the "ideals and coloration" of his play from the romance. *The Fair Maid*, I think, supplied him with more details of incident and character, but it is a far more hearty, more honest thing than any D'Avenant ever achieved. Some of its sophisticated glamour *The Siege* may well have borrowed from the romance, with which it shares, among other things, the love and honor theme,¹⁶ though we shall find that even in this

¹⁵ *Ibrahim*, I, 317, 322 ff.; my translation.

¹⁶ A contest of generosity between lovers appears in the story of Alibech, the Corsair's daughter, who offers to free her lover from his engagement so that he may avert his father's displeasure.—Later, Isabella remarks that "il est si difficile de satisfaire & l'honneur & l'amour," and repeatedly, but vainly, urges Ibrahim to allow her to share his dangers. (*Ibrahim*, I, 41; II, 223, 270; IV, 384.)

respect D'Avenant leans more heavily upon Heywood than upon the "venerable spinster" of romantic France.¹⁷

Meanwhile we must review rapidly the case for the second one of the two romantic sources of *The Siege* hitherto suggested, the Solyman and Perseda cycle, with particular reference to Kyd's play of that title. Professor Campbell has put this case so strongly that a condensation of his summary and argument will best serve our needs.

At the beginning of the play we hear much of the youthful attachment between the Rhodian lovers, Erastus and Perseda. Erastus is the victor at a great tournament, but loses a chain given him by Perseda in token of her love. Perseda finds another lady wearing it, and deems Erastus false, but he establishes his constancy by killing the man who had found the chain and passed it on. Erastus now has to flee from Rhodes, and straightway offers his services to Solyman, who, after testing his mettle in personal combat, accepts him as his "continual friend ever after."¹⁸ The Turks now besiege Rhodes and bring back to Solyman a bevy of captive ladies, Perseda among them. He immediately becomes desperately enamored of her, but she rejects his "pure affection," her own remaining fixed upon Erastus. On learning that his friend is involved, Solyman generously consents to make the lovers happy. They are married and sent off to Rhodes, which Erastus is to govern. But Solyman suffers a relapse and decides that Perseda must be his after all. He recalls Erastus, has him killed (with hardly a pretense at a trial for treason), and then goes to Rhodes to carry off Perseda. The latter, "in man's apparel," opposes him on the walls and is slain by Solyman, but not before she has poisoned him with an expiring kiss,—her lips being "sauc'd with deadly poison."

In spite of the differences between this story and that of *The Siege*, Campbell is right in holding that the strong resemblances between them "cannot be accidental." They are alike, as Campbell notes, in that both deal with the historical siege plus "an unhistoric love episode"; in the similarity between the chief motives of action: the separation, constancy, and reunion of the lovers after great trials imposed upon them by the fickle passion of Solyman; and, finally, in the heroine's resolute stand against Solyman's final attack upon Rhodes. We shall see, however, that in all these points—except as regards the histori-

¹⁷ See below, pp. 638-641. The romance served also as the source of Settle's play, *Ibrahim, the illustrious Bassa* (1677). Sieper (cf. n. 4), who discusses this point, argues plausibly that Yver's *Le Printemps*, the earliest of the Solyman and Perseda stories, was itself one of the sources of the Scudéry romance.

¹⁸ *Soliman and Perseda*, Act III. In Act IV, again, Solyman assures Erastus of his "friendship's constancy," which, says he, "hath no measure and shall never end."

cal siege—*The Fair Maid* is as close to *The Siege* as is *Soliman and Perseda*. In other respects it is far closer, for it is difficult to accept without qualification Campbell's contention that there is "exact correspondence between the leading characters" of *Soliman and Perseda* and *The Siege*. Solyman, of course, appears by name in both, but he is a very different character as Kyd has him. Unlike D'Avenant's Solyman and Heywood's Mullisheg, he makes a bosom friend of the hero. Moreover, he is, from start to finish, as bloody a figure as ever trod the stage: he kills with his own hands not only his brother, his lord marshal, and Perseda, but practically the entire *dramatis personae*, principals and supers. Heywood's Mullisheg is decidedly less savage, and we shall see in a moment that he, unlike Kyd's sultan, resembles D'Avenant's in his desire to emulate the Christian virtue of his rivals.¹⁹ As for Perseda, I have already noted that she is not, like Ianthe and Bess, the heroine of an adventure play. She is an almost passive figure until the end, when she vigorously helps on the deluge of blood. She and Erastus, moreover, are innocent of the jealous casuistry and high-flown verbiage of the typical heroic lovers who hold forth in *The Siege*, as if in parody of those of *The Fair Maid*. It is true that Perseda momentarily questions her lover's constancy when she sees her chain worn by another woman, and that Erastus, like Ibrahim, is "in his dumps"²⁰ when parted from his lady, but, for the rest, there is little love and honor nonsense about them. They, and Soliman, satisfy their desire for "honor" by savage action; they abstain from talking about it. And there is another point at which the characters of Kyd and D'Avenant do not correspond. The jealous sultana, who is very much in evidence in *The Fair Maid* and *The Siege*, simply does not appear at all in Kyd's play.

Campbell himself has pointed out certain additional differences between the Solyman and Perseda stories and *The Siege*,—first, the fact that Perseda appears but once at Solyman's court, whereas Ianthe comes twice; secondly, that in consequence there are two exhibitions of the sultan's magnanimity in D'Avenant as against one in the other stories; and, finally, that *The Siege* has a happy ending. An examination of *The Fair*

¹⁹ See below, pp. 640-641.

²⁰ See *Soliman and Perseda*, Act IV.

Maid will show that at all these points it is identical with *The Siege*.

While *The Siege* writes large the glory of "Ianthé, the Sicilian flower," *The Fair Maid* is the epic drama of "Besse Bridges . . . the flowre of Plimouth,"²¹ a barmaid whose great beauty and greater virtue wins the love of Spencer, a gentleman adventurer bound for the western voyage. Spencer, somewhat like Erastus, has to leave hurriedly, after killing a ruffian who has insulted Bess; but first he admonishes her to remain true, and then leaves his property in her care. Next, an erroneous report of his death is brought to Bess, who has prospered in wealth and virtue at home. She puts aside flattering offers to marry in England, liquidates her resources, and fits out a fighting-ship in which to seek her lover's body. She finds him alive, though at first she does not recognize him, among the English prisoners rescued by her men in a victorious fight against a Spanish ship. She does recognize him when she is forced, by want of water, to put into Mamorah in Barbary, where Mullisheg, the "amorous king of Fez," promises that she shall be "free from all violence," although he has become desperately enamored of her at first sight. When Spencer makes himself known and the two tell their story, their brave constancy arouses in Mullisheg an "heroick spirit." "Lust," he decides, "shall not conquer virtue," and he consents to their immediate marriage. But he at once experiences a change of heart: his infatuation is renewed, and Tota, his jealous queen, plots revenge. Independently, the two try to suborn the followers of Bess to subject the pair to their lust.

In the night, however, Bess's men manage to substitute Mullisheg and Tota, respectively, for the English lovers, and all but Spencer escape. Spencer, captured by the king's bassa, is released so that he may prevent Bess from seeking to join him in death, but gives his word to return, and this he does, against the protests of his companions. Thereupon Bess also returns, voluntarily, to offer herself a victim in place of Spencer. Mullisheg and Tota, once more challenged to a recognition of the lovers' constancy and virtue, let them go in all honor.

Bess and Spencer have further adventures, but only the last of them matters: Bess, separated from her husband by an accident, is wooed by the Duke of Florence, who virtually holds her a prisoner while Spencer, raging with jealousy,²² is in danger of his life. She asks that the Duke

. . . freely resigne his person
And his state solely to my disposure.

The Duke agrees, and Bess, in pronouncing sentence, effectively removes the cause of Spencer's jealousy:—

²¹ *Siege of Rhodes*, II,—Belles Lettres ed., p. 207; 1 *Fair Maid*, I, ed. Pearson, II, 264. (All later page references are to this volume.)

²² 2 *Fair Maid*, V, p. 419.

Then hear thy doom, I give thee back thy life
And in thy arms throw a most constant wife.²³

Just so does Ianthe settle things—including Alphonso's jealousy. Herself a prisoner, she is allowed to dispose of Alphonso, who is likewise a captive and jealous to the end. The sultan, says Roxalana,

. . . frankly gave thy lord to me
And I as freely render him to thee.

Ianthe reminds her lord of his stupid jealousy and her power:—

In Rhodes I wholly did my self resign
To serve your pow'r, but you are now in mine.

But "severe Ianthe," like Bess, lets her husband off with a wifely gesture:—

Let this confirm your restless jealousy,
You came in bound, and thus I make you free.²⁴

In view of the decided differences between the endings of *Soliman and Perseda* and *The Siege*, it has seemed to me worth while to note how strongly Heywood's conclusion resembles D'Avenant's. Incidentally, it will have been observed that Bess (like Ianthe, and unlike Perseda) *twice* subjects herself to danger at court, and is twice released. On the other hand it would, of course, be foolish to deny that there are differences between Heywood and D'Avenant. The historical background of *The Siege* D'Avenant got elsewhere, and the comic business of *The Fair Maid* did not interest him any more than did that of Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*. Heywood's barmaid, moreover, certainly has touches of nature unknown to D'Avenant's duchess,—yet I think it is equally clear that certain unmistakable touches of "heroic" art make these two kin. In a word, I do not mean to suggest that D'Avenant followed Heywood slavishly, but rather that in *The Fair Maid* he found ready-made certain turns of incident, and certain twists of character and of the love and honor theme, which are much closer to his play than are the corresponding points in the sources hitherto suggested. Some further illustration may help to make the relationship clear.

²³ *Id.*, pp. 413, 421.

²⁴ 2 *Siege*, V, pp. 333-35.

As regards the matter of plot, it is well to recall first that in Heywood as in D'Avenant we are "transported into the land of eastern romance," of "marvelous adventures," in which the two pairs of lovers, the sultan and the King of Fez, and their jealous wives, play their corresponding parts. The close of the first part of each play finds the lovers, after the trial of their constancy by king and sultan, reunited for the moment and reasonably happy. In each case the second part is—as Ward²⁸ says of Heywood's play—"brimful of lust, courage, sensitive honour, and royal magnanimity": and the lovers fight their way through successfully. In each case, too, we have to deal with an adventure play in which the heroines have the leading rôle,—and it is interesting to find that their activities are as strikingly similar at the beginning as at the end. Each lady is separated from her lover, who has gone off on a quest—as Spencer says before he leaves for the West—

. . . for honor
No hope of gaine or spoyle;—

or, as Alphonso has it, on refusing to leave Rhodes when the Turks come,—

My honor lost, her love would soon decay,
Here for my tomb or triumph will I stay.²⁹

On learning what has happened the barmaid and duchess both sell their treasures to buy ammunition and ships, both go in search of their lovers, and both come to grief, temporarily, in their sentimental journeys.

What's my wealth
To enjoy't without my Spencer?

queries Bess. She finds that she can raise £4,000 "in jewels, gold and silver." With this she purchases "a good tight Vessel," and "all provision needful"; hires "a ginge of lusty ladds" to man her,—and proceeds upon her journey resolved

To be a patterne to all Maides hereafter
Of constancy in love.

Just so Ianthé, in spite of the protests of her servants, prepares for her journey. "Saphyrs and harder di'monds," she says,

²⁸ *Cambridge Hist. of Engl. Lit.*, VI, 101.

²⁹ 1 *F. M.*, I, p. 265; 1 *Siege*, I, p. 197.

must be sold
 And turn'd to softer and more current gold;
 With gold we cursed powder may prepare
 Which must consume in smoak and thinner air . . .

And in the same spirit she sets out:

Send out to watch the wind! with the first gale
 I'll leave thee, Sicilie; and hoysing sail
 Steer strait to Rhodes. For Love and I must be
 Preserv'd (Alphonso!) or else lost with thee.²⁷

Both ladies, moreover, continue to play their parts heroically. Bess, to be sure, descends upon Mullisheg for the second time not to make terms for a mere city but to win back her husband or to die with him; but both ladies take part in the fighting in deed as well as in word. "Enter Besse like a Sea-captaine," we read,—and we hear her cheering on her men in more than one fight on sea and land:—

Advance your Targets
 And now cry all, Boord, boord, amaine for England!

And then, as the stage direction has it, "enter with victory Besse" and the rest. Meanwhile Ianthe in her ship likewise

Urg'd their courage when they boldly fought,
 And many shun'd the dangers which she sought.

After her capture and release by the Turks she assumes male dress, and "fairer than woman, and than man more fierce," fights "in the English station."²⁸ She is wounded, but, as we have seen, ultimate victory in defeat comes to her exactly as it does to Bess.

Lest it should seem that I am pressing these parallels too far, I may observe here that I am well aware of the differences between Heywood and D'Avenant as regards the incident of Mullisheg and Tota's plotting against Bess and Spencer. Heywood here crudely utilizes the familiar *Measure for Measure* device, whereas D'Avenant substitutes "a riddle both to honour and to love" by having Solyman send Ianthe to Roxalana.²⁹ It is important to remember, however, that both plays have

²⁷ 1 *F. M.*, III, pp. 305-306; 1 *Siege*, I, pp. 198-199.

²⁸ 1 *F. M.*, IV, p. 317; 1 *Siege*, II, p. 206, V, p. 235.

²⁹ 2 *F. M.*, I and II, pp. 339-366; 2 *Siege*, III, p. 288.

the full quartet of heroic lovers and semi-barbaric royalty, that Roxalana, like Tota, is jealous, and that like her she seeks revenge by trying to involve the hero,—which she does, less crudely than Tota, by fanning to flames his jealousy of Solyman. It is a difference which grows out of the difference in character, for D'Avenant has, of course, sought to "heighten" the characters throughout. We must consider this point further; meanwhile the fact that the general parallelism of incident between the two plays is closest where the divergence from other sources is greatest, points clearly to the conclusion that D'Avenant drew upon Heywood where his other sources did not suggest the effects he wanted.

I have already suggested that he did much the same thing in remodeling the characters, particularly in making his heroine an active, adventurous figure, and in giving to her and to the hero the characteristic accents of heroic lovers. "The jealousies which honor did suggest" trouble Spencer and Alphonso especially, but Bess and Ianthe, too, for all their brave achievements, are so conscious of their virtue, so much more prone to talk about it than the ladies of the other sources, that one can in a measure understand, if not condone, the tiresome jealousy of their lovers. The poet of the *Fair Maid* and of the *Woman Killed with Kindness* was a choice spirit,—but something of a sentimentalist for all that, and not a few of his women do protest too much. The men, to be sure, are to blame. The gentlemen of the *Fair Maid* at the very beginning give each other lengthy assurances that Bess is "honest" as well as beautiful, and Spencer boasts that he has "proved her unto the utmost test." Yet he continues to exhort her to add "chastitie" to "beauty's shrewd baite," and later, when wounded in the Western wars, sends a friend to make sure that she has not yielded to "loose behavior or immodest life."³⁰ And so it is perhaps not astonishing that Bess herself should repeatedly and publicly plume herself upon her "vertue and chastitie."³¹ There is little or nothing of this sort of thing in *Soliman and Perseda*, but by much too much in *The Siege*. Though Alphonso keeps doubting Ianthe from start to finish, other characters of

³⁰ 1 *F. M.*, I, II, pp. 267, 283.

³¹ 1 *F. M.*, I, III, pp. 274, 303.

the play assure us again and again that "honor" has "tuned" her heart,—that

She wholly honour is and when bereft
Of any part of that, has nothing left,—

all of which the lady herself is the last to deny.

The great example which the Sultan gave
Of virtue when he did my honour save,

is ever in her mind, and the inevitable watchword, "honor my guide" is on her lips as she returns to Solyman's camp.³² So well matched in the delicacy of their sensibility are Bess and Ianthe that they spurn the very idea that Mullisheg and Solyman, respectively, could have suffered amorous relapses.³³ Naturally, too, both of them are as charitable, as eager to aid virtue in distress, as they are brave. Hence Bess's intervention with Mullisheg in favor of the Christian merchants,³⁴ and Ianthe's attempt to use her influence with Solyman in favor of the distressed Rhodians.

Of Tota and Roxalana I have already said perhaps more than enough. Roxalana is obviously the more sophisticated and ambitious, but both are actuated by a "forward jealousy," both want revenge and seek it by plotting against their husbands and their rivals,—and both end by recognizing the virtue of these rivals and by interceding for them with their royal lords and masters.³⁵ Spencer and Alphonso, too, require little further attention. We have seen that Alphonso merely exaggerates Spencer's already sufficiently exaggerated romantic notions,—his craving for "honor," his unwillingness to be put into the shade even by his lady's prowess, his melancholy fits, and above all, his "restless jealousy."

I must say a word more concerning Mullisheg and Solyman, but it may be well to note first the family resemblance between

³² 1 *Siege*, III, p. 215; 2 *Siege*, II, pp. 267, 272; III, p. 287.

³³ When Bess is warned of Mullisheg's renewed infatuation, she insists that he is "gratious and kinde." Ianthe, under the same circumstances, holds that Solyman "though a foe, is generous and true." (2 *F. M.*, II, p. 356; 1 *Siege*, IV, p. 227.)

³⁴ 1 *F. M.*, V, p. 328.

³⁵ 2 *F. M.*, III, pp. 383, 385; 2 *Siege*, V, p. 336, etc.

their chief bassas,—Joffer of the *Fair Maid*, who chivalrously befriends Spencer, in order to show him that

All morall vertues are not solely groundd
In th' hearts of Christians,

and Pirrhus, of *The Siege*, who phrases a sentiment admirably illustrated by the other's acts:—

Valour may reckon what she bravely lost . . .
By life well lost we gain a host of praise.³⁶

The differences between "mighty Mullisheg, Pride of our age, and glory of the Moores," and Solyman the Magnificent, are very much like those between their ladies. In other words, D'Avenant has refined and embellished Solyman, probably with an eye to Mlle. de Scudéry; yet his sultan shares with Mullisheg certain characteristics which do not appear in the corresponding figures of the other sources. That both Mullisheg and Solyman start with big-mouthed heroics of the Bajazeth variety³⁷ is perhaps of no great significance, since similar outbursts are recorded also in *Ibrahim* and *Soliman and Perseda*. Early in the action, moreover, Mullisheg describes himself as a more coarse-grained person than Solyman. By way of resting from his victorious wars he proposes to accumulate treasure and indulge his senses. "Our God," says he, "shall be our pleasure." Solyman, on the other hand, continues to make war for reasons of high policy,—to keep out of worse mischief his

Vassals boldly bred to arms,
For whose accurs'd diversion I must still
Provide new towns to sack, new foes to kill.³⁸

The important thing to remember, however, is that Solyman, like Mullisheg, is doubly vanquished by the heroine, and that

³⁶ 2 *F. M.*, III, pp. 381 ff., cf. V, p. 422; 1 *Siege*, II, p. 204.

³⁷ 1 *F. M.*, IV, p. 312:

Vpon the slaughtered bodies of our foes
We mount our high Tribunal . . . being sole
Without competitor.

Cf. 1 *Siege*, II, p. 205:

Fat slaves who have been lull'd to a disease,
Cramm'd out of breath and crippled by their ease!
 . . . Hence from my anger fly,
Which is too worthy for thee, being mine.

³⁸ 1 *F. M.*, IV, pp. 312 ff., 2 *Siege*, II, p. 278.

in the course of these proceedings there ensue in both cases contests of generosity between the Christian lovers on the one hand and the Mohammedan monarchs on the other, such as are without parallel in the other sources. When Mullisheg first controls his passion for Bess, and unites the lovers, he does it in these words:

You have wakend in me an heroick spirit,
Lust shall not conquer virtue. Till this hower
We grac'd thee for thy beauty, English woman,
But now we wonder at thy constancy.

Nor does he change the phrasing essentially when he controls himself for the second time. "Shall lust," he asks,

in me have chief predominance
And vertuous deeds, for which in Fesse
I have been long renown'd be quite exile?
Shall Christians have the honour
To be sole heirs of goodness, and we Moors
Barbarous and bloody?³⁹

His answer, of course, like Solyman's, is a decided negative. The latter first returns Ianthe to her husband in recognition of "the wond'rous vertue of a Christian wife," this being, as he says, the one thing "which vertue left for me to do."⁴⁰ No wonder that Bess is surprised to find that

a barbarous Moor could be so train'd
In humain vertues,

and that Alphonso, echoing the sentiment almost literally in the other play, should marvel at Solyman's "wondrous Turkish chastity," and confess his amazement at the generosity of "this Christian Turk."⁴¹ At all events, in both plays (and, be it repeated, in none of the other sources of *The Siege*) Christian and Mohammedan continue to the end in "stubborn honor" the rivalry for the glory of the faith. When the end comes Mullisheg generously admits that Bess has taught him a lesson:-

Those vertues you have taught us by your deeds
We futurely will strive to imitate;

³⁹ 1 *F. M.*, V, p. 330, 2 *F. M.*, III, p. 385.

⁴⁰ 1 *Siege*, II, pp. 207 ff.

⁴¹ 2 *F. M.*, II, p. 355; 1 *Siege*, III, pp. 218 ff.

and Solyman is equally quick to award the palm to Ianthé:—

I am content it should recorded be
That when I vanquisht Rhodes you conquer'd me.⁴³

Surely all this proves sufficiently that the "ideals and coloration"—the underlying sentiments—of the two plays are closely allied. Mullisheg in his final speech makes much of the fact that "these English are in all things honourable," and if the point were worth stressing a score of passages from the two plays might be cited to show that neither dramatist loses an opportunity to indulge his patriotic sentiment.⁴⁴ Far more significant is their joint insistence upon the love and honor theme and the close similarity between the incidents chosen to exploit it: the successive contests of generosity between the lovers as such, and between them and their Turkish and Moorish rivals.

The love and honor theme, with variations, D'Avenant had utilized long before he wrote *The Siege of Rhodes*,—especially, in 1634, in the play later named *Love and Honour*. *The Fair Maid of the West* was first printed three years before, in 1631, and Heywood's title pages and prefaces state that it had then been "lately acted,"—that is to say, revived, for its first production certainly came before 1603—⁴⁵ "with approved liking" before "the greatest and best in the kingdom," including Charles I and his queen. The early 1630's were the very years when young D'Avenant was winning his first successes on the stage,—successes due in no small degree to the fact that he played the sedulous ape to all the masters and was quick to seize upon the elements which had won popularity for the work of Fletcher and other reigning monarchs of the stage. In his later plays D'Avenant again and again imitated and adapted the work of the greater Elizabethans. The renewed success of *The Fair Maid* at a time when D'Avenant was trying to win his own spurs would seem to have impressed itself upon his memory sufficiently to stand him in good stead when he came to write *The Siege of Rhodes*. ALWIN THALER

⁴³ 2 *F. M.*, III, pp. 386 ff.; 2 *Siege*, V, p. 337.

⁴⁴ Cf. *F. M.*, pp. 307, 323, 368, 382, 385 ff., 404, 423, etc.; *Siege*, pp. 202, 235, 320, etc.

⁴⁵ I.e., before the death of Queen Elizabeth. The play is full of glowing praises of the Queen. Cf. *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, VI., 560.

XXVIII. A SUPPLEMENT ON STROLLERS

Professor Alwin Thaler's paper, "Strolling Players and Provincial Drama after Shakspeare,"¹ was of particular interest to me for the reason that his interpretations and conclusions were based so extensively upon the *Memoirs of Thomas Holcroft*, a document which I have taken as the subject for repeated studies.² Indeed, in attempting to illustrate the life of Holcroft, radical, novelist, and playwright, I had myself been led to collect a considerable amount of material relating to the strollers of the eighteenth century. In presenting the notes which follow my purpose is to offer an additional contribution to the subject, supplementing the material assembled by Professor Thaler, but taking pains not to duplicate his references.

In *The Vicar of Wakefield*, Dr. Primrose discovers his own runaway son upon the stage prepared to play a part in that constant favorite of all strollers: *The Fair Penitent*. The boy had thought of enlisting as a volunteer for the next expedition, but an old acquaintance met him by chance and associated him with "a company of comedians that were going to make a summer campaign in the country."³ I begin with this incident, because, although fictitious, it is characteristic and true. Indeed, it is duplicated in Holcroft's own life, for a chance meeting on a London street kept him from entering His Majesty's service in India and led him to Foote and Macklin and thence to the stroller's life. Some clung to the occupation because they could make their living in no other way.⁴ Sometimes pleasure loving youths thought they felt the call of the road, and, leaving respectable families, mistook their inclination for genius.⁵ Some young ladies found themselves "passionately

¹ *P. M. L. A.* xxxvii, 243-280.

² "A Bibliography of Thomas Holcroft," *Notes & Queries*, July 4, 1914-Mar. 25, 1915; "Thomas H. and the Gordon Riots," *Amer. Catholic Quarterly Rev.*, Oct. 1914; "Thomas H. —Radical," *The Mid-West Quarterly*, Oct. 1917; "Thomas H.—Man of Letters," *South Atl. Quarterly*, Jan. 1923; *A Bibliography of Thomas H.* (N. Y. Public Library), N. Y. 1922.—all by the present writer.

³ Goldsmith, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, chapters viii and ix.

⁴ S. W. Ryley, *The Itinerant*, v, 59.

⁵ Tate Wilkinson, *Wandering Patentee*, iii, 17; iv, 178, ii. 138.

fond of the stage,"⁶ and like Mrs. Inchbald ran away from home to follow the lure of the footlights. In instances they were stigmatized as "the off-scouring of society . . . only noticed by those dissipated and unprincipled."⁷ Yet they were a kindly lot. They may have borne hardships and roughed it together, and Kean was no exception to the rule when, stopping over at Buxton on the way to Manchester, he complied with a request to perform, played to a crowded house for half the proceeds, and then turned over all of his share to the children of Thornhill, the local manager.⁸

Yet in those fields which were called "a nursery to London"⁹ those who went "foraging in flying parties to astonish the weak minds of provincial natives"¹⁰ were not always reinforced with metropolitan stars, for the good performers were quite beyond their sphere.¹¹ For "the wretched maimed performance" that often ensued "the actor was certainly to blame"¹² and there is a typical anecdote of a query in *Pizarro* being answered by an irrelevant passage from *Hamlet* and meeting with applause from an audience which knew as little of the play being presented as did the actor.¹³ There were occasions when the actors were "in no wise fit for a theatre."¹⁴ And yet, as Goldsmith has said, their own vanity was great and their opinion of their own ability immense. Says Tate Wilkinson:

Now Mr. Grist, from a love of acting, would rather prefer taking the hackneyed 'Merchant of Venice,' at the almost certain hazard of a worse house, merely to satisfy *himself* with acting that character for his benefit at Hull. It is

⁶ *Ibid.*, iv, 180. Cf. *European Magazine*, September, 1792, xxii, 230, "Dissertation of the Country Stage. A Letter to the Editor from a Strolling Player to rescue from misery several young people who are possessed with high notions of the happiness attending upon the profession."

⁷ S. W. Rylery, *The Itinerant*, viii, 47. See George Crabbe, *The Borough*, Letter, XII, lines 183ff.: 'Epilogue Spoken at Midnight by a Young Man' in *European Magazine*, November, 1785, viii, 389.

⁸ *Ibid.*, viii, 243. Cf. Tate Wilkinson, *Wandering Patentee*, ii, 153.

⁹ *The Theatrical Tourist*, London, 1805, page 1.

¹⁰ S. W. Ryley, *The Itinerant*, v, 220.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, viii, 241.

¹² Tate Wilkinson, *Wandering Patentee*, ii, 157, 170.

¹³ S. W. Ryley, *The Itinerant*, ix, 94-5.

¹⁴ Crawford-Hodgson, *North Country Diaries* (118 Surt. Soc. Pub.) p. 294; M. H. Dodds, "The Northern Stage," in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd ser. vol. si, p. 25.

strange, and nor more strange than true, and pity 'tis 'tis true, that performers will often hazard their material interest, so necessary to the world of wants, and sacrifice fame and self-preservation to the gratification of acting a particular part."¹⁵

And again:

Out of London, an actor . . . too frequently . . . studies to quit nature, and gain false applause by any means.¹⁶

It will be recalled that when the Vicar's son burst into the flowing tears of sentimentality upon viewing his father and "persisted in his refusal to appear again upon the stage, the players put another in his place." Fortunate indeed would such a company be that could carry around utility men like a modern big league baseball club. Not only were most of them not provided with understudies or substitutes, but many were actually short the required number of some of the pieces they aimed to present. There was the gentleman who put on the "full drama of Pizarro, supported by four men and two women only; and by a quick change of an outward garment was enabled to personate five different characters that evening."¹⁷ There was the production of *George Barnwell* "in Mr. Benjamin Boulter's Barn" with a condensed cast as follows:

Geo. Barnwell	and	Blunt	.....	Mr. Cockney
Thoroughgood	and	The Uncle	.....	Mr. Hazard
Trueman	and	Lucy	.....	Master Doodle
Milwood			.....	Mrs. Doodle

And at the bottom of the play-bill appears the following apologetic appeal:

Mrs. Doodle solicits the indulgence of her friends this evening, on account of the delay which will inevitably take place after the third act, owing to her attendance at the door, to receive the half-price.¹⁸

Whether the play-bill from which these quotations are taken was genuine or was invented for satirical purposes, the variety of qualifications which a stroller might be called upon to use

¹⁵ Tate Wilkinson, *Wandering Patentee*, iii, 131.

¹⁶ Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, ii, 256 Note the man who uses gestures and inflections in twenty characters, because they go well in one, *Ibid.*, *Wandering Patentee*, iv, 16.

¹⁷ S. W. Ryley, *The Itinerant*, ix, 84-5.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, v, 162.

was very long indeed,¹⁹ declaiming soliloquies in private houses, playing the fiddle, writing prologues for special occasions, and even composing light and nonsensical songs. But with all the versatility and all the enforced doubling-up there must have been times when the number was really short and, though one is not obliged to suppose that, even among strollers, there was any historical basis for Professor Brander Matthews' anecdote of Hamlet being presented without a Hamlet, there is at least a concrete record of a presentation of *The Devil to Pay* without a Sir John Overule.²⁰

Before the candles of a country barn²¹ the strolling players became the center of applause, though often also the object of abuse; sat at times with crowns upon their heads although the crowns were often of paper and the throne two boards across a couple of stools; spoke the finest sentiments in the best of the King's English and then passed on to trudge ignominiously amid the sneers of the town. Sometimes they travelled a regular circuit, like Mrs. Inchbald in Digges' company making Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen,²² like Bates' company touring around Sunderland, Durham, and Stockton,²³ or Tate Wilkinson's "own" patented circuit around York, Hull, Leeds, Wakefield, Doncaster, and Pontefract.²⁴ But these were the high and mighty of the profession. The underlings visited no such populous centers and merely wandered on where they could find a temporary shelter—usually the barn—in which to act their favorite *Fair Penitent*.²⁵ The record of such a company now in the British Museum contains a list of towns and the distances to be travelled between, as follows:

¹⁹ For instances, see F. W. Hawkins, *Life of Edmund Kean*, edition of London, 1869, i, 49, 54-123.

²⁰ Tate Wilkinson, *Wandering Patentee*, ii, 170.

²¹ Dodds, "The Northern Stage," loc. cit. p. 26; *The Vicar of Wakefield*, chapter xix; S. W. Ryley, *The Itinerant*, iv, 144; George Crabbe, *The Borough*, Letter XII, line 22; 'Epilogue at the End of the Season', *London Magazine*, September, 1773, xlii, 458.

²² James Boaden, *Memoir of Mrs. Inchbald*, chapter iii, vol. i, p. 39ff.

²³ M. H. Dodds, "The Northern Stage", loc. cit. p. 30.

²⁴ Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, iv, 74.

²⁵ Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, chapter xix; M. H. Dodds, "The Northern Stage," loc. cit., pp. 26-7; British Museum, Add. MS. 33,488, f. 3; James Boaden, *Memoir of Mrs. Inchbald*, i, 50; *The Glasgow Journal*, 2 June 1774.

From Cardigan to Reath, 41. Then to Cowbridge, 14. Then to Cardiff, 8, then to Landaff, 2.

From Bristol to Phillips Norton, 15, then to Froom 4, then to Bradford 8. then to Trowbridge, 2. then To Laycock, 6. then to Cossham 2 miles. then to Milesham, 2. then to Cain 6. then to Clipnam 5 then to Malmesbury 9, then to Wotton Basset 8. Then to Swinddon 4 then to Highworth 5 mile. Then to Farringdon 9. then to Bamton 9. Then to Whitney 3, then to Tame 17, then to Alisbury 6. Then to Barkhamstead 10 then to Watford 9. Then to Barnet 8.

Mrs. Inchbald might travel by coach²⁷ but Tate Wilkinson travelling that way picked up a hungry actor on the road and gave him not only a convenient lift but a needed meal,²⁸ and Ryley called pedestrianism his favorite mode of travelling,²⁹ Goldsmith gave his players the luxury of a cart to haul their scenes,³⁰ but said nothing of the stage deep with shavings,³¹ of the wreck of a building often met with³² or of the "dirty scenes, dirty clothes, all dark and dismal."³³

Under such conditions the small groups passed from town to town, presenting a tremendous repertoire of plays. From Shirley to Macklin, from Sam Foote to Kemble, they spent their apprenticeship in the provinces; many of the most successful—Siddons, Macready, Kean, Cooke,—had their turn at "strolling" in one way or another. The biographies of theatrical people of the period tell of the list of parts they learned on the road.³⁴ In only about a year of work on the boards, Mrs. Inchbald had acquired a list of at least thirty-two parts³⁵ including Cordelia in *Lear*, Desdemona in *Othello*, *Jane Shore*, Juliet in Shakespeare's play, Imogen in *Cymbeline*, Sylvia in *The Recruiting Officer*, and Louisa Dudley in *The West Indian*. And here is

²⁶ British Museum, Add. MS., 33,488, f. 5.

²⁷ James Boaden, *Memoirs of Mrs. Inchbald*, i. 52. Tho at times on foot or by cart.

²⁸ Tate Wilkinson, *Wandering Patentee*, i, 190-6.

²⁹ S. W. Ryley, *The Itinerant*, vi, 227. Also, *ibid.*, vi, 173, 190.

³⁰ *Vicar of Wakefield*, chapter xviii.

³¹ Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, iii, 60-1.

³² Tate Wilkinson, *Wandering Patentee*, iii. 37.

³³ Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, iv, 60.

³⁴ T. Campbell, *Life of Mrs. Siddons*; E. A. Parry, *Life of Charles Macklin*; John Adolphus, *Memoirs of John Bannister, Comedian*.

³⁵ James Boaden, *Memoir of Mrs. Inchbald*, i, 36, 50-51.

the record of plays on the list of that little company whose books now in the British Museum have already been cited.³⁶

Morrison's Parts

Tragedy.

Hamlet. Oroonoko, Othello, The Orphan,
Cato, Fair Penitent, The Earl of Essex,
Jane Shore, King Charles, Tamerlane,
Spanish Fryar, Mourning Bride, George
Barnwell, Vennice Preserved, Distres'd Mother.

Comedy.

Provok'd Husband, B. Stratagem, Busy Body,
Recruiting Officer, Love for Love, Bold
Stroke for a Wife, Constant Couple, The
Drummer, The Inconstant, Turnbridge Wells,
The Miser, Esop, Country Lasses, The Old
Bachelor, Beggars Opera, The Committee, The
Twin Rivals.

Entertainments.

Devil to Pay, Mock Doctor, Virgin Unmask'd,
Yorkshire Man, Lover his own Rival, Damon &
Philida, Chrononhotonthologus, Strollers, Tom
Thumb, King & the Miller, Tanner of York,
Flora or hob in the Well, Cobler of Preston,
Wife Well Manag'd, The Lovers Opera, The Vintner
in the Suds, The Devil in the Wine Cellar, Stage Coach
Toy Shop.

Small wonder that occasionally the members of the craft inserted into their common conversation a strange jargon of quotation, like the one who made his witticisms in the words of the lines he was accustomed to speak on the stage, saying "I have something here, sir," shaking his pocket, "that passeth show—these," pointing to his eyes, "but the trappings and the suits of woe."³⁷

There are several descriptions of the manner³⁸ in³⁹ which these companies were recruited and the arrangement⁴⁰ by which they proceeded, as for example those from Holcroft³⁸ and Dibdin³⁹ already cited by Mr. Thaler.⁴⁰ The itinerant S. Ryley wrote:

³⁶ British Museum, Add. MS., 33,488, fol. 3, 4, 5.

³⁷ S. W. Ryley, *The Itinerant*, vi, 339. Similar incidents appear in Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, i, 224; Tate Wilkinson, *Wandering Palenlee*, i, 140; iii, 196;

³⁸ Hazlitt, *Memoirs of Thomas Holcroft*, i, 228-233.

³⁹ Thomas Dibdin, *Reminiscences* (1827), i, 80-1.

⁴⁰ P. M. L. A., xxxvii, 260-1.

In passion week all the managers who wanted people and all the actors who wanted employment assembled in London. Managers; first those dignified persons who governed theatres royal; next those who presided over theatres by license; and lastly, the humble purveyors for public amusement whose ambition soared not beyond that appendage to agriculture—a barn. The actors were not less diversified than the managers. Some were dressed in the first stile of fashion; others barely clean and decent; and a third class neither one nor the other.⁴¹

And on May 18th, 1771, Macklin wrote:

The constitution of these strolling Companies is—that one man generally finds Cloaths and scenes, for which he has *four* shares of the profits. Every performer is a sharer. The Number of Performers about sixteen or eighteen. The person who provides the Cloaths and Scenes is deemed the Master of the Company, who makes all contracts for rents, etc., and is responsible for all expenses and contingencies of every kind, incidental to the undertaking.⁴²

It was, in general, a summer foray⁴³ into the small towns among the less commodious theatres and those makeshifts which passed for theatres. The plays they put on were usually old plays, but sometimes they got some of the newer pieces, occasionally pirating them from Sheridan or someone else, when the originals were kept under lock and key,⁴⁴ in other cases securing their texts from copies obligingly sent by the London Mr. Harris to obliging friends in Dublin, Bath, or Norwich.⁴⁵

The income collected in the old brown hat⁴⁶ was rarely great. One actor “waded through mud and misery for three weeks, to exhibit three times, for a little more than £2 per night,”⁴⁷ and his rambling search of “a precarious existence”⁴⁸ finally led him to conclude that he was tired of starving it on profits, for though the people stand the “gag” ever so well, “the managers sack the money,”⁴⁹ and confessed to “many an unsuccessful

⁴¹ S. W. Ryley, *The Itinerant*, iv, 144.

⁴² James T. Kirkman, *Memoirs of the Life of Charles Macklin* (1799), ii, 35

⁴³ E. A. Parry, *Charles Macklin*, p. 123; James T. Kirkman, *Memoirs of the Life of Charles Macklin*, ii, 46; R. J. Broadbent, *Annals of the Liverpool Stage*, p. 51.

⁴⁴ Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, ii, 230.

⁴⁵ Tate Wilkinson, *Wandering Patentee*, iii, 33.

⁴⁶ Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, iii, 60.

⁴⁷ S. W. Ryley, *The Itinerant*, vi, 368.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, vi, 359.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, v, 220.

effort and many an hour of heart-rending distress."⁵⁰ If the Chester races netted them perhaps a startling £200, the Manchester races the following week and an empty theatre lost them all their earnings.⁵¹ Other testimony is to the same effect. There was Mrs. Burden, whose six months in Dublin netted her only six pounds.⁵² Sheffield may have paid Tate Wilkinson's company, £70 for five weeks work,⁵³ but in other places the audience might be only "the shadow of a shade,"⁵⁴ or the play might open to an audience of one.⁵⁵ There were certainly times when "the poor player, in a middling class, who struts his hour upon the stage, is certainly destitute of daily bread, becomes distressed, and absolutely reduced to being a charity-dependent, where the weekly stipend had been merely an existence."⁵⁶ London might pay 3/6 for the pit, and 6/- for boxes, Newcastle 1/6 for the pit and 2/6 for boxes, and Windsor, Bath, and Liverpool, 4/-;⁵⁷ and yet the people of even such a considerable place as York grumbled at the prices of 4/- for the boxes without the added attraction of a London star.⁵⁸ Sheffield might pay eight, ten, or twelve pounds a night to a fairly good performance,⁵⁹ but the less distinguished strollers got along on lower prices and "at its best the stage had its bitters mingled with its sweets."⁶⁰

The same company from whose manuscript records in the British Museum⁶¹ I have already quoted, gives an account of its proceedings which throws much light on the whole subject.

Fryday Began at Cardigan, May the 8th 1741.

	£	s	d
The Beaux Stratagem Taken	1	—	1 — 6
Musick	0	—	2 — 0

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, viii., 134.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, vi, 211.

⁵² Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, iii, 85.

⁵³ Tate Wilkinson, *Wandering Patentee*, ii, 159.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 222.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 37.

⁵⁶ Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, iii, 23.

⁵⁷ Tate Wilkinson, *Wandering Patentee*, ii, 213 (in 1795).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, iv, 67.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, ii, 147.

⁶⁰ Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, i, 228.

⁶¹ British Museum, Add. MS. 33,488, f. 22 et seq.

Candles	0 — 0 — 10½
Ale	0 — 0 — 6
Paper	0 — 0 — 1½

 0 — 3 — 6

Remains 0 — 18 — 0

Shar'd at 6 shares 3s. 0 — 18 — 0

In Hand 0 — 0 — 0

Mr. Cushing left the Company May the 12th at Carmarthen.

Saturday Begun at Landilo, May the 16th 1741

The Spanish Fryar and Honest Yorks. 1 — 0 — 6

Taking the Town 0 — 1 — 0

Wed. Begun at Landoverly May 20th 1741

The Spanish Fryar and Honest Yorks.. 0 — 16 — 6

Thurs. May the 21st 1741

The Beaux Stratagem & P. Lovers 0 — 19 — 6

Spent in Going out of town 0 — 0 — 6

Thurs. Begun at the Hay May the 28th 1741

The Spanish Fryar and Honest Yorks. 0 — 19 — 6

Friday May the 29th 1741

The Beaux Stratagem & P. Lovers 0 — 19 — 6

"Waterage" 0 — 0 — 2 (10s per.)

Tuesday Begun at Crickhowell June 2d 1741

The Spanish Fryar 1 — 2 — 0

Nails and pack thread 0 — 0 — 1

Friday Begun at Abergavenny June 5th 1741

The Spanish Fryar and Honest Yorks.

Taken 0 — 9 — 0

Musick 0 — 1 — 0

Candles 0 — 0 — 7

Ale 0 — 0 — 2

Paper 0 — 0 — 3

Rent 0 — 1 — 0

Nails & Pack Thread 0 — 0 — 3

Spent 0 — 0 — 6

 Charges 0 — 3 — 9

Remains 0 — 5 — 3

Shar'd at 5 Shares 1s. 0 — 5 — 0

 In Hand 0 — 0 — 3

Monday June the 8th 1741

The Beaux Stratagem & P. Lovers 0 — 7 — 0

In Hand 0 — 0 — 0

Wed. Begun at Usk June 10th 1741

The Spanish Fryar and Honest Yorks. 0 — 6 — 6

Friday Begun at Carleon June the 12th 1741

The Spanish Fryar 0 — 10 — 0

Mr. Hurrell and His Wife left the Company June the 14th 1741.

Monday Begun at New Land June 22d.

The Beaux Stratagem and Credulous Cuckold	2 — 8 — 0
Curtains 0 — 1 — 0	
3 @ 14/6 per	

Thursday Began at Malmsbury July the 2d 1741

The Spanish Fryar and Parting Lovers	0 — 16 — 0
3 @ 4s per	

Monday July the 6th 1741

The Spanish Fryar and Cobbler of Preton	1 — 1 — 0
3 @ 5/6 per	

Wed. Began at Cricklade July the 6th 1741

The Spanish Fryar and Parting Lovers	0 — 6 — 6
3 @ 1/6	

In Hand	0 — 0 — 0
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Thursday July the 9th 1741

The Beaux Stratagem & Crd. ^{ls} Cuck ^d	0 — 9 — 0
3 @ 2s	

In Hand	0 — 0 — 2
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Fryday July the 10th 1741

George Barnwell King & Miller	0 — 8 — 6
3 @ 2s	

In Hand	0 — 0 — 1
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Monday Began at Lechlade July the 13, 1741

The Spanish Fryar and Parting L.	1 — 0 — 0
3 @ 6s	

In Hand	0 — 0 — 0
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Tuesday July the 14th 1741

The Beaux Stratagem & Cr'd Cuckol	0 — 7 — 6
3 @ 2s	

In Hand	0 — 0 — 0
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Wednesday July the 15th 1741

The Spanish Fryar & C. P.	0 — 11 — 0
3 @ 3s	

In Hand	0 — 0 — 2½
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Tuesday Began at Marchen July 31, 1741

The Spanish Fryar and Parting Lovers	0 — 0 — 0
3 @ 1/6	

In Hand	0 — 0 — 1½
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My final contribution to the question of finances is to point to a passage in Macready, which reads:

At that time a theatre was considered indispensable in towns of very scanty population. The prices of admission varied from 5s., 4s., or 3s., to boxes, 2s.6d., or 2s. to pit, and 1s., to gallery. A sufficient number of theatres were united in what was called a circuit, to occupy a company during the whole year, so that a respectable player could calculate upon his weekly salary, without de-

fault, from year's end to year's end: and the circuits, such as those of Norwich, York, etc., with incomes rising from £70 to £300 per annum, would be a sort of home to him, so long as his conduct and industry maintained his favour with his audiences. But beyond that, the regularity of rehearsal and the attention paid to the production of plays, most of which came under the class of the 'regular drama' made a sort of school for him in the repetition of his characters and the criticism of his auditors.⁶²

But not the least disagreeable part of the profession of stroller was the manner of their reception about the countryside. Nor do I refer to occasions when an actor might be "saluted with a variety of candlesticks, branches, and flaming candles"⁶³ where what was sport to the audience might be death to the player⁶⁴ or even to instances of the manager and Mr. and Mrs. Barrington taking all the money and leaving the members of the company with nothing but the spirit of open revolt for their satisfaction.⁶⁵ In a legal sense, the players were infamous.⁶⁶ Says Holcroft, in a passage not cited by Mr. Thaler:

Players, by following their profession, act in some places contrary to all law, and are called strollers, vagabonds and vagrants, and in others are protected by the law and dignified with the high and mighty title of his Majesty's Servants.⁶⁷

And elsewhere he expatiates at length as follows:

The laws have, unjustly, empowered the demon of persecution to assault the profession of a player. Narrow-minded people have taken advantage of this injustice, and placed the professors at a distance, which ignorance and arrogance, at all times, suppose they have a right to preserve; and the want of principle and abilities in the player, too frequently justifies this usurpation. The most uncultivated⁶⁸ among the comedians get, habitually, and from the mere repetition of their parts, refined notions, which are several degrees beyond the sphere of the lower orders of the people, with whom they are obliged either to associate, or to seek the society of the abandoned and dissolute among the higher, the respectable part of whom are stigmatized with want of decorum, if they are known to hold any converse with men whom the law calls vagabonds.⁶⁹

⁶² Macready, *Reminiscences*, pp. 28-9.

⁶³ Tate Wilkinson, *Wandering Patentee*, iii, 219-221.

⁶⁴ Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, ii, 241.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 144.

⁶⁶ George Crabbe, *The Borough*, Letter XII.

⁶⁷ Thomas Holcroft, *Hugh Trevor*, iii, 103.

⁶⁸ This sentiment is also touched upon in *Alwyn* (i, 143): "The sublime and forcible lessons of morality with which our dramatic pieces abound, scarcely permit the inculcator to stand neuter."

⁶⁹ Thomas Holcroft, *Alwyn, or the Gentleman Comedian*, ii, 30.

Conceive, if you can, a stage lighted by candles, draped with curtains costing one shilling, a company varying from three to twenty actors, a manager who rarely had "in hand" more than a few pence, who collected his audience by "taking the town" at the price of one shilling, who invariably squandered (?) twopence for ale for the helpers, who spent threepence for "paper" on which he usually wrote out the play-bills by hand. Conceive of a night's acting of two plays that brought in the sum of £1/1/6. Then, in addition to, or perhaps as a partial cause of their other difficulties, they were condemned from the pulpit⁷⁰ and had their playhouse burned down by fanatical Methodists,⁷¹ and were styled an abomination⁷² and treated with contempt.⁷³ They might be compelled to shut up⁷⁴ or perhaps indebted for a crowded room to have had a glass of wine in the face from a too demonstrative citizen, whose fellows made up for pity what they had previously lacked in inclination to patronize.⁷⁵ Yet, like the player with whom the Vicar of Wakefield carried on his long conversation down the road,⁷⁶ a gentleman stroller might be well treated at times by the village celebrities⁷⁷ and mingle as an equal with many of the most respectable inhabitants.⁷⁸ Or a neighboring Duke might give out a guinea to each for every performance and as Northumberland did with Strickland's Company at Alnwick in 1787, wind up their season with an extra bonus and a supper at the local inn.⁷⁹ And so they trudged about the country, playing in barns, sometimes finding their barns transformed into Methodist chapels,⁸⁰

⁷⁰ Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, iii, 9-12, 252. Holcroft remarks that that was "a good town" for the actors in which though "the parson preaches against the players every Sunday (as many parsons did during the season) . . . as he was not mightily beloved, why they are resolved not to mind what he says." (*Alwyn*, i, 149)

⁷¹ S. W. Ryley, *The Itinerant*, vii, 332.

⁷² *Ibid.*, ix, 162.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, ix, 107.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, vi, 217.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, vi, 198.

⁷⁶ *The Vicar of Wakefield*, Chapter xviii.

⁷⁷ S. W. Ryley, *The Itinerant*, vi, 436.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, vi, 364.

⁷⁹ M. H. Dodds, "The Northern Stage," *loc. cit.*, p. 25.

⁸⁰ S. W. Ryley, *The Itinerant*, v, 246, ix, 185.

and sometimes playing in any large hall which they could hire, the town hall, the moot hall, the assembly rooms, a large room in an inn, a big workshop, a temporary booth.⁸¹ One of their provisional theatres has been described by an actor of the time:

We dressed, male and female, in one room; the dressing room was at the audience end of the house, and we had to pass through them to reach the stage, which was no higher than the floor, the whole theatre being a large room in a public house.⁸²

It was for such labor as this, and for such small and irregular pay that managers ran about "scouring troops of little country companies." The Children of Thespis were trained to hardships of the road as well as in the difficulties of the stage, and for those who succeeded in elevating themselves to even minor posts in London, like Inchbald and Holcroft, or to higher ones like Kean and Kemble and Cooke, it can with truth be said that they had to prove themselves superior not only in the theatrical art, but in resisting moral temptation, enduring physical hardships, and in keeping cheerful and tenacious of their chosen task amid keen discouragements.

ELBRIDGE COLBY

⁸¹ M. H. Dodds, "The Northern Stage," *loc. cit.*, p. 24.

⁸² William Dunlap, *Memoirs of George Frederick Cooke*, i, 24.

XXIX. PATER, HEINE, AND THE OLD GODS OF GREECE

Pater's thought is thoroughly pervaded by the Teutonic element; indeed, when he begins his essay, *Apollo in Picardy*, with an unidentified quotation which reads like a synthesis of his own reflections and credits it to "a writer of Teutonic proclivities," the observant reader is inclined to suspect that Pater is really quoting from himself.¹ Even if this identification should prove to be mistaken, Pater's interest in Goethe, in Hegel, and in Winckelmann still points to his indebtedness to Teutonic thought, for the substance of his work constantly shows how the ideas of these Germans fertilized his own thinking on such matters as the aim and ideal of life, the fundamental principles of æsthetic theory, Romanticism as a mood of the mind, Greek art and Greek mythology. The present paper is not concerned with this Teutonic influence in all of its phases, but confines itself to a single theme, to be traced not only in Pater's critical essays but also in his more creative and fanciful pieces, in which an idea derived from Heinrich Heine comes to its blossoming. Pater met with this idea in the writings of Heine as early as 1869 and he continued to show his interest in it down to 1893, so that its influence is discernible throughout almost the whole course of his literary career.

The idea is briefly this: At the advent of Christianity the old gods of Greece were not destroyed but exiled and driven from their thrones into distant places, where they lived in disguise, often in the form of devils or evil spirits. Heine elaborates this idea in *The Gods in Exile*, published in French in 1853. Pater speaks of this work as "an essay full of that strange blending of sentiment which is characteristic of the traditions of the middle age concerning the pagan religions."² It may, however, have been the Frenchman Theophile Gautier, rather than Heine himself, who directed Pater's attention to the idea, for in 1869 in his essay on *Leonardo da Vinci*, Pater remarks that Gautier in

¹ *Apollo in Picardy*, in *Miscellaneous Studies*, p. 142. All page references to Pater's essays are to the 'Library Edition' of his works.

² *Pico della Mirandola*, in *The Renaissance*. p. 31.

speaking of the Italian artist's picture of Saint John hanging in the Louvre, calls attention to its suggestion "of Heine's notion of decayed gods, who, to maintain themselves, after the fall of paganism, took employment in the new religion."³ These words of Pater's are an exact translation of Gautier's remark to be found in his *Guide de L'Amateur au Musée du Louvre suivi de la vie et les oeuvres de quelques peintres*. It is impossible to say from evidence at present available whether this passage in Gautier directed Pater to Heine, or whether he had already made the acquaintance of the idea in its original source. It little matters, however, for there is no doubt that by 1871, only two years later, Pater has been to the fountain head and is fully acquainted with an idea that he never quite forgot.

By this time (1871) the idea is so prominent in Pater's thought as to form the background against which he places one of the characters of the Italian Renaissance—the theme which elicited his first literary enthusiasm and which gave life to his first published and perhaps his most widely read book—*Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873). In one of the studies, that of Pico della Mirandola, published previously in 1871 as a magazine article, the idea of the reappearance of the old pagan gods in a changed form in Christian times, stands out in bold prominence. At the outset of his essay Pater introduces it by way of a translation of the original:

'Let me briefly remind the reader'—says Heine, in the *Gods in Exile*, an essay full of that strange blending of sentiment which is characteristic of the traditions of the middle age concerning the pagan religions—'how the gods of the older world, at the time of the definite triumph of Christianity, that is, in the third century, fell into painful embarrassments, which greatly resembled certain tragical situations of their earlier life. They now found themselves beset by the same troublesome necessities to which they had once before been exposed during the primitive ages, in that revolutionary epoch when the Titans broke out of the custody of Orcus, and, piling Pelion on Ossa, scaled Olympus. Unfortunate gods! They had then to take flight ignominiously and hide themselves among us here on earth, under all sorts of disguises. The larger number betook themselves to Egypt, where for greater security they assumed the forms of animals, as is generally known. Just in the same way, they had to take flight again, and seek entertainment in remote hiding places, when those iconoclastic zealots, the black brood of monks, broke down all the temples, and pursued the gods with fire and curses. Many of these unfortunate emigrants, now entirely deprived of shelter and ambrosia, must needs take to

³ Loenardo da Vinci, in *The Renaissance*, p. 118.

vulgar handicrafts, as a means of earning their bread. Under these circumstances, many whose sacred groves had been confiscated, let themselves out for hire as wood-cutters in Germany, and were forced to drink beer instead of nectar. Apollo seems to have been content to take service under graziers, and as he had once kept the cows of Admetus, so he lived now as a shepherd in Lower Austria. Here, however, having become suspected on account of his beautiful singing, he was recognized by a learned monk as one of the old pagan gods, and handed over to the spiritual tribunal. On the rack he confessed that he was the god Apollo; and before his execution he begged that he might be suffered to play once more upon the lyre, and to sing a song. And he played so touchingly, and sang with such magic, and was withal so beautiful in form and feature, that all the women wept, and many of them were so deeply impressed that they shortly afterwards fell sick. Some time afterwards the people wished to drag him from the grave again, that a stake might be driven through his body, in the belief that he had been a vampire, and that the sick women would by this means recover. But they found the grave empty.⁴

The appropriateness of this quotation in the essay on Pico appears when attention is called to the fact that Pater looks upon Pico as one of the gods returned from pagan times. "It is," so run Pater's words, "because the life of Pico, thus lying down to rest in the Dominican habit, yet amid thoughts of the older gods, himself like one of those comely divinities, reconciled indeed to the new religion, but still with a tenderness for the earlier life, and desirous literally to 'bind the ages each to each by natural piety'—it is because this life is so perfect a parallel to the attempt made in his writings to reconcile Christianity with the ideas of paganism, that Pico, in spite of the scholastic character of those writings, is really interesting."⁵

The aim of Italian scholarship of the fifteenth century is thus defined by Pater in the light of Heine's explanation of the mediæval conception of the old gods. Peter sees in Pico one of those minds that were "deeply enough impressed by the beauty and power of pagan story to ask themselves whether the religion of Greece was indeed a rival of the religion of Christ; for the older gods had rehabilitated themselves, and men's allegiance was divided."⁶ True as this was of the Renaissance attitude, it is none the less significant of Pater's own at the time (1871). The beauty of pagan mythology as seen in Renais-

⁴ *Pico della Mirandola*, pp. 31-33. Cf. *The Works of Heinrich Heine*, trs. C. G. Leland, XII, 339-341.

⁵ *Pico della Mirandola*, p. 44.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

sance art as well as in Greek originals is so dominant in Pater's thought as to be a religion with him. Thus when he writes—"And the fifteenth century was an impassioned age, so ardent and serious in its pursuit of art that it consecrated everything with which art had to do as a religious object—" we not only recognize the pertinency as regards Pater's own attitude but we understand why in his translation of Heine's statement regarding the return of the old gods, he omitted one entire clause. Heine referred to the triumph of Christianity as the event "when the true lord of the world planted his crusading banner on the castle of heaven"—a statement which Pater in his translation omits, probably because it was not in keeping with the neo-paganism of his own thoughts, though he retains the correlated clause, namely, "when those iconoclastic zealots, the black brood of monks, broke down all the temples and pursued the gods with fire and curses."

A second application of Heine's idea by way of a critical judgment appears in the essay which Pater published as a magazine article in 1872—*Two Early French Stories*. According to Pater there was an abortive, though genuine, Renaissance in France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and its characteristic traits can be illustrated in two stories, that of Heloise and Abelard and the romance of Aucassin and Nicolette. To explain the Renaissance spirit of these stories—the liberty of heart, the spirit of rebellion and revolt against the moral and religious ideas of the time, Pater falls back upon the idea of the old pagan gods returned to earth after their downfall. "It was," he thus writes, "the return of that ancient Venus, not dead, but only hidden for a time in the caves of the Venusberg, of those old pagan gods still going to and fro on the earth, under all sorts of disguises."⁷ The connection with Heine is, of course, apparent in the light of what we have already seen; but our assurance is made doubly sure when we note that coupling of the Heloise and Abelard story with the Tannhäuser legend, for it is one that Pater made after Heine. Pater refers to the legend of Abelard as "hardly less passionate, certainly not less characteristic of the middle age, than the legend⁸ of Tannhäuser."⁹ Heine's

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁸ *Two Early French Stories*, in *The Renaissance*, p. 24.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

language is even more glowing. "Knowest thou," he writes, "the letters of Heloise to Abelard? Next to the high song of the great king (I mean King Solomon), I know of no more burning or flaming song of tenderness than the dialogue between Venus and the Tannhäuser. The song is like the battle of love, and in it runs the reddest heart's blood."¹⁰

But Pater makes more than a merely critical use of the legend of the return of the old gods in the mediæval age. So deeply does the idea sink in that in time it takes possession of his imagination and sets him to visualizing. At one point in his essay on Pico it seems as if the face of the old god were to look out from beneath the monk's hood of the Renaissance scholar, but it turns out an archangel's after all. In time, however, Pater will visualize his fixed idea in the way of a phantasy; but this is not to be until he has steeped himself in the study of Greek myths.

Only his studies in the myths of Dionysus and Apollo need concern us here. That of the myth of Dionysus is interesting for our immediate purpose in that it reveals a certain attitude of mind in Pater himself which later he will illustrate in a creative way. For Pater's *A Study of Dionysus* is no work of mere scholarship, an amassing, arranging and sifting of facts to indicate the presence of a principle or truth—though it is extremely valuable as such; it is interesting as revealing Pater's sympathies and way of work as an artist no less than as a scholar; in fact its excellence is due to a subtlety of mind not the scholar's but the poet's. Thus he characterizes his study as an endeavor "to present, with something of the concrete character of a picture, Dionysus, the old Greek god, as we may discern him through a multitude of stray hints in art and poetry and religious custom, through modern speculation on the tendencies of early thought, through traits and touches in our own actual states of mind, which may seem sympathetic with those tendencies."¹¹

In thus transferring his subject from the domain of scholarship to that of art Pater is but continuing ancient Greek thought in regard to Dionysus. Dionysus is to him "the

¹⁰ *The Works of Heinrich Heine*, trs. C. G. Leland, XII, 322.

¹¹ *The Bacchanals of Euripides*, in *Greek Studies*, p. 53.

projected expression of the ways and dreams of a primitive people, brooded over and harmonized by the energetic Greek imagination; the religious imagination of the Greeks being, precisely, a unifying or identifying power, bringing together things naturally asunder ; welding into something like the identity of a human personality the whole range of man's experiences of a given object, or series of objects—all their outward qualities, and the visible facts regarding them—all the hidden ordinances by which those facts and qualities hold of unseen forces, and have their roots in purely visionary places."¹²

In his essay, *The Bacchanals of Euripides*, which may be considered as an appendix to his earlier study of the myth, he indicates a mental and artistic process of selection which he himself is to follow in his treatment of the legend he learned from Heine. Thus he notes that in the *Bacchanals* of Euripides, "we have an example of the figurative or imaginative power of poetry, selecting and combining, at will, from that mixed and floating mass, weaving the many coloured threads together, blending the various phases of legend—all the light and shade of the subject—into a shape, substantial and firmly set, through which a mere fluctuating tradition might retain a permanent place in men's imaginations."¹³

The Bacchanals of Euripides is interesting for our immediate purpose, furthermore, in showing that Pater while reading his Euripides, was noting points of contact with things mediæval. For example he points to the grotesque element of mediæval mystery in the absurd dance of the old men under the influence of the god Dionysus.¹⁴ Likewise he parallels the martyrdom of St. Firmin with the experience of Bacchus when in the power of Pentheus—an instance of mediæval simplicity, as he views it.¹⁵

While Pater was at work, then, on the study of the myth of Dionysus, he was setting in operation certain mental processes which in time were to fashion the matter of his knowledge according to the suggestion he had earlier taken from Heine.

¹² *A Study of Dionysus*, in *Greek Studies*, p. 29.

¹³ *The Bacchanals of Euripides*, in *Greek Studies*, pp. 53.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

The time came in 1886, eight years after the appearance of *The Bacchanals of Euripides* and ten years after *A Study of Dionysus*; and the work in which the borrowed idea clothed itself was his *Denys L'Auxerrois*—a bit of phantasy in which Pater's imagination found full play.

Pater characterizes his *Denys L'Auxerrois* as "a quaint legend, with detail enough, of a return of a golden or poetically-gilded age (a denizen of old Greece itself actually finding his way back again among men) as it happened in an ancient town of medieval France" in the middle of the thirteenth century.¹⁶ It is in reality, however, a piece of creative criticism akin to that type of essay, the imaginary portrait, which Pater has made his own. The distinguishing mark of the type is its aim to present through the portrait of an imaginary character the spirit or formula of an age. *Denys L'Auxerrois*, though varying from the type through the presence of the element of phantasy, remains essentially an imaginary portrait. The aim is to set forth the peculiar temper of the communal spirit that manifested itself in the French town of Auxerre in the thirteenth century in the building of its cathedral and in the preëminence the town gave to the development of liturgical music. And these manifestations of artistic spirit are allied with the political communal spirit of the time and are placed for us against the natural background of the wine country, in the midst of which Auxerre is situated. By reworking Heine's idea of the reappearance of the old pagan gods, Pater manages to set forth in the character and career of one Denys the essential traits of the Greek god Dionysus and the outstanding incidents of his romantic history, the similarity of the name Denys to the Greek name Dionysus being but one instance of Pater's clever treatment.

In Heine's *The Gods in Exile* Pater found a legend, in all probability a fabrication of Heine's own, in which Bacchus's appearance in the middle age is told.¹⁷ Heine's work has none of Pater's subtlety and serves no other end than to glorify the ideal of sensualism at the expense of ecclesiastical Christianity. In the legend Bacchus figures as a monk, but only in appearance,

¹⁶ *Denys L'Auxerrois*, in *Imaginary Portraits*, p. 47.

¹⁷ *The Works of Heinrich Heine*, trs. by C. G. Leland, XII, 341-351.

for with hood and gown off, he reveals the wine god. But in Pater, Denys is the old pagan god not merely disguised but manifesting his genuine godhead in a changed environment.

Pater's fanciful treatment of the Dionysus myth assumes two forms. The first is but an accessory of the second and is that of an arabesque in stained glass and tapestry dating from the time of the legend proper. In this Dionysus appears as the god who presides over the building of an organ—Dionysus being in the old myth the god who inspired the music of the reed and whose worship inspired the Bacchic revelers with their cymbals, pipes, and long reed-like trumpets, all of which appear in the arabesque. As a person Bacchus appears both as a flaxen-haired, flower-like creature, naked among the vines leaves, and also as a suffering and tortured god—both aspects being present in the original Greek conception, though Pater makes more than a Greek would of the god's melancholy. Thus he writes: "It was as if one of those fair, triumphant beings (viz. gods) had cast in his lot with the creatures of an age later than his own, people of a larger, spiritual capacity and assuredly of a larger capacity for melancholy." The true Hellenic idea is further modified by alien conceptions, in Pater's description of Dionysus as "sometimes muffled in skins against the cold" and "sometimes in the dress of a monk."¹⁸ The first of these has a mediæval quaintness recalling Merlin's disguise in Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur*,¹⁹ though Pater is but vizualizing one side of the dual god of summer and winter, which Dionysus was in truth to the Greek mind. The conception of him as a monk may derive from Heine's legend of Bacchus, though it is one that might easily have occurred to Pater unprompted by any other source. Finally, when Pater writes of the god's appearance—"but always with a strong impress of real character and incident from the veritable streets of Auxerre"¹⁸—we note how his fancy is amplifying the Greek conception of Dionysus as a being who was what Pater calls "the spiritual form" of "a certain group of natural objects, in all their varied perspective, their changes of colour and tone in varying light and shade"²⁰—

¹⁸ *Denys L'Auxerrois*, in *Imaginary Portraits*, p. 54.

¹⁹ *Le Morte D'Arthur*, Book I, ch. 17.

²⁰ *A Study of Dionysus*, in *Greek Studies*, p. 37.

the relation of Dionysus to the vine as a natural fact being identical with the relation of Denys to the people of Auxerre.

But it is in the legend proper, which forms the substance of his portrait, that Pater's phantasy is at its best. Here old Greek conceptions reappear under three clearly distinguishable phases. In the first place, there are certain aspects under which Denys in his own person is Dionysus with many of the old god's powers and properties;—as the god of all flowing things, especially water; as the god inspiring the music of the reed; as the god inspiring art; as the incarnation of the democratic spirit; as the embodiment of the spirit of comedy; as the expression of the spirit of spring; as the visible manifestation of a civilizing power.

The charm of Pater's sketch is enhanced by an appreciation of the clever way in which he makes his mediæval Denys suggest all these aspects of Dionysus's power. The primary conception of Dionysus as the old wine god is suggested by certain incidents that synchronize with Denys's appearance in Auxerre. It is to his presence that Pater refers for the explanation of the rich vintages at the time. And the vintages were so plentiful that fine abundant wine was to be found in poor men's cottages. Then, too, this glad time was auspiciously opened as a veritable golden age by the discovery of an old wine flask in a recently unearthed Greek coffin of stone. The Auxerre wine poured into this and mingling with the yet redolent tawny sediment of the Roman wine it had held centuries ago, brought back thoughts of the golden age and thus links this mediæval time with old Greece by way of Rome. By this Pater evidently meant to suggest the connection of the classical spirit of Greece and Rome with the spirit of French mediæval art.

The idea that Dionysus is the god of all flowing things, especially water, Pater elaborates by calling attention to the fact that the only nourishment Denys took before his dark season was spring water and fruit. Denys has, too, the gift of locating water by the use of a divining rod, whereby Pater but parallels the well known fact that the thyrsus, a wand with cone a-top, —one of the symbols of Bacchus and his crew—was used at times to make water and milk gush from the object struck.

And in having Denys delight in watching the showers come over the thirsty vine-land—he being able to detect the scent of rain long before it came—and in having him throw off his mantle to allow the rain to bathe his limbs freely, Pater is but rendering his sense of a choral ode in Euripides' *The Bacchanals* (vv. 519-575) which Pater tells us is “full of suggestions of wood and river. It is as if, for a moment, Dionysus became the suffering vine again; and the rustle of the leaves and water come through their [the chorus's] words to refresh it.”²¹

Acting upon the suggestion of Dionysus as the god inspiring the music of the reed, Pater makes Denys the one who satisfied the need felt by the people of Auxerre for a freer and more various sacred music than their instruments could produce; for it was Denys to whom the thought occurred of combining into a fuller tide of music all the instruments then in use; and so under his direction the first organ was built. And it is to be noted that Pater suggests the well known opposition of Apollo, the god of the music of the string, to all who aspired to musical proficiency by saying that “on the painted shutters of the organ-case Apollo with his lyre in his hand, as lord of the strings, seemed to look askance on the music of the reed, in all the jealousy with which he put Marsyas to death so cruelly.”²²

Denys shares with Dionysus, too, the power of inspiring enthusiasm. Dionysus is the inherent cause of music and poetry, indeed of all inspiration, whereby is meant a more energetic spirit than one's own when the mind passes out of and beyond itself. And with this manifestation of divine energy Pater associates another of which the god is the cause: namely, the inspiration of the political instinct of man, in that Dionysus, as Pater says, was suspected of a secret democratic interest.²³ In Pater's portrait of Denys these two aspects coalesce and Denys becomes the very genius of that new, free and generous manner in art, active and potent as a living creature, manifested in the decoration of the cathedral of Auxerre. This cathedral, Pater is careful to point out, was the expression of the spirit of the commune that overthrew feudalism. So Pater says the people called Denys, Frank, a name bearing its

²¹ *The Bacchanals of Euripides*, in *Greek Studies*, p. 69.

²² *Denys L'Auxerrois*, in *Imaginary Portraits*, p. 72.

²³ *A Study of Dionysus*, p. 22 n.1.

old meaning of *unrestrained, loose*—suggesting the Greek word *ἐλευθερίας* that was associated with the old god.

Pater refines upon the idea of Dionysus as the spirit of enthusiasm at the basis of all art instinct, by detailing three manners or fashions alike of feeling and expression, in which the spirit of Denys made itself felt in the artists at work under him. The first manner was marked by wild gayety and exuberance and finds its parallel in the spirit of revelry in the followers of the old god. The second manner is marked by the satiric, the grotesque and the coarse and is the manifestation in art of the melancholy spirit of Dionysus, a constant element in him and also reminiscent of those satyr creatures in his cortège—grosser, less human spirits, incorporate and made visible, of the more coarse and sluggish sorts of vegetable strength. The third manner is “as if the gay old pagan world had been *blessed* in some way; with effects to be seen most clearly in . . . a marvelous Ovid especially, upon the pages of which those old loves and sorrows seemed to come to life again in mediæval costume.”²⁴ In this we see the intimation of the idea Pater held of the presence of the classic spirit in French mediæval art.

Akin to the spirit of enthusiasm is the spirit of sport (*κῶμος*) associated with the worship of Dionysus and coming in time to bring comedy to the birth. A delightfully suggestive application of this idea to Denys is made by way of Denys's participation in the mediæval custom, long prevalent at Auxerre, of playing ball in the cathedral on Easter day, in which the canons of the cathedral and the populace joined. Denys's first appearance in Auxerre was at this time, and Pater says that “leaping in among the timid children he made the thing really a game.”²⁵

Pater's account of the ball play shows that he was familiar with the mediæval record as it has come down to us.²⁶ He saw, moreover, how the incident could be made to suggest the idea of the *renouveau*, or the rebirth of life in the spring—a fact which is at the basis of the Dionysus story in its most primitive form as a vegetation myth. But he does more than this, for a comparison of his account with the original shows how he cross-fertilized the mediæval custom with an episode in Euripides in

²⁴ *Denys L'Auxerrois*, p. 71.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

²⁶ *The Mediæval Stage*, E. K. Chambers, II, 128, n. 4.

order to bring out the spirit in old men's veins, as Dionysus in *The Bacchanals* was represented as doing. The episode is found in vv. 178-214 of Euripides' play, a passage upon which Pater comments as follows: "And then, just as in the medieval mystery, comes the inevitable grotesque, not unwelcome to our poet, who is wont in his plays, perhaps not altogether consciously, to intensify by its relief both the pity and the terror of his conceptions. At the summons of Teiresias, Cadmus appears, already arrayed like him in the appointed ornaments, in all their odd contrast with the infirmity and staidness of old age. Even in old men's veins the spring leaps again, and they are more than ready to begin dancing. But they are shy of the untried dress, and one of them is blind . . . and then the difficulty of the way! the long, steep journey to the glens! may pilgrims boil their peas? might they proceed to the place in carriages? At last, while the audience laugh more or less delicately at their aged fumbings, in some co-operative manner, the eyes of the one combining with the hands of the other, the pair are about to set forth."²⁷

Remembering this episode, Pater writes of the ball play in the cathedral on Easter day: "The aged Dean of the Chapter, Protonotary of his Holiness, held up his purple skirt a little higher, and stepping from the ranks with an amazing levity, as if suddenly relieved of his burden of eighty years, tossed the ball with his foot to the venerable capitular Homilist, equal to the occasion."²⁸

In Greek thought Dionysus was looked upon as the embodiment of a softening and civilizing power. Thus Pater's Denys teaches the people not to be afraid of the strange, ugly creatures found in their dark hiding places out of doors. And Denys practiced what he preached. He sympathized with the animals, healed their diseases, redeemed the lamb from the butcher. He tamed a wolf to keep him company like a dog. Only to the owl did he seem to be antipathetic, and yet his gentleness made it impossible for him to kill even that. He moved unharmed amid the menagerie of the castle, and let out lions through the streets during the fair. And his gentleness extended to oddly grown or even misshapen, yet potentially happy, children.

²⁷ *The Bacchanals of Euripides*, pp. 65-66.

²⁸ *Denys L'Auxerrois*, p. 58.

Such are the manifestations of the power of Dionysus as a god which form the first phase of old Greek matter reappearing in Pater's *Denys L'Auxerrois*. But there are certain incidents, specific events in the god's romantic history and more generalized incidents in the ritual of his worship, which form the second aspect under which old Greek matter shows itself in Pater's phantasy. In general the purely fantastic and supernatural factor in the original matter disappears, being humanized to suit the changed environment and the narrow limitations of Pater's legend, localized, as it was, in one spot. But in spite of the limitations of his literary form, Pater managed to handle his material in a way to suggest the spirit of the Greek original.

At times the old Greek story is retold with human characters taking the part of the divine prototypes and with purely human incidents in the place of their supernatural equivalents. Such is the treatment to which Pater subjects the original account of the birth of Dionysus. In the Greek story Semele was beloved by Zeus and once desired to behold him in the glory with which he was seen by his queen, Hera. He appeared to her in lightning. But no mortal could behold him and live. Semele gave premature birth to the child Dionysus, whom to preserve from the jealousy of Hera, Zeus hid in a part of his thigh; whence in due time it was born again. But in Pater's *Denys L'Auxerrois* this fantastic story becomes "the story of a beautiful country girl, who, about eighteen years before, had been taken from her own people, not unwillingly, for the pleasure of the Count of Auxerre. She had wished indeed to see the great lord, who had sought her privately, in the glory of his own house; but, terrified by the strange splendours of her new abode and manner of life, and the anger of the true wife, she had fled suddenly from the place during the confusion of a violent storm, and in her flight given birth prematurely to a child. The child, a singularly fair one, was found alive, but the mother dead, by lightning-stroke as it seemed, not far from her lord's chamber-door, under the shelter of a ruined ivy-clad tower."²⁹

At times the original fact is one that can be worked into his phantasy only by way of an incident that merely suggests the

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 59.

spirit of the original without attempting to parallel it in all its significant details. Thus the descent of Dionysus into Hades to bring hence his mother—as the old myth has it—becomes in Pater an exhumation of her bones and the removal of them from unconsecrated ground to a hollow space within the grave of another in the cloister, where Denys is used to work. Only as regards the motive of the principal character are the two accounts identical.

In one instance the point of the old story is never reached, though the handling of the few details that appear in the phantasy suggests the original. Thus in the Greek myth the loves of Dionysus and Ariadne are very prominent. In Pater Ariadne becomes Ariane, the daughter of the Count of Auxerre, who has been deserted by her former lover as Ariadne had been by Theseus, and who once looked favorably upon Denys and was ready to make him son-in-law to the Count. But Pater does not unite the two, giving Ariane to the young Count of Chastellux.

In another instance Pater invents an incident in the life of Denys that has the same element of adventure as appears in the account of Dionysus in the old myth. Thus in narrating an unsuccessful attempt upon the life of Denys and his escape by diving into the water and emerging again safely on the deck of one of the great grape-laden boats on the river, Pater may be thinking of the marvelous escapades that enliven the story of Dionysus's adventure with the Tyrrhennian pirates.

In recounting the death of Denys, Pater cross-fertilizes an old mediæval custom by making the death of Denys a tragic incident growing out of its practice and quite unforeseen by any one, even Denys himself. The custom takes the form of a rude, popular pageant of hunting Winter blindfolded through the streets. Denys takes the chief part, garbed in ashen-gray mantel. A point of the hair-cloth scratches his lip and the blood issuing thence aroused a sort of rage in the multitude that turned rude sport into a tragedy. In their frenzy the populace tore Denys limb from limb. The men stuck little shreds of flesh in their caps (a reminiscence of the wild orgies of the Bacchanals in Euripides' play) and the women used their long hat pins in lieu of the thyrsus (a veritable spear with cone-tipped point). At nightfall the heart of Denys was brought to

his old friend—the monk Hermes—and was finally buried in the cathedral aisle.

In this account we note the details of the mutilation of Dionysus as the hands of the Titans. They hacked his body to pieces. Hera, the main mover in the affair, brought the heart of Dionysus, which she had snatched, still bleeding, from the hands of the Titans, to Zeus; but he delivered the heart to Semele and in time a new Dionysus was born.

Finally, Pater uses the device of staging a spectacle which enacts an actual episode in the life of the old god. The spectacle takes the form of a morality play, presented in the cathedral square, wherein Denys as chief actor enacts the triumphal return of Dionysus from the East—one of the most romantic episodes in his career. Thus Pater presents Denys "amid an intolerable noise of every kind of pipe-music," appearing upon "a gaily-painted chariot, in soft silken raiment, and, for head-dress, a strange elephant-scalp with gilded tusks."³⁰

Associated with these specific incidents in the life of Dionysus are certain more generalized situations, the outgrowth of religious rites in the worship of the god. Thus Pater in explaining how Denys is the embodied spirit of communal life describes the mad revelry of the women and youths at night. "The hot nights," he says, "were noisy with swarming troops of disheveled women and youths with red-stained limbs and faces, carrying their lighted torches over the vine-clad hills, or rushing down the streets, to the horror of timid watchers, toward the cool spaces by the river."³¹ This new spirit revealed itself even in Church in the offices of the Feast of Fools. All this finds its counterpart in the mad revelry of the followers of the god in Greece, presented dramatically for us in Euripides' *Bacchanals* and pictured on many a vase.

The excesses of the people under the influence of Denys are reminiscent of another side of the worship of Dionysus. Pater explains how the followers of Denys develop a savage appetite for carnivorous diet—a fact harking back to the habit of the sacred women of Dionysus, who in mystical ceremony ate raw flesh and drank blood.³² Rumor had it that the women fol-

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 63-4.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³² Cf. *A Study of Dionysus*, p. 48.

lowers of Denys had drowned their new born babes in wantonness. A girl with child was found hanged by her own act in a dark cellar. All of which is reminiscent of the shameful excesses of the secret society described by Pliny in which the worship of Dionysus ended in Rome, as well as of the practice of human sacrifice connected with his cult in Greece.³² All these details are the outgrowth of the conception of Dionysus as a suffering god of winter and death—Dionysus Zagreus. For in Greek myth Dionysus was Döppelgänger (to use the expression that Pater found in Heine)³⁴ in that there were two contrasted sides of his nature—cheerful and tragic.

In ancient Greece certain rites were practiced on the shortest day of the year, to awaken the new born child after his wintry sleep. "Yearly" writes Pater, "about the time of the shortest day, just as the light begins to increase, and while hope is still tremulously strung, the priestesses of Dionysus were wont to assemble with many lights at his shrine, and there, with songs and dances, awoke the new-born child after his wintry sleep, waving in a sacred cradle, like the great basket used for winnowing corn, a symbolical image, or perhaps a real infant."³⁵ In Pater's phantasy the sombre side of mediæval thought colors the attitude of the people and the clergy toward Denys. In winter they view him with distrust and they wish to destroy him as a sorcerer. A plot is made to kill him "one night, the night which seemed literally to have swallowed up the shortest day in the year"; but Denys escaped and found himself safe in his earliest home, the cottage on the cliff-side. Here they made "a little feast as well as they could for the beautiful hunted creature, with abundance of waxlights."³⁶ The time and the wax lights indicate the original fact Pater is imitating.

Pater, however, does not follow the Greek conception which looked upon the change as a restoration of Dionysus' original gayety. The element of melancholy is constant in the myth—so he holds—and so, although the priests try to remedy the evils of the winter season, with which Denys is popularly

³² Cf. *A Study of Dionysus*, p. 48.

³⁴ *The Works of Heinrich Heine*, trs. by C. G. Leland, X, 289; cf. *Pater's Greek Studies*, p. 44.

³⁵ *A Study of Dionysus*, pp. 43-44.

³⁶ *Denys L'Auxerrois*, pp. 68-69.

thought to be connected as the cause, the rites they practiced—exhuming the body of a patron saint and reburial in a precious shrine—are effective only in curing “the madness of Denys, but certainly did not restore his gaiety.”³⁶ For such a purely mediæval proceeding as this there is no Greek original, Pater having romanticized his Denys into something new and strange in the eyes of an old Greek devotee.

A third aspect under which old Greek matter reappears in Pater’s phantasy is by way of certain objects, places and one particular person associated with the old god in the original stories about him. In two instances Pater groups this material about his central figure. Thus Denys appears as a gardener, bringing “his produce to market, keeping a stall in the great cathedral square for the sale of melons and pomegranates, all manner of seeds and flowers (*omnia speciosa camporum*), honey also, wax tapers, sweetmeats hot from the frying-pan, rough home-made pots and pans from the little pottery in the wood, loaves baked by the aged woman in whose house he lived.”³⁷

In such an account we see suggestions of Dionysus as the spirit of fruit trees and products of the fields and flowers (honey and wax). The reference to pots and pottery recalls the trade in wine-jars and the festivals of the wine-jars that his worship stimulated. The sweetmeats hot from the frying pan are a sure derivative from the passage in Aristophanes’ *Frogs*, in which the chantings of the chorus of votaries of Bacchus arouse certain gustatory excitements, as when Bacchus and his servant, Zanthias, exclaim:

Xanthias. O venerable, highly-honoured daughter of Ceres, how sweetly the swine’s flesh breathed upon me.

Bacchus. Will you not then be quiet, if you do get a smell of sausage?³⁸

A second situation rich in associations presents Denys as a trafficker in wares with sailors. “At the great seaport of Marseilles he had trafficked with sailors from all parts of the world, from Arabia and India, and bought their wares, exposed now for sale, to the wonder of all, at the Easter fair—richer wines and incense than had been known in Auxerre, seeds of marvellous new flowers, creatures wild and tame, new pottery painted in raw gaudy tints, the skins of animals, meats fried with unheard-

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 59.

³⁸ Bohn. trs. ll. 336-340.

of condiments. His stall formed a strange, unwonted patch of colour, found suddenly displayed in the hot morning."³⁸ In such a cluster we easily recognize old favorites in objects associated with Dionysus. The reference to Arabia and India is of course reminiscent of that eastern journey of Dionysus celebrated in the old myth. The sailors recall the Tyrrhennian pirates. The animals and animal skins call up pictures of the garb of the wine-god and his followers as well as the animals they fondled or tore asunder in their mad revelry.

In the old myth Hermes, the conductor of souls to Hades, is a constant associate of Dionysus. In Pater's legend he reappears as an old monk bearing the same name. He is the one friend of Denys. At times he is curious to penetrate to the secret of Denys's charm. His reading enables him to recognize the similarity between the dark side of the character of Denys and the sinister aspect of the old wine god, who had been in Hell. He is the one to whom the heart of the dismembered Denys is brought and who buried it.

Such are the ways in which Pater refashions those aspects of the old myth which interested him, into the unity of a portrait. He has been eminently successful in rendering the spirit of the Greek originals and at the same time in making Denys the embodiment of the spirit of a later age. In him he sees the old god Dionysus, who in his thought of Auxerre in the middle of the thirteenth century becomes as well the spiritual form of that melancholy which is the chief charm the place had for him. It seemed, as he noted, ever longing for more sunshine; and he adds: "You might fancy something querulous or plaintive in that rustling movement of the vine-leaves, as the blue-frocked Jacques-Bonhomme finishes his day's labour among them."⁴⁰ It is for this reason that in his sketch he stressed the melancholy strain in Denys, whose tortured figure he seemed actually to meet on certain days in the streets of Auxerre.

Shortly after the publication of *Denys L'Auxerrois* Pater's mind was turned in the direction of a second phantasy. The thought was suggested to him not later than 1887 by a Sapphic ode in Latin, written by a German humanist of the fifteenth

³⁸ *Denys L'Auxerrois*, p. 65.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 51-52.

century, one Conrad Celtes, poet, imperial librarian and author among other works of an *Ars Versificandi et Carminum* (1486). In the title to this Sapphic ode lay the germ which in time was quickened into life in the mind of Pater. The title was in the form of an address: *Ad Apollinem repertorem poetices; ut ab Italis cum lira ad Germanos veniat*; or, as Pater Englishes it in a slightly abbreviated form—"To Apollo, praying that he would come to us from Italy, bringing his lyre with him."

At first the suggestion took in his mind the form of a musical composition. Speaking of the person whose portrait he is sketching and who, Pater says, ran across the book of Celtes by accident, Pater writes: "At this time, then, his mind ran eagerly for awhile on the project of some musical and dramatic development of a fancy suggested by that old Latin poem of Conrad Celtes—the hyperborean Apollo, sojourning, in the revolutions of time, in the sluggish north for a season, yet Apollo still, prompting art, music, poetry, and the philosophy that interprets man's life, making a sort of intercalary day amid the natural darkness; not meridian daylight, of course, but a soft derivative daylight, good enough for us. It would be necessarily a mystic piece, abounding in fine touches, suggestions, innuendoes."¹

Pater explains in his imaginary portrait *Duke Carl of Rosenmould* how this plan was executed by the deputy-organist in the sleepy German court of Rosenmould. It was entitled *Balder, an Interlude*. Balder, be it remembered, was the northern god of light and summer. He was honored for all that was beautiful, eloquent, wise and good. The earliest conception of him is that of mental rather than physical or material perfection. In a word he is the northern counterpart of the Greek Apollo. It is not beyond Pater's subtlety to see in the choice of Balder rather than Apollo an indication of a Teutonic preference that bespeaks an inability on the part of the artist to manage the genuine classic theme. At any rate, Pater's own final response to the suggestion from Celtes was to be quite a different thing from the deputy-organist's interlude.

Before this could come about the plan had to enter on another phase. Thus in his imaginary portrait of Duke Carl of Rosen-

¹ *Imaginary Portraits*, p. 132.

mould the idea is associated with the young Duke himself. This was appropriate because in him Pater saw the forerunner of that spirit of the Enlightenment that was to come to its full splendor in Lessing, Herder and Goethe. The Duke was a predecessor of these illustrious names in that he desired to bring Apollo (the enlightenment of arts and philosophy) into Germany. But light came at first as a French illumination, in the form of French art, literature, and ideals imported into the German court. Carl himself took part in a French play in the Rosenmould theatre modeled after Versailles, with a picture of the Septentrional Apollo on its stuccoed ceiling. Other activities of the young Count earned for him the title of the northern Apollo. But in time Carl came to see that the Apollo needed in Germany was to be "an Apollo, illuminant rather as the revealer than as the bringer of light."⁴² He is penetrating enough to recognize also that the spiritual enlightenment of Germany must come "by action of informing thought upon the vast accumulated material of which Germany was in possession: art, poetry, fiction, an entire imaginative world, following reasonably upon a deeper understanding of the past, of nature, of one's self—an understanding of all beside through the knowledge of one's self. . . . A kind of ardent, new patriotism awoke in him, sensitive for the first time at the words *national* poesy, *national* art and literature, *German* philosophy."⁴³

The idea of a returned Apollo now enters upon its final phase. This emerged when the suggestion from Celtes's ode coalesced with Heine's notion of an Apollo in exile. The plan of writing a legend then arose and that meant giving it a local habitation and a name. Why this localization was not on German soil is not hard to see. Though Heine had told of an Apollo appearing in Lower Austria in the middle age, Pater was only too well aware of the absence of a spiritual background in Germany in the middle age suited for his purpose. He held, however, to the notion of the classical spirit persisting in old *medieval* French literature and art. And a study of a picture by Raphael was enough to settle his mind, had he had any doubts. For in that picture, one of Apollo and Marsyas, he noted a con-

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 144-5.

tention between two forms of art, which his own phantasy was to illustrate so well and which suggested the old familiar idea that Heine had set a-fermenting in his own mind years before. Thus in his essay on Raphael, published in 1892, he calls attention to one of Raphael's pictures in which "semi-medieval habits again asserted themselves with delightfully blent effects. It might almost pass for a parable—that little picture in the Louvre—of the contention between classic art and the romantic, superseded in the person of Marsyas, a homely, quaintly poetical young monk, surely! Only, Apollo himself also is clearly of the same brotherhood; has a touch in truth of Heine's fancied Apollo 'in exile,' who, Christianity now triumphing, has served as a hired shepherd, or hidden himself under a cowl in a cloister."⁴⁴

Pater's recent studies at the time had well disposed his mind to note such an idea in Raphael's painting. In a magazine article called *Lacedæmon*, published in June 1892 (reprinted as a part of *Plato and Platonism* a year later) he was constantly aware of the similarity in the spirit of the Lacedæmonian and the mediæval ideal of life. And in his *Lacedæmon* he has left a brief but significant account of Apollo, the embodiment of the Lacedæmonian spirit. His study also reveals what the main source of his knowledge was—namely, C. O. Mueller's *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, in which he found a particularly full account of the Lacedæmonian conception and worship of Apollo from which to draw. Pater has left no such carefully elaborated studies of the Apollo myth as those of his on Dionysus; but in his *Lacedæmon* essay and in Mueller's book is to be found the main body of the material which he refashioned in his *Apollo in Picardy*—published in 1893.

Two distinct narrative strains can be detected in this second phantasy. One concerns the fortunes of a certain Apollyon, the god Apollo in mediæval disguise, who appears in Picardy as a servant on a monastic farm. It is a theme suggested by Heine's notion of the old gods in exile, now localized not in Lower Austria but in France. A second strain in the phantasy deals with the experience of a monastic prior, who with a novice, Hyacinth by name, came to the monastic farm, or Grange, for

⁴⁴ *Miscellaneous Studies*, pp. 47-8.

recreation and health and there fell under the influence of the mystic being Apollyon, suffering a marked change of body and mind. This element in the phantasy is a reworking of the device Pater himself had already used in his *Lacedæmon*, where he has an Athenian student, a pupil of Plato, journey to Sparta to see in Spartan customs and institutions the closest approximation to the ideal city of which his master Plato had been laying down the theoretical foundations. The Athenian student thus comes in touch with the Lacedæmonian spirit as the Prior does with the spirit of Apollo. And when it is noted that in describing the setting of the phantasy as a vale marked "by its sudden steepness and depth, as of an immense oval cup sunken in the grassy upland,"⁴⁵ Pater is suggesting the topography of "hollow Sparta" (κοίλη Σπάρτη),⁴⁶ it is apparent how clearly associated in his thought the essay and the phantasy are, especially as Apollyon will appear in one of his aspects at least as the embodiment of the Lacedæmonian spirit.

Pater's Apollyon is a blend of romantic and classical conceptions. As a romantic being he is associated with the Hyperborean Apollo. To the Greeks the land of the Hyperboreans was a mystery, but it is clear that they thought of it as a land to the far north, beyond Boreas, a place of eternal peace and sunshine. There Apollo dwelt over winter amid a grateful and devout people. Pater is one with classical scholars in holding that the myth reflects the Greek conception of a polar day. Thus in his *Apollo in Picardy*⁴⁷ he specifically notes certain meteorological features of the place of Apollo's sojourn—soft twilight instead of darkness; clouds white and packed heavily on the horizon and pearl-edged as clouds of June, with their own light and heat in their hollows; atmosphere of an unwonted quality with the breath of summer blossoms in it; the quietness of the place disturbed by sounds of soft thunder in late November; the sky ever bright with an aurora persisting month after month on the northern sky. Such details suggest the romantic charm of the polar land of the Hyperboreans.

In keeping with this natural background is the atmosphere of night and moonlight throughout the phantasy. Usually

⁴⁵ *Apollo in Picardy*, p. 147.

⁴⁶ *Plato and Platonism*, p. 207.

⁴⁷ *Miscellaneous Studies*, p. 148.

Apollo is thought of as the sun god; but in Mueller's book Pater found an account of the matter that justified him in associating his Apollyon with the moon. Mueller explicitly states that the identification of Apollo with the sun was not made until Grecian mythology had ceased to have any influence upon the ideas and feelings of mankind, being rationalized by philosophers of the Ionian school who identified the deities of popular creed partly with material powers and objects, and partly with attributes of the universal intellect.⁴⁸ In primitive thought, however, Apollo, though not a moon god, is associated with the moon. His chief festivals are associated with the rising of the stars, particularly the Pleiads, and with phases of the moon. The new moon is sacred to Apollo; so likewise the first quarter and the full moon. All this was a stimulus to Pater's romanticizing fancy and consequently the atmosphere about *Apollo in Picardy* is flooded with moonlight and not with the glory of the sun.

The frequency of night and moonlight scenes bears out the truth of this statement. The first sight the Prior catches of the Grange is by moonlight. Apollyon is found in the great *solar* flooded with moonlight. His habit is to work and play at night, and sleep during the day. At night he also wars against the creatures of the day. It is by moonlight that Apollyon and others work in the Scriptorium at their studies. At night he and Hyacinth scour and polish the corroded surfaces of the discus they find; and it is on the moonlit turf that they play with it. In keeping with the conception of Apollo as the god associated with the moon, Apollyon's equipment is not that of the Apollo of current Greek tradition. As moonlight is to sunlight, so is silver to gold. Thus Apollyon's bow and harp are not golden but silver-gilt, the gold having mostly passed from them.

In fact the only traces of Apollo as the sun god in Pater's phantasy are found in that malevolent aspect of the god as the bringer of disease and plagues. Thus of Apollyon Pater writes: "Once, on his annual return from southern or eastern lands, he had been observed on his way along the streets of the great town literally scattering the seeds of disease till his serpent skin bag was empty. And within seven days the

⁴⁸ *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*. C. O. Mueller, trs. by Tufuell and Lewis, I, 311-312.

'black death' was there, reaping its thousands. As a wise man declared, he who can best cure disease can also most cunningly engender it."⁴⁹ Whereby Pater connects Apollyon with the sun, whose rays purify while in the heat of midsummer, "fiery plaguesome weather," as Pater calls it,⁵⁰ they breed disease, at work on decaying animal and vegetable matter—a fact that the old Greek conception of Apollo recognized.

But the essentially classical aspect of Apollyon appears in the fact that Pater makes him the embodiment of those purely spiritual conceptions of which Apollo as the god of the Lacedæmonians was the ideal expression. In Mueller's work a full and exhaustive account of the spirit of Lacedæmonian character and institutions was given and there Apollo was presented as the peculiar tribal god of the Lacedæmonian people.

Central and controlling as a factor in the Lacedæmonian ideal of life is the Lacedæmonian conception of music. Summarizing Mueller's account Pater writes in his essay *Lacedæmon*: "Music, which is or ought to be, as we know, according to those Pythagorean doctrines, itself the essence of all things, was everywhere in the Perfect City of Plato; and among the Lacedæmonians also, who may be thought to have come within measurable distance of that Perfect City, though with no conscious theories about it, music (*μουσική*) in the larger sense of the word, was everywhere, not to alleviate only but actually to promote and inform, to be the very substance of their so strenuous and taxing habit of life."⁵¹

Many are the ways in which Pater associates Apollyon with this fundamental idea of music. Even the natural surroundings of the place of his sojourn testify to the musical character of the strange being. The Hyperborean thunder heard is of an unusual kind, "parted," says Pater, "with its torrid fierceness; modulated by distance" and seeming "to break away into musical notes." The noises of the place were "like veritable music," coming not from the moving wind but emanating from the presence of the sleeping Apollyon.⁵²

From the same Apollyon radiates a music not heard but spiritualized as an informing harmony, finding expression in the architecture reared under his direction. Thus Pater

⁴⁹ *Apollo in Picardy*, p. 156.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁵¹ *Plato and Platonism*, p. 200.

⁵² *Apollo in Picardy*, p. 148.

describes how in building the great monastic barn "the mysterious harper sat there always, at the topmost point achieved; played, idly enough, it might seem, on his precious instrument, but kept in fact the hard taxed workmen literally in tune, working for once with a ready will, and, so to speak, with really inventive hands—working expeditiously, in this favourable weather, till far into the night, as they joined unbidden in a chorus, which hushed, or rather turned to music, the noise of their chipping."⁵³ As a result the style of the building underwent a marked change from Gothic to a sort of Doric, its temper marked by a classical severity and harmony. By a clever stroke Pater still suggests the Christian character of the work by inscribing on the building a quotation from a Latin psalm, which does full justice also to the idea of Apollo as the creative spirit of the work: *Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum*, etc. And to carry on the suggestiveness still further he records how the careless tourist wonders whether the shattered statue of the god Apollo with his harp, on the gable, is king David or perchance an angel.

The Lacedæmonian conception of music as a harmony of functions appears also in the conception of Apollo as a god of healing or sanity for, asks Pater, "is not the human body, too, a building, with architectural laws, a structure?"⁵⁴ Hence Apollyon exercises a curative influence over the Prior. This ecclesiast had come to the monastic farm for the improvement of his health and, due to the near presence of Apollyon, he had immediately felt a beneficial change. Physical contact with him was wholesome, for, as Pater remarks, the mere touch of the strange being's "ice-cold hand, laid on the feverish brow, certainly calmed the respiration of a troubled sleeper."⁵⁵

Apollo is even more than a mere healer. As the tribal or home god of the Lacedæmonians he is the embodiment of a natural gaiety not separable from health. The Lacedæmonian practiced no religion of gloom but a religion of sanity, encouraging hopefulness, cheerfulness. So Pater explains in his *Lacedæmon*, going back to Mueller as his authority.⁵⁶ And in his *Apollo*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁵⁴ *Apollo in Picardy*, p. 155.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Mueller, *loc. cit.* II, 377-9; cf. Pater's *Plato and Platonism*, pp. 226-7.

in *Picardy* he works out the suggestion in certain significant details. A spirit of natural gladness seizes hold on Hyacinth as he approaches the place where Apollo is. "He seemed," writes Pater, "a monastic novice no longer; yet, in his natural gladness, was found more companionable than ever by his senior (the Prior), surprised, delighted, for his part, at the fresh springing of his brain, the spring of his footsteps over the close greensward, as if smoothed by the art of man."⁵⁷ Again, in his game with Apollyon, Hyacinth became "a boy at last, with immense gaiety; eyes, hands and feet awake."⁵⁸ Even the rivulets in the place of Apollyon's sojourn "felt that influence, and 'lisp'd' no longer, but babbled as they leapt, like mountain streams, exposing their rocky bed."⁵⁹

This constant reference to the dance element is no mere accident but is meant to suggest the gaiety of spirit expressed directly in bodily movements and associated with Apollo. Thus Mueller writes of the god; "By the ancients he was represented as playing on the lyre (φάρμαγξ), frequently in the midst of a chorus of Muses, singing and dancing; whose place in the Hymn to the Pythian Apollo is filled by ten goddesses, among whom 'Mars and Mercury vault and spring . . . whilst Apollo, in a beautifully woven garment, plays, and at the same time dances, with quick motion of the feet': for Apollo was not considered as merely a god of music; thus Pindar addresses him as the god of the dance."⁶⁰ And for the dancing of the rivulets, Pater could quote Alcaeus in a hymn to Apollo, found in Mueller and telling how the return of the god to Delphi after his sojourn among the Hyperboreans "takes place exactly in the middle of summer; nightingales, swallows, and grasshoppers sing in honour of the god; and even Castalia and Cephisus heave their waves to salute him."⁶¹

Akin to the classical conception of Apollo as the god of music is that of Apollo as the god of intellectual illumination. In Apollyon Pater works out the idea in two ways. Apollyon, though a suppliant for the crumbs of monastic learning, himself

⁵⁷ *Apollo in Picardy*, p. 150.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁵⁹ p. 158.

⁶⁰ Mueller, I, 361-2.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, I, 296.

experiences wonderful intellectual promptings. The speed of his mind racing forward for facts and from facts to luminous doctrine; his knowledge of the distant past and of the dead languages; his acuteness in guessing the words intended by crabbed contraction in the text; his sense of allusions—all these evidences of intellectual acumen Pater associates with Apollyon. But Apollyon is a quickening intellectual influence upon others as well, as in the case of the Prior. The hard and abstract formulae and laws of music, of the stars, of mechanical structure seemed to desert him but “revived in him again, however, at the contact of the extraordinary pupil or fellow-inquirer, though in a very different guise or attitude towards himself, as matters no longer to be reasoned upon and understood, but to be seen rather, to be looked at and heard.”⁶² This means that ratiocination is replaced by intuition as a process of mind. And Pater dwells fully upon the effect of these intuitions upon the Prior, whose mind became the battling ground of the struggle of light and darkness, to the great distress of the Prior.

Less detailed than his treatment of the aspects of Apollo's godhead is Pater's handling of the incidents in the life of the god. Apollyon's arrival and departure are associated with certain facts in the old Greek stories. The former is reminiscent of two distinct episodes in Apollo's career. Apollyon is found in the Grange asleep on the fleeces heaped like golden stuff high in the corners and he appears as a farm laborer, “a hireling at will,” Pater explains,⁶³ alluding to Apollo's willing servitude as herdsman on the estate of Admetus. But when Pater adds that Apollyon came regularly at a certain season, he harks back to the story of the Hyperborean Apollo, whose goings and comings between Delphi and the land of the Hyperboreans was a fixed matter, regulated by the recurring seasons. So too, as regards Apollyon's departure from the Grange. He goes northward, fulfilling his annual custom and the peasants sing a song dismissing him on his journey. This is a plain reference to the songs sung by the Delphians invoking the god to come to them from the Hyperboreans. Thus Alcaeus in his hymn to Apollo explains how “the Delphians, missing the god, instituted

⁶² *Apollo in Picardy*, 163-164.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

a paean and song, ranged choruses of young men around the tripod, and invoked him to come from the Hyperboreans.”⁶⁴

There are, however, two episodes in the career of Apollyon that Pater dwells upon at great length. One is his desire to expiate the crime of murder. This episode in the phantasy is but a restatement of the old fact of Apollo’s need of purification, after his slaying of Python—a monster so noisome as to bring defilement even to the god of purity. In his phantasy Pater has no reference to Python but he makes Apollyon wantonly kill the innocent birds in the monastic pigeon-house, whereupon Apollyon in good mediæval fashion enters church on the Nativity seeking absolution “from some guilt of blood heavier than the slaughter of beast or bird.”⁶⁵ Such a statement suggests that Pater may have been thinking of other acts of vengeance that mark the career of Apollo, such as the slaying of Niobe’s children.

So, too, with the story of Apollyon and Hyacinth. Their play together suggests the prominence of athletic exercise in the Lacedæmonian scheme of education; but their play at quoits, viz. hurling the discus, is particularly dwelt upon, being a restatement of the original story of Apollo and Hyacinth. The tragedy of Hyacinth’s death caused by the icy blast of the wind—Boreas—deflecting the hurled discus, which thereupon sawed through the youth’s face; the purple flowers that sprang up from the blood-soaked soil—these memorable scenes in the old story are excellently rendered by Pater in his phantasy.

Of lesser consequence but significant as showing how Pater used his scholarship is his frequent reference to objects associated with Apollo in the old myths. Flowers and animals fall within this category and recall their originals, though present in the phantasy in an alien, mediæval setting. Thus rich blossoms of laurel and ilex warm the cold interior of the church at the Nativity—the laurel being the flower sacred to Apollo. At the same season the winter thorn is made to blossom—an incident that gives a romantic and un-Greek flavor to the occasion. In primitive myth Apollo was a god of vegetation, warring on field mice that destroyed the crops—a fact probably alluded to in Pater’s statement that Apollyon pierced with his arrow a

⁶⁴ Mueller, I, 295-6.

⁶⁵ *Apollo in Picardy*, p. 160.

"small furry thing."⁶⁶ In the Hyperborean myth Apollo figures with wild swans who draw his chariot; and Mueller tells us that the return of Apollo from the land of the Hyperboreans "takes place exactly in the middle of summer; nightingales, swallows, and grasshoppers sing in honor of the god."⁶⁷ In Pater this suggestion bore fruit in the fact that in the wonderful season when Apollyon was at the Grange, "the migratory birds, from Norway, from Britain beyond the seas, came there as usual on the north wind, with sudden tumult of wings; but went that year no further, and by Christmas-time had built their nests, filling that belt of woodland around the vale with the chatter of their business and love quarrels. In turn they drew after them strangers no one here had ever known before . . . the wild-cat, the wild swan."⁶⁸ Perhaps the wild-cat finds its place in Pater's phantasy by virtue of the fact that the griffin, an imaginary animal, is associated with Apollo.

Besides these references to flowers and animals there is a miscellany of details that keep up the train of classical association in the reader's mind. Apollyon is represented as "singing his way meagrely from farm to farm, to the sound of his harp;"⁶⁹ and in church as turning "to real silvery music the hoarse *Gloria in Excelsis* of those rude worshippers."⁷⁰ Alluding to Apollo as the sun god and the god of intellectual illumination, Pater opens the study hour in the monastic scriptorium, where Apollo is a pupil, with a collect for Light. Recalling Apollo's voluntary servitude as herdsman on the estate of Admetus, Pater associates Apollyon with Christ as the Good Shepherd, for he says he "loved his sheep; was an 'affectionate shepherd'; cured their diseases; brought them easily to the birth, and if they strayed afar would bring them back tenderly upon his shoulders."⁷¹ Pater does not forget the color of the hyacinth but makes loving use of it in his description of the hair of the novice, Hyacinth, which was "in rebellious masses . . . with blue in the (black) depths of it, like the wings of the swallow."⁷² Finally, Pater associates Apollyon with sculptural monuments.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁶⁷ Mueller, I, 296.

⁶⁸ *Apollo in Picardy*, p. 157.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 151-2.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 147.

His description of the form, the features, the expression of the sleeping Apollyon is a description of the famous Apollo Belvedere. Myron's statue of the Discobolus suggests the picture Pater gives of Apollyon hurling the discus in his play with Hyacinth. And the form of the old Dorian statues of Apollo erected in court-yards and before the doors of houses to admit the god as a tutelary deity and to avert evil suggested to Pater "the conical Druidic stone,"⁷³ which Apollyon and Hyacinth used as a goal in their play; for Mueller tells us that these images or symbols of the god were very simple being mere "conical blocks of stone."⁷⁴

Such are the ways in which Pater reworked old Greek material concerning Apollo in order to set forth his Apollyon as a creature at once romantic and classical. But Pater's Apollyon is more than this; he is a mediæval character, a devil, too, at least in the thought of the people of his time. And this new phase of him needs a word of explanation.

The conception of Apollo as a devil is not so foreign to Greek ways of thinking as at first sight appears. Among the Greeks themselves, the derivation of the word Apollo from ἀπολλύω, "destroyer" had the high warrant of Aeschylus's authority; and certain aspects of the god's nature—his wrath and vengeance—seemed to substantiate the etymology. Pater himself accepted the derivation, at least for purposes of his phantasy, and associated Apollyon with "a malignant one in Scripture,"⁷⁵—the angel of the bottomless pit in *Revelations* ix: 11, who became in Christian tradition the Devil himself. Furthermore, popular superstition associated Apollyon with the devil. Thus the discus Apollyon unearthed was popularly known as a "Devil's pennypiece"; and Apollyon's great strength had a like connotation. "'Put there by the devil!' the modern villager assures you," writes Pater of the huge stones which Apollyon lifted into place with no sense of the weight.⁷⁶ But the evil character of the creature is best indicated by Pater's account of the influence of Apollyon upon the Prior.

The upshot of this was the death of the Prior, *deliquio animi*, as Pater puts it. This mental failing was brought on by two

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁷⁴ Mueller, loc. cit. I, 321-2.

⁷⁵ *Apollo in Picardy*, p. 152.

⁷⁶ *Apollo in Picardy*, p. 153.

factors. The intellectual stimulus due to his contact with Apollyon was itself a curse in that it hopelessly divided against itself the well ordered kingdom of his thought; as was witnessed by the Prior's work on mathematics applied to astronomy and music, the last volume of which was in a manner, new, perturbed, unordered and inconsistent with the mediæval rigidity of thought and argument of the earlier volumes. But another contributing cause was the constant misgivings that haunted the mind of the Prior as he noted his own reactions of thought and feeling when in the presence of Apollyon. He is never quite at ease there, due to the persistency of his thought of the evil nature of Apollyon, despite his personal beauty, his intellectual endowments and his finer nature. For the Prior's mind is steeped in that mediæval Christian thought of nature and things pagan as diabolized things—a conception that Heine had unfolded in his work on *Germany* and referred to in his *Gods in Exile*.⁷⁷ The world outside the monastery was to the mind of the Prior unhallowed and wild, an abode of demons, where their wickedness might still survive. And Apollyon was associated in his thought as immersed in, or actually a part of, that irredeemable natural world he so dreaded. In fact the Prior's preoccupations with such a conception brought him to the pass of entreating Apollyon to draw the moon from the sky, for some shameful price, says Pater, known to magicians of that day. And at the close of the phantasy, though the very last thought is of the beautiful side of the experience the Prior has had, there is a tragic note struck in the death of Hyacinth in which the echo to the cry of the dying youth was "as if that half-extinguished deity (of the Picard wolds), its proper immensity, its old greatness and power, were restored for a moment. The villagers in their beds wondered. It was like the sound of some natural catastrophe."⁷⁸

Pater's reworking of Heine's notion of the exiled gods of Greece is proof of his literary skill in vitalizing the matter of his scholarship. His was a mind not content with the fruits of pure research; his learning fed his imagination and feelings quite as much as his mind. It is no unusual occurrence, however, to

⁷⁷ *The Works of Heinrich Heine*, IX, 175. Bk. III.

⁷⁸ *Apollo in Picardy*, p. 168.

find the fruits of scholarship as dry as dust, Dead-sea fruit to the taste; but Pater's success in utilizing his Greek learning justifies one in applying to his scholarship the high praise Milton bestowed upon divine Philosophy:

Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets,
Where no crude surfeit reigns.

JOHN SMITH HARRISON

XXX. PESSIMISM IN RAABE'S STUTTGART TRILOGY

There has been a great deal of discussion as to whether or not the three novels which Wilhelm Raabe composed during his period of residence in Stuttgart (*Der Hungerpastor*, 1864; *Abu Telfan*, 1868; *Der Schüdderump*, 1870) constitute a genuine trilogy. One may cavil at this transference of a specialized term from the drama to three novels to which it is not wholly applicable. On the other hand, one may defend this term as a convenient, though not entirely accurate designation of the essential unity of these three novels.

For that they are a unit, no one who has read them with due comprehension of the symbolical value and intent of all Raabe's work¹ should seriously doubt. We have specific testimony from the author himself to the fact that these novels were intimately associated in his own mind. In one of those outbursts of bitterness in which Raabe, fully conscious of his value to the nation that had so long neglected him, voices his indignation at being reduced to purely ideal rewards, he groups these three novels together as representatives of his work par excellence: "Kauft euch den Hungerpastor, das schöne Buch Abu Telfan und den Schüdderump, damit doch die armen Verleger etwas davon haben, wenn auch nicht der arme Autor, dem ja aber zu seinem Trost, so oft er kommt, der Himmel offen steht."²

In *Der Schüdderump*, Raabe reminds his reader of a certain painting that hung in the parlor of the Frau Geheime Rätin Götz in *Der Hungerpastor*.³ And at the very end of *Der Schüdderump*, we are invited to look back over the long and laborious road which we have traversed in three stages, "von der Hungerpfarre zu Grunzenow an der Ostsee über Abu Telfan im Tumurkielande und im Schatten des Mondgebirges, bis in dieses Siechenhaus zu Krobebeck am Fusse des alten germanischen Zauberberges."⁴ In describing the recitals of Dr. Théophile Stein to Kleophea Götz in *Der Hungerpastor*, Raabe alludes to

¹ "Alle Poesie ist symbolisch. Schilderung der Wirklichkeit höchstens nur ein interessantes Lesewerk," etc. *Gedanken und Einfälle, Werke*, Berlin-Grunewald (Klemm), III, 6, p. 582.

² *Ibid.*, p. 592.

³ *Werke*, III, I, p. 293.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

the tale of the "adventurous African" in Shakespeare's *Othello*, a man who also had undergone adventures among cannibals and had been sold into slavery.⁵ I surmise that we have here the germ of *Abu Telfan* and of the career of Leonhard Hagebuecher. What we know of Raabe's processes of composition supports this conjecture. Moreover, the description of Kleophea which is given in this connection seems clearly to foreshadow the pitiable figure of Nikola von Einstein in the next novel.⁶

But, above all, these three novels form a unit in a deep, spiritual sense, which it is our present purpose to examine. They are philosophical novels, exhibiting, in terms of symbolical characters, an increasingly pessimistic philosophy of life. In the careers of three heroes, who typify successively youth, maturity, and old age, they unroll before our eyes the tragedy of human existence, the ancient war between the ideal and reality, the struggle of a virtuous individual against a wicked and hostile world.

I

To be sure, Hans Unwirrsch, the hero of *Der Hungerpastor*, is not yet brought face to face with the most acute problems of life. He fights, as it were, under the protecting shield of a benevolent destiny; he is made to avoid, rather than overcome obstacles. The frequently improbable concatenation of fortunate happenings in the story supports the charge of "Romanhaftigkeit" which has sometimes been made against Raabe. As a consequence, there is a good deal of sunshine and hopefulness in the book; yet even this is often tinged with retrospective melancholy or vitiated by the consciousness of ruthless reality beyond the narrow pale of idyllic seclusion.

Hans Unwirrsch is the son of very poor people, born in the poor quarter of an unimportant average town, in a street of squalid and dilapidated houses, where the "kleine und kleinste Leute" eke out a wretched and toilsome subsistence. The tragedy of the poor casts its wintry and depressing gloom over the opening chapters. We behold obscure and frustrated souls, who never see their dreams fulfilled, who are born to live and die

⁵ *Werke*, I, 1, p. 467.

⁶ "Das unbiegsame, kräftige, feurige Weib, das sich in Trotz und Unmut vergeblich gegen kleinliche Verhältnisse abängstigt und in zorniger Schönheit an verachteten Ketten zerrt," *ibid.*

in the shadow, and perhaps on their deathbeds, like the tortured poor-school teacher Silberlöffel or little Sophie,⁷ are granted visions of what might have been.

Hans' father is one of these people, and so is his neighbor, the persecuted and reviled Jewish peddler. They sit in darkness, and fix their hopes on their sons, whom they have pushed up into the light. Yet these hopes are doomed to disappointment: of all the inhabitants of the Kröppelgasse, only Hans attains a modicum of contentment, and that, as we shall see, only through resignation and retirement to a remote corner of the world. No wonder that to these people, for whom life is a constant and unequal struggle, death should appear as a comfort and a liberation. The pages of Raabe's book are fairly peopled with the dead: the parents of Hans, of Moses, of Fränzchen; little Sophie, Silberlöffel, Base Schlotterbeck, Onkel Grünebaum, Theodor Götz, Kleophea Götz, Ehrn Tillenius. "Serrez les rangs!" cry the old veterans, Felix Götz' friends in Paris; but the merciless wind, laden with evil, replies: "Wehrt euch, wehrt euch, wir siegen doch! Wir siegen über den Frühling, über die Jugend, über die Treue und Unschuld."⁸

The world is wicked and hostile; the common life is the foe of individual virtue and happiness: this conviction constitutes the very core of Raabe's pessimistic philosophy in this period of his life. The heroes of these novels are solitary idealists who struggle against the world. Such a one is Hans Unwirrsch, with his "hunger" for ideal truth, the symbol for his whole class in its groping upwards toward the light. His earliest enemy is poverty, the dull, grinding penury that held his father's poetic soul in bondage and wore out his mother's life. The utmost sacrifices of his parents enable Hans to gain an education, but his poverty prevents him from enjoying his student days to the full. And hardly has he emerged from the shelter of indigent obscurity, when the evil powers of life set upon him: "Zum erstenmal griffen jetzt von allen Seiten die dunkeln, erbarmungslosen Hände in sein Leben: der enge, sichere Kreis, welchen ein gütiges Geschick um seine Jugend gezogen hatte,

⁷ Neither Sophie nor her mother is further identified; they are simply insignificant cases of the suffering of the poor.

⁸ *Werke*, I, 1, p. 497.

war durchbrochen worden; hinausgerissen wurde er in den grossen Kampf der Welt . . . Vae victis!"⁹

Society is a barren desert populated with all possible vices: life is "ein hungriges Erdengetriebe,"¹⁰ a labyrinth that entangles one's feet.¹¹ Sensitive persons are not so fortunate as billiard-balls, for they feel the knocks inflicted upon them.¹² Rudolf Götz, like Onkel Grünebaum, is convinced "dass man im Grunde in einer Lumpenwelt lebe."¹³ "Die harte, kalte Welt," "die harte, kalte Welt der Wirklichkeit," are expressions that occur more than once.¹⁴ With wistful melancholy Raabe speaks of that far, far distant island of the gods that knows not the hatred, the envy and selfishness, and the hundred other afflictions of the actual world.¹⁵

Life is hostile; the virtuous individual is ever on the defensive, ready to fight for his own preservation. Throughout these novels there are allusions to the dogged, resistant attitude of the individual beneath the overwhelming onslaught of the world. Even in *Altershausen* there is a late echo of it in the exhortation: "Bleib in den Stiefeln, Mensch! So lange als möglich . . . Man muss immer eine Waffe behalten, um einem Eselstritt, solange es noch angeht, zuvorkommen zu können."¹⁶ At the close of *Der Hungerpastor*, we seem to hear the clash of arms on the distant battlefield of life: Hans and his wife, standing at the cradle of their infant son, think of the time when he too must leave their sheltered nook and go forth to fight the demons of existence.

Life is a constant source of disappointment to Hans. His hope always far surpasses its fulfilment,¹⁷ and his own slender success in the world falls short of his father's dreams.¹⁸ Society, seen near at hand, disillusion him; he fails to gain "an understanding for this world."¹⁹ In fact, his whole career may be described as a gradual descent from the frugal contentment of his childhood: "Mit Seufzen dachte er, dass jeder Schritt vorwärts im Leben ihm nur neue Enttäuschungen gebracht habe, dass er nicht glücklicher geworden sei mit den Jahren."¹⁹

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 482.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 501.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 369.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 506, 554.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 461.

¹⁶ *Werke*, III, 6, p. 239.

¹⁷ *Werke*, I, 1, p. 189.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

Yet this imaginary paradise of childhood, this "Mondenschein seiner Kinderjahre,"²⁰ this "schöner, stiller Traum,"²¹ to which he looks back, as he grows older, with elegiac regret, was in reality rigorous and scanty enough, and its bit of sunshine dearly bought.

As a creator of characters, Raabe displays a favoritism, inartistically apparent at times, for the man of retiring sensitiveness and dreamy imagination. The imagination is not simply a pleasure to indulge in; it is a vital necessity, for it offers an escape from the often unbearable actualities of the world about us, and gains for the individual some measure of happiness, transitory and deceptive though it be. Moses Freudenstein, the villain of the story, to whom the author is avowedly hostile, is a person of cold reason and heartless unimaginativeness. As such he succeeds all too well in a sordid world, and loses his soul.

He who cannot wrap himself about with the mantle of fantasy, must perish. Supremely happy, however, is he who loses himself entirely in a haze of dreams, like the half-witted tailor in *Abu Telfan*. "Das Wahre in der Welt ist doch, halb betrunken gemacht zu sein . . . und die Welt verschleiert zu sehen. Der richtige Mensch und vor allem der deutsche Mensch gehört nur in den Nebel hinein, in solchen Nebel. Da wird ihm wohl. Wer nicht zwei Leben hat, ist ein armseliger Hund."²² "Es ist immer eines und dasselbe, dieses unergründliche Meer der Phantasie, auf das der bedrückte Mensch stets von neuem von dem nüchternen, grämlichen Ufer der Wirklichkeit hinaussteuert! . . . Wehe dem, der niemals die grauen vier Wände um sich her mit diesem flimmernden, über die Stunde wegtäuschenden, segensreichen Lichtglanz überkleiden konnte! Was ist die nichtige, dumme Phrase: Mein Haus ist meine Burg! gegen die so sehr unpolitische, so selten ausgesprochene, und doch so tief und fest, ja manchmal mit der Angst der Verzweiflung im Herzen festgehaltene Überzeugung: Mein Luftschloss ist mein Haus!"²³

When this imaginative flight from the world is not possible, man's only refuge is in stoical resignation: "Man muss sein

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 461.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

²² *Eulenspiegel, Werke*, II, 4, pp. 263-264.

²³ *Alle Nester, Werke*, II, 6, p. 163.

Brot mit dem Messer schneiden, welches einem das Schicksal, ob stumpf oder scharf, dazu in die Hand gibt Man kommt nicht in die Welt, um sich auszusuchen, sondern um, "vorlieb" zu nehmen."²⁴ Rudolf Götz, the veteran, expresses the same thought in his own language: "Ich sage euch, junges Volk, wem es erst öfters in den Feldkessel regnete, der lernt den Deckel auflegen . . . Die weichsten Herzen haben's gelernt, im Elend nur dreimal trocken überzuschlucken."²⁵ Base Schlotterbeck says: "Je älter er wird, desto stiller sitzt der Mensch."²⁶

And this is the ultimate recognition to which Hans Unwirrsch is brought. After all the radiant dreams which he, and his father before him, had cherished for his future, he ends his career, after a brief and rather illusory "battle" with life, in a secluded corner of the earth, as the "hunger-pastor" of a poor hamlet of fishermen on the bleak coast of the Baltic. All the idyllic charm, all the Dickensian "Weihnachtszauber" which Raabe has poured over his closing pages, cannot conceal the fact that his hero ends in defeat, or at best in a merely negative victory. Hans has fled from life, he has resigned himself to humble insignificance, and thus only has he escaped from the depravity and destructiveness of the world. But he has won respite only for himself; the struggle continues, and the son must in his turn take up the arms which the father has let fall. The book ends with a call to battle: "Gib deine Waffen weiter, Hans Unwirrsch!"

II

"Wenn ihr wüsstet, was ich weiss, sprach Mahomed, so würdet ihr viel weinen und wenig lachen"—these mournful words from the Koran Raabe inscribed on the title-page of his next novel, *Abu Telfan, oder die Heimkehr vom Mondgebirge*, a book which presents, in accentuated terms, the inevitable clash between the individual and the envioning world. *Der Hunger-pastor* was a book of visionary aspiration; *Abu Telfan* is a book of disenchanting experience.

Hans Unwirrsch remained on the periphery of life, and appeared to solve its problems by retreating from them. In *Abu Telfan* we are plunged in medias res, we see at close range the combat of an idealist against the dull, levelling everyday

²⁴ *Werke*, III, 6, p. 551.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 474.

²⁶ *Werke*, I, 1, pp. 332-333.

world, we feel poignantly the "gigantic antithesis of life," and witness the failure of a whole company of persons who take up the battle against the "demons of existence."

For ten years Leonhard Hagebucher has been away from home. He has lived among savages in Africa, has been sold into slavery and suffered torments that all but broke his human spirit and reduced him to the order of the lowest beasts. From this spiritual death he has been miraculously saved, and now returns to civilization, to people and associations which he has never ceased to love, to an environment clothed with all the glamor of idealizing distance. What is the result? One sunny day of joy, and then the first notes of that heartbroken disillusionment which resounds ominously, despairingly through the rest of the book: "Schon das nächste Erwachen brachte wieder das erste leise Anspülen bittererer Fluten, und nach acht Tagen war Leonhard Hagebucher vollständig daheim, das heisst, er wusste Bescheid, und Bescheid zu wissen gehört und stimmt gewöhnlich nicht im geringsten zu und mit dem Glück."²⁷ In a short time Hagebucher, a stranger in his own land, longs to be once more a slave in savage Africa.

Illusions alone make life worth the living,²⁸ and yet man's happy illusions are constantly being destroyed by the harsh realities of life. "Alles Glückliche ist das eines Kindes im Theater. Das Alter weiss, wie die Dekoration von hinten aussieht und der Schauspieler zu Hause."²⁸ Unwirrsch, the youth, was left with many a fine illusion concerning the distant world; Hagebucher, the mature man, beholds its unveiled ugliness.

"Es tötet nichts so sicher als das Leben"²⁹—this gloomy saying of Raabe's might stand as a motto over *Abu Telfan*. The more salient the individual, the more certain and painful his conflict with the common life: "Je höher ein Mensch steht, desto häufiger hält ihm die Fratze Gemeinheit die Faust unter die Nase."³⁰ Leonhard Hagebucher is such an individual, and is fully cognizant of his position in this dull, cruel world of vulgar instincts and stealthy hostility,³¹ this thing of wild words, hard deeds and evil destinies,³² of eternal torture, of joyless

²⁷ *Werke*, II, 1, p. 36.

²⁸ *Werke*, III, 6, p. 553.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 556.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 576.

³¹ *Werke*, II, 1, pp. 200-201.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 377.

drudgery day and night.³³ It is a bitter, cruel and bloody turmoil,³⁴ a "wicked world"³⁵ which leaves one only a choice of evils.³⁶ "Da kommt es einem vor, als seien Sonne, Mond und alle Sterne aus Blut und Kot zusammengeballt und hinausgeworfen in die Ewigkeit, und von der tiefsten Tiefe bis zur höchsten Höhe hänge alles in Fäulnis nur durch die Sünde und den Tod zusammen."³⁷

There are, in the main, only two kinds of characters in *Abu Telfan*, "Philister" and "verfehlte Existenzen." The former are the inhabitants of Nippenburg and Bumsdorf, ably represented by Hagebucher's meticulous father and his domineering aunt Schnödler. These have drawn a hedge about the smug comfort of their petty lives; they are satisfied with the world, and above all with themselves; their selfishness unites them only in merciless opposition toward all those who do not think as they do, and who threaten to impair their "stupide Beschaulichkeit."³⁸

Outside the hedge are the "failures," those who have suffered shipwreck on the reefs of life. There is, first of all, the hero, Hagebucher. Then there is his friend, the Hoffräulein Nikola von Einstein, a high-spirited, seemingly indomitable soul, shut up in a gilded, velvet-lined cage,³⁹ suffering at a miniature court of a miniature state torments as great as those that made Hagebucher long to return to savagery. She is old beyond her years; "illusions perdues" is written upon her brow.⁴⁰ She is forced into marriage with a scoundrel in high office, and his downfall completes the ruin of her life.

There is Frau Claudine Fehleysen, whose husband fell a victim to court intrigue, whose son lives and dies as a restless vagabond, who finally has seen every hope fade before her eyes. At last she has found refuge in an old, dilapidated mill, which with its broken wheel stands as a silent symbol for the shipwrecked lives that one after another drift into this port of missing men. As the "dear lady of Patience" she offers the balm of resigned "Weltflucht" to all these harassed souls.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

There is Vetter Wassertreter, in some respects a reincarnation of Unwirrsch's uncle Grünebaum, whose youthful idealism was throttled by tyranny, and who has "remained in a corner" all his life, deadening his sorrow with liquor, a cowardly and disreputable product of the philistine world that affects to despise him. There is Lieutenant Kind, a grim subaltern nature, consuming his life in the quest for vengeance upon the aristocratic rascal who caused the ruin of his family.

And there is, finally, the tailor Täubrich Pascha, who had the good fortune to lose half his wits early in life, and to be ignorant of the world. We have observed how in *Der Hungerpastor* the imagination became at times an avenue of escape from unwelcome reality. In *Abu Telfan*, Raabe finds it necessary to equip a whole character continuously with this armor against life, and thus symbolically to advocate more strongly than in his former novel one means of escape from the ordeal of existence.

Täubrich's entire career is an exposition of the statement in *Der Hungerpastor*: "Die Träume sind das Glück im Leben." For him, dreams have become reality and happiness, and that which we call reality, with its cares and miseries, is only an occasional unpleasant interruption of this blissful state. To see is to be blind; to shut one's eyes on this evil world and retire from it brings light and comfort: "Je weiter man die Augen aufreißt, desto blinder wird man, und je fester man sie schliesst, desto klarer wird einem, wer man ist und wo man eigentlich zu Hause ist. Da hört man das Leben nur wie ein Gesumm um sich her: was geht es einen an, man sitzt ja in seinem eigenen Kiosk."⁴¹ In a world of wicked folly lives this pure and genuine fool, this fool pleasing to God,⁴² whose only sorrow is that he knows not whether he is really so happy as he seems, or is only dreaming.

For those who unfortunately have retained their wits, there is only one way toward deliverance from life, and that is the way of ascetic resignation. At the end of the story Hagebucher, after all his efforts and aspirations, sees himself reduced to the rôle of watchman over a small misfortune in a great sea of troubles.⁴³ Unable to retire into the realm of dreams, he resigns

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 336.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 409-410; Raabe's "See von Plagen" is doubtless an allusion to Hamlet's "sea of troubles" (*Hamlet*, III, 1), which is thus translated by Schlegel-Tieck.

himself to a dogged resistance in a losing cause. He sleeps with a sword beneath his pillow,⁴⁴ determined to fight as long as he can and to die in his armor.

Vetter Wassertreter also has taken refuge in sullen resignation, and practises a vicarious heroism in cheering on all brave fellows on land and sea who stand their ground in the face of fate.⁴⁵ Nikola von Einstein, "like every decent thinking creature," took up arms against the world, but has finally ceased struggling and come to a bitter, ironical resignation: "Gehen wir heim und unterwerfen wir uns den Dingen, Verhältnissen und Verhängnissen, da wir doch nicht um unsern Willen gefragt werden."⁴⁶ Like Hagebucher, she exemplifies the desperate bravery of those who coolly keep their pipes burning and wind up their watches before being overwhelmed by the rising tide of destruction.⁴⁷

And resignation, submission, patience is the doctrine preached by Frau Claudine. She has learned to let things take their course, like the ivy about her ruined mill, and to "feign death in the hand of Fate."⁴⁸ She has achieved through austere self-conquest that which all these tortured souls long for: "Oh, in dieser fahrgigen Welt eine Philosophie des Stillehaltens, Stilleseins, Stillebleibens!"⁴⁹ A sort of unearthly calm is hers, as if she had entered, while still alive, upon the vast, peaceful heritage of death.⁵⁰

For men, a sword; for women, the black bread of patience,⁵¹ yet, however variously they struggle against the world, they must all come at last to the ruined mill, all these lost souls: Nikola, Hagebucher, Wassertreter and the rest, united in Frau Claudine's creed of passivity, quietism, renunciation of the world. "Es schlägt keine Welle mehr bis zu jener Schwelle dort . . . Sie weinen nicht mehr, dort hinter den Blumen, dort unter dem morschen Dache. Sie sitzen still, und still ist es

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 295; for numerous allusions to armed resistance to the world cf. pp. 130, 131, 134, 167, 250.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁴⁹ *Werke*, III, 6, p. 562

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 570.

⁵¹ *Werke*, II, 1, p. 240

um sie her—sie verlangen nicht mehr."⁵² Täubrich, whose fatuous fantasies have made him the only happy person in the book, sounds the final knell: "Wenn ihr wüsstet, was ich weiss, so würdet ihr viel weinen und wenig lachen."

III

Raabe begins his third novel with the introduction of the funereal vehicle which gives the book its name and throws its sinister shadow incessantly across its pages—the "Schüdderump" or dead-wagon. It is not merely a relic of the ravaging pestilences of the Middle Ages; it is also a symbol for the relentless destructiveness of modern life. In *Der Hungerpastor*, the cobbler's light-globe was a symbol for human aspirations. These aspirations were often frustrated, to be sure, and Hans Unwirrsch had to resign himself at the end to a sheltered existence no wider than the circle of its mild radiance; yet he attained, through exclusion of the world, a modest contentment.

In *Abu Telfan*, the author's symbol indicates deeper pessimism: the dilapidated mill with its shattered wheel is a fitting emblem for the ruined lives that find a last refuge there. Now, in the third novel, we have the gloomiest symbol for Raabe's pessimistic view of life: the pest-cart, in which the noblest individuals, the finest embodiments of human ideals, are trundled off to a nameless and common grave.

The "Schüdderump" becomes for Raabe the central point of a system of pessimistic philosophy: "In mancherlei Glanz und Licht sah ich seinen Schatten fallen, in allerlei Flöten- und Geigenklang vernahm ich sein dumpfes Gepolter, und manch einen herzerfrischenden braven Wunsch, aber auch verschiedenes andere wurde ich von der Seele los, indem ich wie jener kleine schwarze Mann die Kette aushob, den Karren überkippte und die Last hinabrutschen liess in die grosse, schwarze, kalte Grube, in der kein Unterschied der Personen und Sachen mehr gilt. So ist mir der Schüdderump allmählich zum Angelpunkt eines ganzen, tief und weit ausgebildeten philosophischen Systems geworden."⁵³

In the midst of the bustle and gaiety of life, the distant rumbling of these inevitable wheels reminds us grimly of the

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 410-411.

⁵³ *Werke*, III, 1, pp. 4-5.

transiency of all mundane things and the final triumph of Death: "Horch, was war das? Vielleicht traf das Rad des widerwärtigen Karrens auf einen Stein im Wege, und so wurde die schauerliche Last ein wenig zusammengerüttelt, und den Ton vernahmen wir mitten im fröhlichen Behagen des Daseins . . . So viel Lichter um uns her angezündet sein mögen, so hell die Sonne scheinen mag, auf einmal wissen wir wieder, dass wir aus dem Dunkeln kommen und in das Dunkle gehen, und dass auf Erden kein grösseres Wunder ist, als dass wir dieses je für den kürzesten Moment vergessen konnten."⁶⁴

The final and only victor in this world is the Schüdderump, "der schwarze Wagen, der immerfort seinen Weg durch die Geschlechter alles Lebendigen fortsetzt, dessen Fuhrmann so schläfrig düster mit dem Kopfe nickt, und dessen Begleiter, die Leidenschaften, mit Zähneknirschen und Hohnlachen die eisernen Stangen und Haken schwingen; denn ihrer ist ja das Reich und die Herrlichkeit der Welt, und wer kann sich rühmen, dass er im Kampfe wider sie wirklich den Sieg davongetragen habe?"⁶⁵

If *Der Hungerpastor* was the book of Aspiration, and *Abu Telfan* the book of Experience, *Der Schüdderump* is the book of Death. Raabe might have inscribed it fitly: "Dies Buch gehört dem Tode." In the two previous novels, there were numerous death-scenes, and serious questions as to the ultimate value of life and human endeavor were raised and answered in an increasingly pessimistic spirit. In *Der Schüdderump*, Death not only casts its shadow before; it becomes a pervasive, oppressive atmosphere in the story from the first page to the last. It is no longer one of the solutions of the problem of living, one means of release from cruel reality; it is the sole and unsurmountable fact, the abyss in which everything must finally be engulfed.

We have already remarked that the Ritter von Glaubigern, the hero of *Der Schüdderump*, is an older impersonation of Hagebucher, as Hagebucher was of Unwirrsch. The hero of *Abu Telfan* was a man in early middle life, and the other characters of the book were almost all of middle age. The hero of *Der Schüdderump* is an old man, and those about him are old: Fräulein von St. Trouin, Hanne Allmann, Jane Warwolf,

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

Dietrich Häussler. Those who are active in the story, for good or for evil, are old; the young, as represented by Antonie Häussler and Hennig von Lauen, are really passive, and fall victims to wicked old people and the wicked old world.

Antonie Häussler especially exhibits the tragedy of youth and of beauty, both physical and spiritual, in an evil environment. Her mother before her, "die schöne Marie," had experienced the curse of beauty, which comes into the world, men know not whence nor why, and which is foredoomed to disgrace and destruction.⁵⁶ "Alles Liebliche und Schöne in der Welt wird verruinert," says Jane Warwolf.⁵⁷ Even as a child, in the squalid poorhouse whither her mother has been cast to die, Antonie is made to apprehend dimly her eventual fate, "das Los des Schönen auf der Erde."⁵⁸ She represents a more poignant phase of the tragedy of Nikola von Einstein in *Abu Telfan*; Nikola fluttered in vain against the bars of her cage, and dragged herself at length, with broken wings, to the refuge offered by Frau Claudine. In *Der Schüdderump*, however, the evil world, personified in Dietrich Häussler, invades the last retreat of defenseless virtue; the last secluded valley is flooded with the pestilential breath of universal vice.⁵⁹

The final wisdom to which Hagebucher attained was resignation and retirement from the world. In retirement, in aristocratic aloofness from the common life, we find his successor, the aged Ritter von Glaubigern. He has carried out the program of the recluse, to which Hagebucher saw himself constrained: "In Einsamkeit und Stille, in Geduld und Entsagung hatte er an seinem eigenen Wesen, wenn auch nicht gebaut und gemeiselt, so doch geschnitzelt und gedrechselt."⁶⁰ Though he fought with the world in his time,⁶¹ he has grown old and weary of fighting: "Wahrlich, es geht keine Müdigkeit über die des Starken und Tapfern!"⁶² His most characteristic quality is a spirit of chivalric sympathy and protectiveness, the result of his recognition of the baseness of the world and the helplessness of purity and goodness in it. He is "a man like an angel,"⁶³ a knight-errant of a bygone time, for whom "noblesse oblige"

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 339-340.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 163.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

is the highest rule of conduct. To Hanne Allmann he seems a being from another and better planet, who has descended to this and cannot find the way back⁶⁴—so wide has become the breach between Raabe's ideal hero and the world!

An appeal to his chivalry, the plight of Antonie, who is consuming her last strength in the clutches of vicious society in Vienna, arouses him from the lethargy of age and ascetic seclusion. Once more he appears on the world's stage, like a ghost in armor: "Da stand er! So alt, so kümmerlich, halb blind und tief gebückt, und doch ein Ritter und ein Held, dieser Chevalier Karl Eustach von Glaubigern—wie vielleicht in diesen Tagen die menschenbevölkerte Erde keinen zweiten aufweisen konnte."⁶⁵ But his last and valiant effort is in vain: he comes too late to save Antonie from the infectious disease of life. In fact, he himself appears only as the herald of the ultimate savior, Death, who follows close upon his heels; in Glaubigern the dead rise again to claim their dead.⁶⁶

As in the two previous novels, so in *Der Schütterump* the implacable opponent of the virtuous individual is the wicked world, the militant vileness of the mass of humanity. The individual, who as Hans Unwirrsch retired from the world into safe obscurity, who as Leonhard Hagebucher entered the battle vaguely feared by Unwirrsch and his wife, suffered defeat and was washed up as wreckage at the door of the Katzenmühle, who as the Ritter von Glaubigern re-entered the lists from compassion and loyalty to the ideal, is here finally and hopelessly defeated and annihilated. Here the destruction of the noble personality is pictured as a bitter necessity, and truth, beauty and goodness appear as lost causes.

Life is a horrible Sphinx, whose great cold eyes Glaubigern, the pilgrim from another land, seeks in vain to fathom.⁶⁷ Life is a desert, in which the good are alone and defenseless;⁶⁸ only the consciousness of dying together gives Antonie and her champion a brief moment of bliss at the end.⁶⁹ Life is a vale of sorrow, a thing of evil: "die schlechte Welt," "eine elende Welt," "diese schlechte Erdenwelt," "die erbärmliche Gegenwart,"

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 385.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 381, 391.

"diese schlechte, gemeine, nichtsnutzige und ekelhafte Welt," "diese miserable, nichtsnutzige Welt," "dieses elende Dasein," "die gleichgültige, schadenfrohe oder eigennützige Welt."⁷⁰ Hanne Allmann, Jane Warwolf and Glaubigern agree that we live and die like dogs.⁷¹ Hanne, in fact, prefers the society of cattle to that of her fellow-men,⁷² and Jane esteems it an honor to be counted with the beasts.⁷³

Dietrich Häussler, the villain of the story, is not simply an evil individual, nor only the representative of the degenerate society of Vienna,⁷⁴ but the archetype and emissary of worldly wickedness: "Auch diesmal hatte er seinen Willen gehabt und den Sieg gewonnen, wie er unter allen Gestalten und in allen Verhältnissen, in der Tiefe und in der Höhe seit vielen, vielen tausend Jahren den Sieg gewinnt."⁷⁵

Even Hennig von Lauen, the well-fed, slow-witted, superficially good Junker, is forced at times to sense the great tragedy of this world in which the virtuous are lost, and only rogues or fools can succeed.⁷⁶ The rascally Dietrich Häussler and his vulturous son-in-law, the sleek and despicable sycophant Franz Buschmann, Hennig himself—these are the people who gain success and comfort, whereas Antonie is killed, and Glaubigern and his friends are broken in mind and body, feeble old children awaiting physical death.⁷⁷

Those who are good and trained in goodness, like Antonie, are as helpless in life as canaries in the winter woods: "Hinaus zu müssen—früher oder später hinaus zu müssen in das abscheuliche Gewühl, wo das, was der Ritter von Glaubigern sah und fühlte und lehrte, keine Geltung hat . . . Ich habe in vergangener Nacht im Traum den Ritter von Glaubigern in seiner Rüstung gesehen, und er bedeckte die Augen mit der Hand und war wehrlos."⁷⁸ The good characters in *Der Schüdderump* are

⁷⁰ For these expressions, cf. respectively *ibid.*, pp. 345, 66, 80, 117, 150, 85, 88, 184-185, 228.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 360, 400, 407-408.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 327, 328.

even more passive martyrs to the powers of evil than was the cowering circle in Frau Claudine's mill. Weariness lies heavily on the bravest; Glaubigern says: "Wir vermögen alle nichts gegen die Macht, welche uns in der Höhe und Tiefe entgegensteht . . . Es ist das ganze Schrecknis der Welt, das mir mit einem Male klar geworden ist . . . Das ist das Schrecknis in der Welt, schlimmer als der Tod, dass die Kanaille Herr ist, und Herr bleibt."⁷⁹

The pessimism of *Der Schüdderump* is strongly tinged with cynicism. Jane Warwolf, after relating the story of her brother, who served twenty-five years in prison for poaching, while his accomplices went free, points the moral that the greatest rogue is an honest man, so long as he is not caught: "Das ist die Moral von der Geschichte: auf's Glück kommt's an in allen Dingen".⁸⁰ Sympathy and gratitude are estimable qualities, but one should be chary of them; to hold back tears of compassion is an evidence of strong character, and may prove advantageous later.⁸¹ In fact, the race as a whole saves itself from the fate of the individual only through callous indifference to his fate; no one is indispensable to us, and mourning is self-destructive: this is "die uralte, urewige Wahrheit, das alleinige Grundrecht, durch welches sich die Menschheit vor dem Menschen rettet."⁸²

The notes of disillusionment and weary resignation, which were struck often in *Abu Telfan*, reverberate all through *Der Schüdderump*. Existence is an endless disappointment, and human happiness is limited to longing, "dass stille, tiefverborgene Heimweh, die melancholische Sehnsucht nach Ruhe und Licht, die allein nur, und auch nur in vereinzeltten Momenten, das Reich der Ruhe und des Lichtes in der Seele des Menschen aufbaut."⁸³ "Der Tag ist nicht so hell, als man denkt, und das Licht liegt nur in dem Vergangenen und der Sehnsucht darnach, die Zukunft aber bringt auch nur, was der Tag heute ist, oder noch etwas Schlimmeres."⁸⁴ Illusions are things of happy youth; we lose them as we grow older.⁸⁵ Even the vigorous Frau von Lauen, who respects only common-sense and reality, reaches pessimistic resignation: "Jede gute Stunde wird

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 265-266.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.

einem vor der Nase weggeschnappt, und allmählich kommt es doch auch mir vor, als ob in meiner Jugend alles besser gewesen sei."⁸⁶ She too is stoically resigned to the fact that "everyone's trunks are packed in his due time."⁸⁷

"Weltflucht," retreat to a hermitage, was the final solution of the problem of life in *Abu Telfan*. The fate of Antonie and Glaubigern shows clearly that there is no longer any hermitage to which to flee, and that the only escape from unbearable life is death. Nothing but the death of its victim can stop the onslaught of the world. The ultimate answer to the riddle of existence is the negation of the will to live.

This, then, is the climax of the pessimism which we have seen developing in the three great novels of Raabe's Stuttgart period, and which, in the opinion of the present writer, constitutes their principal bond of unity. It might be pertinent to inquire, in conclusion, into the nature and scope of this pessimism. Is Raabe to be called an unconditional follower of Schopenhauer, and may *Der Schüdderump* be regarded as his "opus metaphysicum"?

Both these questions must be answered in the negative. That Schopenhauer influenced Raabe and his work, intensely though transiently, during his period of life in Stuttgart, is not subject to doubt. But there is nothing metaphysical about Raabe's pessimism; it does not impugn anything absolute, nor the universe at large; it is limited to this world, and is purely social. Raabe nowhere expresses doubt as to the essential goodness of God, of nature, even of the best individuals. What he and his heroes fear and distrust is "the world," society as a whole. This is the constant antagonist which they combat, from which they flee, or to which they succumb.

The conspicuously virtuous individual falls a prey to the brutal levelling tendencies of the mob—this is the extent of Raabe's tragic theme. Antonie Häussler is not Agnes Bernauer; she personifies, not the tragedy of mere being, but the pathetic fate of a pure and beautiful girl at the hands of vicious society. This is not metaphysical despair; this is an indictment of the social order, and those who have termed *Der Schüdderump* an

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

"opus metaphysicum" have far overshot the mark. Here "every prospect pleases, and only man is vile," and even he not in every manifestation, but only in so far as he is organized in a social system.

Such pessimism is essentially curable, and indications of Raabe's recovery from it are not wanting even amid the gloom of *Abu Telfan* and *Der Schüdderump*. Examples could be multiplied to demonstrate Raabe's continued faith in eternal values and absolute standards. The disease which is rife in the world does not attack an Absolute Idea; the valuable perishes, but Value as such remains unimpaired.

The power which cures Raabe of his pessimism, and which prevented him from sinking deeper into it, is humor. Raabe's humor is based, in the final definition, on faith in an absolute scale of values, and a sense for the comparative importance of things. "Wer ist ein Humorist?" asks Raabe, and replies, "Der den winzigsten aller Nägel in die Wand oder die Hirnschale des hochlöblichen Publikums schlägt und die ganze Garderobe der Zeit und aller vergangenen Zeiten dran aufhängt."⁸⁸

In his later novels, Raabe approaches nearer and nearer to the standpoint of that humor which Harald Höffding⁸⁹ has called the "grand humor," humor which sees, and invites us to see the temporal world more and more "sub specie aeternitatis." Surveyed from a sufficiently lofty eminence, the sufferings and tribulations of existence become infinitesimal and painless. This species of humor has much in common with religion, and is of the essence of tragedy. Humor and tragedy may indeed be said to have a common basis in the recognition of the essential contradictoriness of life. Tragedy, however, presents this contradiction as unalterable and distressing, whereas the "grand" humor, trusting in a transcendent and immutable standard of values, finds the individual incongruity insignificant and relatively amusing. In *Der Schüdderump*, Raabe came as near as he ever did to becoming a writer of tragedies; after *Der Schüdderump*, he clearly follows the road of humor.

WALTER SILZ

⁸⁸ *Werke*, III, 6, p. 589.

⁸⁹ Harald Höffding, *Den store Humor*, trans. by Heinrich Goebel (*Humor als Lebensgefühl*), Leipzig & Berlin (Teubner), 1918.

XXXI. THE MOB IN ZOLA'S *GERMINAL* AND IN HAUPTMANN'S *WEAVERS*

A comparison of the mob in Zola's novel *Germinal*,¹ 1885, and in Hauptmann's drama, *The Weavers*,² 1892, reveals many points of resemblance. Some of these grow essentially out of the general similarity of theme, others represent more incidental details; yet the outward resemblance is greatly offset by the fact that the miners and weavers as such are fundamentally different. Nevertheless, both authors portray the abject poverty of a class of laborers—poverty due essentially to merciless exploitation on the part of unscrupulous employers who have degraded and virtually enslaved their employes. In both cases these miserable starvelings revolt against a tyranny which would suck the very blood from their veins and the marrow from their bones; under the momentary leadership of virtual outsiders they resort to violence in their protest against starvation wages. In varying degree, as determined by the greater epic breadth of the novel on the one hand and by the narrower scope of the drama on the other hand, details are given of individual and general misery, decrepitude, degeneracy, despair, long-continued suffering and of a subsequent flaring up into violent rebellion against the unendurable.

Both Zola and Hauptmann give a detailed portrayal of the conditions which lead to mob violence. Miners and weavers alike are destitute, their lives having been reduced to hard work and hunger. The famishing state of the miners is briefly summed up in the words of old Bonnemort (*G* 12): "Si l'on mangeait toujours du pain, ce serait trop beau!" Similarly the weavers' want finds expression in the words (*W* 380): "Mir haben Hunger, weiter nischt." The misery of the hardworking Maheu family is strikingly illustrated by the fact that with five members of this large family working daily in the coal mine, there is not a sou in the house six days before their pay falls due. This situation is paralleled by that of mother Bau-

¹ Hereafter cited as *G*; references are to pages in the Bibliothèque-Charpentier ed., Paris, 1919.

² Hereafter cited as *W*; references are to pages in *Gerhart Hauptmanns Gesammelte Werke*, I., ed. S. Fischer, Berlin, 1912.

mert, a weaver's wife, who likewise has not a cent in her house and is anxiously waiting for her husband to bring home a few farthings earned by the weaving of the entire family; there is not even a grain of salt in the house. Such conditions have long been the order of the day among miners and weavers alike. For the former they are aggravated during their strike for higher wages when children go to bed hungry, and mothers' hearts break as their children actually die of starvation. But this is the lot of the weavers, even though they are not on strike, for Frau Heinrich with a sick husband and nine children to support, has to send them to bed unfed (*W* 316), and Luise Hilse's children die for want of food (*W* 374). The complaint of the suffering weavers is (*W* 380): "Mir woll'n leben und weiter nischt."

Miners and weavers alike have sold everything dispensable in order to buy food. During the strike the Maheu family was surrounded by bare walls, everything portable having been disposed of (*G* 439):

Les toiles des matelas avaient suivi la laine chez la brocanteuse; puis les draps étaient partis, le linge, tout ce qui pouvait se vendre. Un soir, on avait vendu deux sous un mouchoir du grand-père . . . Ils étaient nus, ils n'avaient plus à vendre que leur peau, si entamée, si compromise, que personne n'en aurait donné un liard. Aussi ne prenaient-ils même pas la peine de chercher, ils savaient qu'il n'y avait rien, que c'était la fin de tout, qu'ils ne devaient espérer ni une chandelle, ni un morceau de charbon, ni une pomme de terre; et ils attendaient d'en mourir.

The misery of the weavers, however, has been almost as great even though they were working instead of striking. Old Baumert, who sold his Sunday coat two years previous to buy a bit of pork, has had no meat since, until he ate his dog, (*W* 324). Whereas the miners have given up the futile search for something to eat, the weavers occasionally dig up a dead horse and live on that for a few weeks (*W* 366).

The physical effects of long continued undernourishment as portrayed by Zola and Hauptmann are much the same. Long before the strike the entire Maheu family has had an anemic pallor which is rivaled by the waxen pallor of the weavers. Zola describes la Maheude and her children as: "cette femme et ces enfants pitoyables, avec leur chair de cire, leurs cheveux décolorés, la dégénérescence qui les rapetissait, rongés d'ané-

mie, d'une laideur triste de meurt-de-faim" (G 102). Like the miners, the weavers are a race of starvelings, underfed, under-developed, decrepit, hollow-chested, pallid and diseased. Physical decrepitude is emphasized among the weavers by such details as bony shoulders, faces emaciated like a skeleton, folds and wrinkles in a bloodless skin, hollow, inflamed, watering eyes, sore eyes common to weavers. As an extreme type of decrepitude Zola introduces Alzire Maheu, a crippled hunchback, whereas Hauptmann describes August Baumert, who has a small head and body with long spiderlike extremities; the idiocy of the latter is paralleled in *Germinal* by the idiocy of old Bonnemort.

Other features introduced in both works in describing the misery of these enslaved laborers are the housing conditions and the size of families. Although Zola describes the miners' homes as much too cramped for the size of their families, he does not emphasize their condition as strongly as does Hauptmann, who depicts the weavers' homes as dilapidated and crumbling shells. Both authors stress large families as complicating the question of subsistence. The miners have many children, legitimate and illegitimate, all of whom go to work at a tender age in order to contribute to the support of the family; but their early marriage deprives the latter of this aid only too soon and is a source of constant anxiety. The weavers have a child a year, Frau Heinrich has nine children and expects a tenth; Wiegand (W 331) says the weavers bring more children into the world than there is any use for. Whereas Zola stresses illegitimacy as the order of the day, Hauptmann refers to illegitimacy among the weavers incidentally, as he does elsewhere in his dramas.

The anguish of both miners and weavers is so great that death seems to them the only way of ending their suffering. "Quand on est mort," says Maheu (G 195), "on n' a plus faim." When Alzire, the little hunchback daughter, actually dies of starvation her mother prays in despair (G 447): "Mon Dieu, prenez mon homme, prenez les autres, par pitié, pour en finir!" Instead of working and starving, weaver Baumert would prefer to go to jail where at least prisoners can appease their hunger (W 382). But it would be best, says he (W 309), to hang oneself as did weaver Rentwich. Mother Baumert declares (W 316) it would be better if God had pity on them

and took them from this world. She has prayed to God so often (*W* 319) to let her die. Yet when death refuses to bring relief and the pangs of hunger become unbearable, the miner Bonnemort rolls his tongue in his mouth "pour tromper sa faim" (*G* 291-f) and weaver Heiber counsels sucking a pebble in order to soothe hunger (*W* 309).

Miners and weavers alike have no money, no credit, no bread. Their want is emphasized by comparison with their employers. Zola contrasts the emaciated state of the miners with the sleek, well-fed condition of the Grégoire and Hennebeau families, whereas Hauptmann employs the same method to emphasize the difference between the emaciation of the starving weavers and the corpulence of their employer Dreissiger as well as of the well groomed, stout manager Pfeifer. Moreover, among the miners themselves Zola contrasts the rank and file with la Pierronne who remains plump and rosy because her relations with the mine superintendent Dansaert bring her money; Hauptmann contrasts the weavers in general with Jäger, a husky, recently returned soldier, and with one of their own class named Bäcker who is an exceptionally strong, powerfully built weaver. Again, the lack of food of the miners is brought into sharp relief by the resentment they feel at the thought of Hennebeau's maid driving in a two-horse carriage to another town to buy delicacies for her mistress' table. Luise, daughter-in-law of weaver Hilse, emphasizes this contrast by narrating (*W* 374) that her children died of starvation in spite of her desperate efforts to save them, while at the home of Dittrich, their employer, the children are bathed in wine and washed with milk. A third element of contrast lies in the difference between the narrow, cramped, cold quarters of the miners, devoid of furniture, and the comforts, warmth, and luxurious furnishing of the homes of Grégoire and Hennebeau. Hauptmann brings out a similar difference between the abject poverty of the weavers' crumbling hovels and the richly furnished, pretentious home of Dreissiger. The miner is stirred to rage at the thought of this rich class of extortioners, "ce dieu repu et accroupi, auquel dix mille affamés donnaient leur chair" (*G* 78), "ce dieu impersonnel, inconnu de l'ouvrier, accroupi quelque part, dans le mystère de son tabernacle, d'où il suçait la vie des meurt-de-faim qui le nourrissaient" (*G* 325). Étienne,

the leader of the striking miners, develops this contrast as follows (*G* 324-f):

N'était ce pas effroyable! un peuple d'hommes crevant au fond de père en fils, pour qu'on paie des pots de vin à des ministres, pour que des générations de grands seigneurs et de bourgeois donnent des fêtes ou s'engraissent au coin de leur feu!

Jäger tells the weavers much the same about the luxurious life of their employers (*W* 324-f):

Mir brauchen o erscht kee' Fleesch, fer uns essen's de Fabrikanten. Die waten im Fette 'rum bis hie her. Wer das ni gloobt, der brauch ock 'nunter gehn nach Bielau und nach Peterschwalde. Da kann ma' sei' Wunder sehn: immer e Fabrikantenschloss hinter'n andern. Immer e Palast hinter' n andern. Mit Spiegelscheiben und Türmeln und eisernen Zäunen. Nee, nee, da spiert keener nischt von schlechten Zeiten. Da langt's uf Gebratenes und Gebackenes, uf Ekklipaschen und Kutschen, uf Guvernanten und wer weess was.

And like the miner the weaver is filled with resentment against these people who steal his last bite of bread, who undermine his very existence, and whom he blames for all his misfortunes (*W* 325).

In spite of their riches, the employers of the miners and weavers alike protest that they, too, are the victims of economic conditions, and are profiting but little or not at all. M. Hennebeau, when appealed to by the miners for a raise in wages, makes the following reply (*G* 246-f):

Une fosse tout équipée, aujourd' hui, coûte de quinze cent mille francs à deux millions; et que de peine avant de retirer un intérêt médiocre d'une telle somme engloutie! Presque la moitié des sociétés minières, en France, font faillite. Du reste, c'est stupide d'accuser de cruauté celles qui réussissent. Quand leurs ouvriers souffrent, elles souffrent elles-mêmes. Croyez-vous que la Compagnie n'a pas autant à perdre que vous, dans la crise actuelle? Elle n'est pas la maîtresse du salaire, elle obéit à la concurrence, sous peine de ruine.

And then follow more evasive replies calculated to make the protesting miners feel that he himself is powerless to do anything for them, but that he will transmit their complaints to those higher in authority. Dreissiger tells the weavers much the same story and even appeals to their sympathy for himself as an innocent, well-meaning manufacturer who has to bear the blame for conditions over which he has no control (*W* 310):

Dass so 'n Mann auch Sorgen hat und schlaflose Nächte, dass er sein grosses Risiko läuft, wovon der Arbeiter sich nichts träumen lässt, dass er manchmal vor lauter dividieren, addieren und multiplizieren, berechnen und wieder be-

rechnen nich weiss, wo ihm der Kopf steht, dass er hunderterlei bedenken und überlegen muss und immerfort sozusagen auf Tod und Leben kämpft und konkurriert, dass kein Tag vergeht ohne Ärger und Verlust: darüber schweigt des Sängers Höflichkeit. Und was hängt nicht alles am Fabrikanten, was saugt nich alles an ihm und will von ihm leben! Nee! nee! Ihr würdet's bald genug satt kriegen.

Thus both employers plead merciless competition and hard times as responsible for the financial difficulties under which they claim to be suffering themselves. And yet Hennebeau had taken advantage of the scarcity of work by forcing miners to bid against each other in order to obtain work at all, thereby reducing their wages to a minimum (*G* 162). Similarly, Dreissiger, alleging that the market is overstocked and that he does not know whether he can dispose of his product, claims to be taking pity on the many unemployed weavers; he maintains that he cannot give alms because he is not rich enough to do so, but that to a certain extent he can give the unemployed opportunity to earn something at least (*W* 311). This is his justification for the starvation wage he pays—he pays it out of philanthropy!

After being rebuffed by Hennebeau in answer to their request for an increase in wages, the committee of miners departs as follows (*G* 249): "Tous partaient, quittaient le salon dans un piétinement de troupeau, le dos arrondi, sans répondre un mot à cet espoir de soumission." And the weavers who have plead with Dreissiger for an advance stand humbled and helpless, step back sighing, with tears in their eyes. The weavers are reduced to mere automatons, to beings devoid of soul and individuality, for while waiting for his pay a weaver says (*W* 300): "A Weber wart't an' Stunde oder an'n Tag. A Weber is ock 'ne Sache." Similarly Étienne feels that the miners are mere dumb brutes, blinded and crushed (*G* 76). Again the life of the miner is described (*G* 151) as "cet écrasement de l'habitude qui le réduisait un peu chaque jour à une fonction de machine."

Thus both the miners and weavers are the prey of their employers, who refuse to grant them any concessions whatsoever. Government inspections of their living conditions are in both cases worse than a superficial formality—they are farcical. In *Germinal* Madame Hennebeau, wife of the director,

personally conducts visitors from Paris who are inspecting homes and investigating living conditions among the miners; she leads them to the two best, neatest homes. They see only what she intends them to see, note the gardens, the cheap rental demanded by the company, the fuel issued to the miners, and are told about medical attention and pensions accorded them. As a result the verdict is (G 117): "Une Thébaïde! un vrai pays de Cocagne!" Government investigation of conditions among the weavers is summarized aptly by Hornig, a rag peddler (W 339-f):

Da kommt so a Herr von der Regierung, der alles schon besser weess, wie wenn a' s' geschn hätte. Der geht aso a bissel im Dorfe'rum, . . . wo de scheensten Häuser sein. De scheen'n blanken Schuhe, die will a sich weiter ni beschnutzen. Da denkt a halt, 's wird woll ieberall asc scheen aussehn, und steigt in de Kutsche und fährt wieder heem. Und da schreibt a nach Berlin, 's wär und wär eemal keene Not nich.

This indifference of inspectors indicates clearly enough that the oppressed miners and weavers can hope for no relief from such quarter. Neither do they receive much aid from the clergy. In both *Germinál* and *The Weavers* two representatives of the clergy are introduced, in the former two priests of very different attitudes, and in the latter two Protestant clergymen, also of opposing points of view. The first priest passes the famished Maheude and her children as follows (G 99):

Le curé de Montsou, l'abbé Joire, passait en retroussant sa soutane, avec des délicatesses de gros chat bien nourri, qui craint de mouiller sa robe. Il était doux, il affectait de ne s'occuper de rien, pour ne fâcher ni les ouvriers ni les patrons . . . Il ne s'arrêta pas, sourit aux enfants, et la laissa plantée au milieu de la route.

His successor is a man of very different stripe (G 421-f):

Est-ce que l'abbé Ranvier ne s'était pas permis de prendre la défense des abominables brigands en train de déshonorer la région? Il trouvait des excuses aux scélératesses des grévistes, il attaquait violemment la bourgeoisie, sur laquelle il rejetait toutes les responsabilités . . . Et il avait osé menacer les riches, il les avait avertis que s'ils s'entêtaient davantage à ne pas écouter la voix de Dieu, sûrement Dieu se mettrait du côté des pauvres; il reprendrait leurs fortunes aux jouisseurs incrédules, il les distribuerait aux humbles de la terre.

The bishop finally (G 504) removed l'abbé Ranvier from the parish, for the priest had branded as assassins the soldiers who fired upon the striking miners. In *The Weavers* Pastor Kittel-

haus has become decidedly conservative after thirty years of preaching, and would forbid Weinhold, a young candidate for the ministry employed by Dreissiger as a tutor for his sons, to interest himself in the social problems of the weavers. Weinhold, who is disposed to see extenuating circumstances in the conduct of the weavers, is brutally dismissed from his tutorship by Dreissiger. Kittelhaus sides with the employers against the starving weavers and denounces their noisy protest as akin to trampling God's commandments under foot (*W* 351).

It is obvious that neither of these exploited peoples could hope for help from any outside quarter. A young weaver maintains that neither God nor man has taken pity on them (*W* 378). In view of such utter abandonment it is surprising to note the great patience which alone has prevented an earlier uprising. In *Germinal* it is Maheu's wife who exemplifies this remarkable patience in the face of relentless oppression. Even while explaining her wretched plight in the hope of obtaining alms from M. Grégoire she says (*G* 103-f): "Oh! ce n'est pas pour me plaindre. Les choses sont ainsi, il faut les accepter; d'autant plus que nous aurions beau nous débattre, nous ne changerions sans doute rien." Moreover Maheu says in answer to his wife's statement that the total earnings of the family are insufficient to feed them (*G* 19): "Faut pas se plaindre, je suis tout de même solide. Il y en a plus d'un, à quarante-deux ans, qui passe au raccomodage." Similarly the submissiveness and long-suffering in Hauptmann's drama are expressed in the words of the old weaver (*W* 309): "Ma' muss ebens a Mut nich sink'n lass'n. 's kommt immer wieder was und hilft een' a Stickl weiter." Old Hilse's patience is voiced in these words (*W* 366): "Hab'n mer kee' Fett, ess' mir'sch Brot trocken—hab'n mer kee' Brot ess' mer Kartoffeln—hab'n mer keene Kartoffeln ooch nich, da ess' mer trockene Kleie." This pious old weaver, who steadfastly declines to take part in any acts of violence, prays to God that he may be forgiven for any impatience with his lot (*W* 365).

The tyrannical exploitation of the miners and weavers is brought out strikingly by scenes attendant upon a pay-day. In both *Germinal* and *The Weavers* deductions from the regular scale of wages are made arbitrarily; in both cases these deductions are obvious attempts on the part of the employer to

increase his own profits by gouging the laborer. In the case of the miners, the coldly calculated reductions based on flimsy pretexts, the growing resentment, sullen discontent and rebellious feeling aroused thereby are developed with careful attention to detail and to climax. After all this stifled, impotent rage comes pay-day. The reduction in pay announced on this day leads to but one conclusion with regard to the company, namely that it realizes its economies out of the pocket of the miners (*G* 201). The effect produced by these outrageous deductions and extortionate fines, thinly disguised attempts to defraud the miners out of their hard-earned pittance is thus described (*G* 204):

L'exaspération croissait, une exaspération de peuple calme, un murmure grondant d'orage, sans violence de gestes, terrible au-dessus de cette masse lourde . . . C'était suriout l'enragement de cette paye désastreuse, la révolte de la faim, contre le chômage et les amendes. Déjà on ne mangeait plus, qu'aurait on devenir, si l'on baissait encore les salaires?

The pay-day of the weavers is equally disastrous, but instead of a general feeling of revolt, protest is here voiced violently only by Bäcker, the weavers in general giving the effect of being so weakened by famine that any spirit of revolt has long been starved out of them. Like Maheu (*G* 203) they count their paltry earnings with trembling hands (*W* 299). With plaintive voices they ask for an advance on their next pay only to receive a scornful rebuff in answer to their entreaties. Their deductions in pay are based on flimsy pretexts of alleged imperfections in their work. Bäcker, the only one to protest, cries (*W* 305):

Das is a schäbiges Trinkgeld, weiter nischt. Da soll eens treten vom friehen Morg'n bis in die sinkende Nacht. Und wenn man acht'zn Tage ieberrn Stuhle geleg'n hat, Abend fer Abend wie ausgewund'n, halb drehnig vor Staub und Gluthitze, da hat man sich glicklich dreiz'ntehalb Bechmen erschind't.

Thus both pay-days serve vividly to illustrate a merciless system of deduction in pay. Whereas Zola has carefully developed this scene as a climax in extortion, Hauptmann introduces it at once in the first scene of his drama. An essential difference between the two scenes lies in the fact that the already smouldering resentment of the miners now culminates in the decision to strike for a higher wage, whereas with one exception the weavers are physically too weak to do more than plead for a slight payment in advance.

While their husbands are drawing their scant pay, the women are filled with fear lest the men spend their money for drink on the way home. Some of the miners are followed by their wives who entreat them to return at once; other wives give their husbands orders for shopping so as to prevent them from loitering in the taverns (*G* 195). Nevertheless, the bars do a thriving business on such days, with miners drinking both before and after receiving their wage. In *The Weavers* mother Baumert is almost beside herself with the fear that her husband may spend his earnings for liquor and bring home nothing at all (*W* 313-ff).

Both authors give prominence to this pay-day as paving the way for the violence that finally ensues. For on the evening of this day Étienne, as leader of the miners, decides that if the company wants to precipitate a strike, that desire shall be fulfilled. Meanwhile, as a last resort, a committee of miners headed by Maheu and Étienne appeals to director Hennebeau for a revision of the wage scale, only to have its demands coldly refused. Consequently the miners decide upon the strike as their only weapon. It is this strike which ultimately precipitates mob violence. For the weavers, too, this pay-day is fraught with serious consequences. While disputing with Bäcker about his pay, Dreissiger threatens to have him or any one else arrested in case the Blutgericht song is sung before his home again (*W* 306). This is nothing short of a challenge to the enraged Bäcker to serenade Dreissiger; his acceptance of it leads to the attack upon the Dreissiger home with Bäcker and Jäger as leaders of the mob.

In *Germinal* as well as in *The Weavers* the revolutionary ideas are expressed by only a few persons: in the former primarily by Étienne, in the latter by Jäger, a returned soldier, and by Bäcker. The essential leaders are in both cases, virtually outsiders, for Étienne is a machinist who has but recently begun working in the mine, and Jäger has returned to his native heath after years of absence and service in the army. The miners, however, are organized, whereas the weavers are not. But Jäger as ringleader assures a few weavers (*W* 323) that an appeal to the king would be worse than useless, and finally suggests violence as the only remedy (*W* 326).

Both the novel and the play have two mob scenes. There is an interval between these two scenes in the former, whereas in the latter the two are virtually continued from one act to the next. In *Germinal* the first mob scene grows out of violence resulting from efforts of the striking miners to prevent others from working. The second grows out of an attempt of the strikers to prevent resumption of work in the mines by imported Belgians and by those of their own ranks who have yielded. In the controversy which ensues a few of the strikers are arrested by the soldiers; this inflames the mob and leads to a pitched battle. In *The Weavers*, the crowd before Dreissiger's home demands the release of Jäger who has been taken prisoner; he is finally freed by force, the police are beaten, and the inflamed mob begins its work of destruction which in turn leads to a battle with soldiers.

The objective of the miners in the first mob scene is the mine Jean-Bart; their ominous cry is (G 328): "À Jean-Bart! mort aux traltres!" Étienne demands of the proprietor Deneulin that work cease (G 360), adding that in case of refusal he cannot vouch for his comrades. On Deneulin's refusal, the ever swelling numbers of miners pour into the entrances and surge through the mine in search of those at work. The pushing and screeching of the women in particular soon sweep the crowd beyond control of their leader, who tries in vain to induce them to desist from acts of wanton destruction. Nevertheless, comparatively little damage is done at Jean-Bart this time; the destruction is limited to the cutting of elevator cables and to extinguishing fires in the boiler rooms, since the miners' attention is directed at driving from the mines those who had refused to strike. None of these even suffer severe physical punishment. Not so the weavers, whose violence assumes greater proportions almost at once. They besiege the house of Dreissiger, loudly clamoring for the liberation of Jäger. The intimidation of Dreissiger's guests in this scene of Act IV by catcalls and roaring is paralleled by the fears of Hennebeau's guests in *Germinal* (G 405) when the mob of miners later surges about the house hurling stones against closed shutters and attacking late arrivals. After freeing Jäger, the weavers burst open the doors of the house, smash the windows, charge the house, and search for Pfeifer, threatening to kill him. An unexpected scene follows

in the wake of crashing windowpanes and loud, thundering noises (*W* 363) when the first weavers enter Dreissiger's parlor. Young men and girls appear first; not daring to enter, each tries to push the other in. Those who come in are fairly intimidated by the unwonted splendor and luxury about them, walk softly, and do not venture to speak. Only after some seconds does their curiosity get the better of their timidity and prompt them shyly to touch objects, to try the sofas, to admire themselves in the mirrors, to mount upon chairs and take down the pictures in order to look at them. This first feeling of uneasiness is akin to that of the delegation of miners headed by Étienne and Maheu who are ill at ease in Hennebeau's parlor, dare not sit down, roll their caps between their fingers, hardly dare look at the rich furnishings, and are suffocated by the warmth and comfort (*G* 241). Of the thorough destruction of Dreissiger's home by the mob of weavers we learn in Act V through the narration of an eye witness.

In their work of destruction both miners and weavers march from place to place. Both mobs are stimulated by drink in their wild orgy of violence. The miners have been filling their empty stomachs with gin which, in part at least, was obtained in pillaging a shop (*G* 376). The fifty bottles found here disappear like a drop of water in the sand. The weavers, too, discover liquor in the cellars of houses they destroyed, with the following result (*W* 376): "Die Flaschen, die saufen se aus . . . da nehmen se sich gar nicht erscht amal Zeit, de Froppen 'rauszureissen. Eens, zwee, drei sein de Hälse 'runter, ob se sich's Maul ufschneiden mit a Scherben oder nich. Manche laufen 'rum und blutten wie de Schweine." As a result of intoxication even Étienne, Maheu, and his wife, who alone have endeavored to restrain the striking miners, finally join in urging them on to mad destruction. The only protest from the weavers who storm Dreissiger's home comes from an old weaver (*W* 363) who considers such madness as too dangerous to take part in; nevertheless he, too, is soon carried away by the rage of the mob and demands that Dreissiger shall be hurled from the window to his death.

The uncanny power of the striking miners in particular is emphasized by dramatic description; it is above all in the accounts of the approach of the strikers on the march that one

feels the irresistible surging of a wild, uncontrollable, menacing force attacking anything which opposes its powers of destruction. Zola thus describes the mob (G 374-f):

Dans cette férocité croissante, dans cet ancien besoin de revanche dont la folie détraquait toutes les têtes, les cris continuaient, s'étranglaient, la mort des traitres, la haine du travail mal payé, le rugissement du ventre voulant du pain . . . Un élan tel les charriait, qu'ils ne sentaient pas la fatigue atroce, leurs pieds brisés et meurtris. Toujours la queue s'allongeait, s'augmentait des camarades racolés en chemin, dans les corons . . . Dans leur rage de n'avoir pas une face de traître à gifler, ils s'attaquèrent aux choses. Une poche de rancune crevait en eux, une poche empoisonnée, grossie lentement. Des années et des années de faim les torturaient d'une fringale de massacre et de destruction.

Again Zola speaks of the mob as "brisant tout, balayant tout, avec la force accrue du torrent qui roule" (G 378). The description of the mob as it thunders by, causing the very earth to tremble, is particularly impressive (G 392-f):

Les femmes avaient paru, près d'un millier de femmes, aux cheveux épars, dépeignés par la course, aux geunilles montrant la peau nue, des nudités de femelles lasses d'enfanter des meurt-de-faim. Quelques-unes tenaient leur petit entre les bras, le soulevaient, l'agitaient, ainsi qu'un drapeau de deuil et de vengeance. D'autres, plus jeunes, avec des gorges gonflées de guerrières, brandissaient des bâtons; tandis que les vieilles, affreuses, hurlaient si fort, que les cordes de leurs cous décharnés semblaient se rompre. Et les hommes déboulèrent ensuite, deux mille furieux, des galibots, des haveurs, des raccommodeurs, une masse compacte qui coulait d'un seul bloc, serrée, confondue, au point qu'on ne distinguait ni les culottes déteintes, ni les tricots de laine en loques, effacés dans la même uniformité terreuse. Les yeux brûlaient, on voyait seulement les trous des bouches noires, chantant la *Marseillaise*, dont les strophes se perdaient en un mugissement confus, accompagné par le claquement des sabots sur la terre dure. . . . La colère, la faim, ces deux mois de souffrance et cette débandade enragée au travers des fosses, avaient allongé en mâchoires de bêtes fauves les faces placides des bouilleurs de Montsou. . . .

Even Étienne is astounded by such savage ferocity (G 402):

Les pierres, malgré ses ordres, continuaient à grêler, et il s'étonnait, il s'effarait devant ces brutes démuselées par lui, si lentes à s'émouvoir, terribles ensuite, d'une ténacité féroce dans la colère. Tout le vieux sang flamand était là, lourd et placide, mettant des mois à s'échauffer, se jetant aux sauvageries abominables, sans rien entendre, jusqu'à ce que la bête fût soule d'atrocités.

This wild ferocity of the howling, raging torrent of miners contrasts strangely with the diffidence of the weavers as they first entered Dreissiger's parlor. They are wretched figures,

poverty stricken, emaciated, sickly, and ragged (*W* 363). Jäger, Bäcker, and Wittig, who come rushing in, shouting loudly for Dreissiger and manager Pfeifer are the exception rather than the rule with their threats to hang the slave driver and reduce him to poverty. Old Ansorge represents the reactions of the rank and file of these humble starvelings; he cannot trust his senses as he looks upon the destruction and cries (*W* 364): "Ich bin nie gescheut! Ich steh' fer nischt. Ich bin ni⁷recht richtig. Geht weg, geht weg! Geht weg, ihr Rebeller." In his account of the destruction wrought by the weavers, Hornig characterizes them as follows (*W* 368):

Se war'n aso umgänglich wie sonste. Se machten ihre Sache aso sachte weg, aber se machten's grindlich. D'r Landrat red'te mit vielen. Da war'n se aso demietig wie sonste. Aber abhalt'n liessen se sich nich. Die schænsten Meebelsticke, die wurden zerhackt, ganz wie fersch Lohn. . . . Ma' hœrte ooch noch nich amal a eenzichtiges Wort, aso schweigsam ging's her. Orn'tlich feierlich wurd een' zu Mutte, wie die armen Hungerleider und nahmen amal ihre Rache dahier.

And again Hornig says (*W* 377): "Wer die hat sehn wirtschaften—der weess, was's geschlagen hat." Ansorge's feeling of bewilderment at the destruction he has witnessed is akin to the exclamations of pious old weaver Hilse who can more readily imagine (*W* 369) that the king of Prussia might come to visit him, than that weavers could have wrought the havoc of which Hornig tells. Similarly, Schmidt, the doctor, considers such happenings as bordering on the miraculous (*W* 371-f):

Höre da fermlich Wunderdinge. Was in drei Teiwels Namen ist denn in die Menschen gefahren, Hilse? Wüten da wie'n Rudel Welfe. Machen Revolution, Rebellion; werden renitent, plündern und marodieren Der reine Weltuntergang. Unheimlich!

Schmidt emphasizes the misery of these wretches (*W* 372): "Da trittelt eener hinter'm anderm her wie's graue Elend und verführen ein Gesinge, dass een' fermlich a Magen umwend't, dass een' richtig zu wirgen anfängt."

The personnel of the two mobs merits special attention. Étienne, often struggling in vain for mastery over the mob of miners, is not a picturesque figure. Levaque, in the miners' procession, with axe in hand, manipulating it like the baton of a drum major (*G* 366) has as his counterpart among the weavers a blacksmith named Wittich, who, brandishing his horsebucket

and smashing down doors with it, stands out as the personification of brute force. There is no parallel among the weavers of Jeanlin, son of Maheu, who typifies the destructive genius of malevolence. From a horn (G 366) which he has found he draws raucous notes, constantly adding to the hubbub, turmoil, and confusion of the mad throng. The women play a more prominent part in the miners' mob than among the weavers. In *Germinal* they constantly incite the mob to a higher pitch, whereas in *The Weavers* it is only Luise Hilse who stands out boldly. She denounces her husband Gottlieb and his father as cowards (W 374), as "Kerle, die dreimal scheen' Dank sagen fer 'ne Tracht Priegel." She vows that if violence ensues in their village, ten horses will not suffice to keep her from joining the mob; if Dittrich's property is attacked, she will be the first to aid—and heaven help anyone who tries to detain her (W 374). When she finally joins the mob, she taunts her husband as a Gebetbichel-Hengst (W 381), rushes away and prances about in front of the soldiers' bayonets as if she were dancing to music (W 383). Her influence finally overcomes her husband's scruples, he seizes an axe, hesitates a last moment and joins the mob. The burlesque part of La Mouquette has no individual parallel among the weavers' wives though they spit at the soldiers and manifest their contempt of the militia in the same ingenuously vulgar way she does.

In *Germinal*, however, both as individuals and as a group, the women keep the spirit of violence at fever heat. It is they who are bent upon destroying everything (G 362); they are in the lead as the mob marches from one mine to another (G 368). They tear the clothes from a woman who has refused to strike, beat her, and hold her up to the scorn of the men (G 373-f). At the mine Victoire, la Brûlé leads the women in an attack upon the lampisterie where they scatter the lamps on the floor, dashing them to bits (G 376). Again the women are foremost in maltreating Chaval who has persisted in working in the mine. La Brûlé plunges his head into a pool of muddy, icy water, forcing him to drink filth. One woman pulls his ears, another hurls a handful of dung into his face, still another would tear his clothes from his body (G 379-f). It is they who would abuse Cécile Grégoire, a bourgeoisie (G 407), and they who emasculate the dead body of the exploiting shop-keeper Maigrat (G 414).

Moreover, it is la Brûlé who is the first to be armed with bricks, ready to hurl them at the soldiers guarding the mine Voreux (G 484). She begins throwing; la Levaque rolls up her sleeves and approaches the soldiers so that her aim may be better; la Mouquette grows tired of breaking bricks into pieces, and hurls them whole. Even Catherine Maheu, who until now has held aloof, is seized with a mad desire to massacre, and hurls bricks at the soldiers with blind fury. And Maheu, who stands by as an onlooker, is fiercely taunted by his wife, until, he, too, joins in the attack on the soldiers (G 486). Zola has portrayed these women as so many furies, constantly menacing and inciting to bloody vengeance, all their womanly qualities swept away by a wild, uncontrollable rage.

The mob of miners grew by leaps and bounds, men, women, and children rushing forth from their houses and hurrying along bringing up the rear (G 373). It finally numbered over 2,500 in the first mob scene (G 378), whereas the mob of weavers totaled about 1,500 (W 371). Those who did not join the latter voluntarily were brought out of their homes and forced to join (W 377). The nearest parallel to such recruiting by force in *Germinal* is the insistence that no one shall work during the strike, and the action of the mob in dragging Chaval along against his will, commanding him to lend a hand in the work of destroying the mines (G 379). Yet both Zola and Hauptmann describe scenes in which individuals refuse to comply with the demands of the mob. In *Germinal* a tensely dramatic scene develops when Quandieu, an old miner on guard at Montsou, refuses to let the mob brush him aside to attack the mine. His stern devotion to duty is like that of the soldier who unquestioningly complies with his orders (G 371): "Nom de Dieu! vous ne passerez pas! Aussi vrai que le soleil nous éclaire, j'aime mieux crever que de laisser toucher aux câbles. Ne poussez donc plus, je me fous dans le puits devant vous! . . . Quel est le cochon qui ne comprend pas ça? Moi, je ne suis qu'un ouvrier comme vous autres. On m'a dit de garder, je garde." Of the weavers, old Hilse, a devout man who hopes for reward in heaven, remains faithfully at work in spite of threats on the part of those who would coerce him to join the mob. His final words are (W 384): "Hie hat mich mei' himmlischer Vater hergesetzt. . . . Hie bleiben mer sitzen und tun,

was mer schuldig sein, und wenn d'r ganze Schnee verbrennt." So powerful is the effect of Hilse's piety and sense of duty that Baumert apologizes for having taken part in the mob activity, saying (*W* 382): "Ich wollte ja gerne nich mitmachen. Aber sieh ock, Gustav; d'r Mensch muss doch a eenziges Mal an' Augenblick Luft kriegen."

The coming of the weavers' mob in Act V is proclaimed by the tolling of bells, and finally their song is heard in close proximity (*W* 376); sung by many hundred voices, it sounds like a long, low lament in a monotone. This becomes their battle song and is finally sung with a note of triumph as the drama ends. It is paralleled in *Germinal* by the cry, "Du pain! du pain! du pain!" which, repeated again and again, voices the misery of the starving miners and resounds ominously above the fury of the mob. It runs through the entire first mob scene as the battle cry of the miners. It is heard in turn as a cry, a loud lament, as dying away in the distance; it bursts forth with redoubled violence, sounds like a howling tempest, and again dies down into a plaintive moan.

The culminating action of both miners and weavers is their defiance of the troops sent to quell the riot. In both cases the mob is fired on by the soldiers whom it attacks. The miners hurl bricks, the weavers cobblestones. The soldiers are victorious in repelling the assault of the miners, but are routed by the weavers. A capricious fate decrees that Maheu, one of the best, peace-loving miners, a man inclined to moderation, is killed by the soldiers' fire, and that devout old Hilse, who had flatly refused to join the mob, is killed by a stray bullet as he sits by the window weaving. The weavers by winning at least a temporary victory over the soldiers, make progress to that extent toward realizing their modest hope of no longer going to bed hungry, of having a roof over their heads and a shirt on their backs (*W* 377). Although the miners are defeated by the troops and are finally forced by hunger to capitulate, the novel ends with a note of optimism, with the conviction that all this bloodshed, starvation, suffering, and misery cannot ultimately have been in vain.

JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL

XXXII. THE VALIDITY OF LITERARY DEFINITIONS

In an age of questioning like ours, literary definitions can as little as anything else escape being called to the bar to give an account of themselves, and of their right to exist; and some, no doubt, would say that the case has already been decided against them. Personally, after having engaged in framing a few of my own, I do not share that view; and what I wish to do here is to consider briefly what gives literary definitions their validity, and what considerations ought to guide us in framing them. The task will involve some attention to the general speculative background against which purely literary problems are relieved, and may bring together some aspects which will derive at least relative novelty from their juxtaposition.

I

The objections to literary definitions seem to me to be based either on lack of thought or on confusion of thought; or, to put it more politely, either on declining to think or on thinking in the wrong way. The former mood naturally cannot produce definitions; and we have to admit that anyone who chooses to adopt it is entitled to do so. A person who sincerely feels that the attempt to frame literary definitions is both fruitless and annoying is not likely to be reasoned out of that belief; and a good many appear to be precisely of that state of mind. As a good instance of it in a writer whose opinions have gained considerable currency I may quote these words of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch: "Why worry me with any definition of the Grand Style in English, when here and here and again here . . . I recognize and feel the *thing*?"¹ One of the kings of Savoy in the early nineteenth century is said to have had for his motto, "I'm not king in order to be worried"; evidently Sir Arthur did not become a professor of literature in order to be worried, either.

The only difficulty with this habit of mind is that it furnishes its possessor with no very obvious reply to the question, "How do *you* know—still more, how do *we* know—that what you feel

¹ *On the Art of Writing*, American edn., p. 20.

and recognize as the 'grand style' or whatever else is really anything of the kind?" He is somewhat in the position of a person who tries to cash a check at a bank where he is not known, and who indignantly repulses queries as to his identity and his solvency. Purely individual recognition and feeling may satisfy their possessor, but hardly others unless he can give an account of them. For that matter, Sir Arthur tells us in another place that prose and verse each demand "a different concept of what the writer should aim at and what avoid."² It is true that he admits such concepts only as "guides to practice"; but surely it is evident that a concept which is not clearly thought out will hardly be the safest of guides.

The real root of this objection to definitions, so far as it is serious, seems to be expressed in another remark of Sir Arthur's, when he speaks of "eschewing, for the present at any rate, all general definitions and theories, through the sieve of which the particular achievement of genius is so apt to slip."³ Here we leave the field of purely capricious denial, and pass over to the region which I have described as that of confused thinking on the subject. Viewed more closely, this confusion is seen to assume two main forms: the first, a confusion between a literary definition and a scientific definition; the second, an uncertainty as to the proper function of a literary definition. The two tend to shade into each other; but as the former is the more obvious and the less complex, it can conveniently be disposed of first.

The aim of science may in general be said to be the discovery of uniformities of identification and of prediction.⁴ The chemist, for instance, desires to get a definition of any particular element which will enable it to be identified wherever it occurs; and he is likewise interested in such a generalization as Mendeleeff's periodic law, which enables him to predict the properties of elements subsequently to be discovered. The discovery and the precise formulation of uniformities of these two types is the

² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴ "Science expresses a quite specific endeavor to get phenomena under intellectual control, so that we can think of them economically and clearly in relation to the rest of our science, and so that we can use them as a basis for secure prediction and effective action."—J. Arthur Thomson, *The System of Animated Nature*, I, p. 8.

occupation and the ideal of the several sciences—an ideal attained with varying degrees of success as we pass from physical astronomy through physics and chemistry to biology, for example. Now it is evident that the study of literature is concerned with uniformities of the first type relatively little, and with those of the second not at all. In literature we can at most deal only with *similarities* of identification, and prediction, even in the broad way of suggesting the probable course of literary movements, is mostly beyond us, while prediction of the emergence of specific authors and works is wholly so. The causes of this state of affairs are sufficiently obvious; but I bring up the point because it is sometimes assumed that a so-called “science” of literature ought to produce results comparable in accuracy to those attained by physics or chemistry. It will do nothing of the sort; and it will have in common with sciences of the quantitative type only a certain community of spirit in the way problems are attacked and research is prosecuted. The results, whatever they may prove to be, must be interpreted in the literary mode.

Partially akin to this mistaken notion of the scientific character of the literary definition is one aspect of the second error I have mentioned—namely, the idea that such a definition is the equivalent of a formula. The formulas of science serve for prediction and for production. The former we have already ruled out of account; but the latter have at many periods seemed to possess literary parallels. The modern chemist, we are told, works out on paper the formula of a new carbon compound, and then goes into the laboratory to build it up. Just so, there have been periods when it has been thought that the specifications of a perfect tragedy or a perfect epic could be framed in advance, and the actual result worked out by anyone able to collect material and follow the directions. Unfortunately, the parallel does not hold in practice. It is immaterial by what chemist or in what laboratory the formula is worked out (assuming only that both chemist and laboratory are properly equipped for the task), because both the substances, the conditions, and the aim are practically uniform; but a tragedy, for instance, springs from an entirely different level of experience, and neither materials, surroundings, nor writer are interchangeable with any others.

The root of the difference is of course simply this—scientific formulas have been based on terms whose identity has been secured by as much abstraction and simplification as may be necessary in any given case. Hence the symbols used by the physicist or the chemist represent elements which, in that particular connection, are unvarying, and the formulas built up from them are likewise unvarying. But to frame such formulas to cover the phenomena of literature is wholly out of the question. The most that a literary formula can do is to bring together a large group of facts under the manageable form of a statement which conveniently summarizes some phase of their behavior. An example of an æsthetic formula is Santayana's "Unity by inclusion gives us the beautiful; unity by exclusion gives us the sublime;" of a rhetorical formula, Wendell's "Words and sentences are subjects of revision; paragraphs and whole compositions are subjects of prevision"; of a formula in literary history, Dr. Griffin's "The epic is indigenous, and flourishes among a people in undisturbed possession of ancestral traditions; the romance is exotic, and flourishes among a people in process of appropriating a foreign culture."⁵ It is evident that such general statements as these⁶ possess no such immediate and unquestionable validity as do the formulas of physics or chemistry; their application to any particular instance has to be tested and determined by experience. We try them out on various such concrete cases, and see how far they apply, and where they may have to be modified. They are suggestive, not exhaustive; and they are so, largely because the material with which they deal cannot be so drastically simplified and standardized as can the facts of physics or chemistry.

From this standpoint we can now proceed to approach the other aspect of the second error—the notion that literary definitions are useless because they are not the equivalents of the concrete works they define. This view has been forcibly expressed by Professor R. K. Hack at the close of an article⁷

⁵ *P. M. L. A.* XXXVIII. 57.

⁶ I do not know how far it is significant that these three examples (not chosen with the point in mind) assume the form of an antithesis, not that of the typically mathematical form, the equation. Perhaps there is a clue here to a basic difference in method.

⁷ "The Doctrine of Literary Forms," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXVII (1916), pp. 1-65.

which traces the growth of the doctrine of self-existent and evolving literary forms. He concludes that, if such definitions possess objective validity, "they must fulfil two requirements: they must explain all 'tragedies' or whatever form is being defined, and they must be capable of verification" (p. 56). But they fail to meet these requirements: "Neither Aristotle's nor any other conceivable definition will assist us to explain any particular tragedy whatsoever"; nay, "their 'scientific definitions' of a particular form are always being refuted by good new work." This denial is surely sweeping enough; but Professor Hack goes on to re-enforce it from another angle:

It is therefore impossible to establish a scientific and objective definition of any form of literature. We might easily reach the same conclusion in another way: that is, by examining the mental process through which a critic goes in the endeavor to define. Tragedy cannot be defined in the void: the critic must have some works of literature which all acknowledge to be tragedies in the particular and concrete sense. The definition of the genus must be reached by combining the essential attributes common to all the species. But this means abstraction from the reality; it means that tragedy must be studied externally and not from the inside; that it must be treated as a given fixed product, not as a round truth but as a flat surface. The result is that the definition cannot be equivalent to the concrete fact and cannot possibly explain that fact, because the particular tragedy is not itself objective—p. 58.

These sweeping denials, however, seem to me to be based on a number of dubious affirmations. For one thing, they wholly ignore the distinction between abstract and descriptive sciences;⁸

⁸ See on this important point John T. Merz, *A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, II, 200-204, 339-40, 465, 552. The following passage is typical: "That the whole of nature, as well as all observable phenomena, are in reality only the result of such a composition of definite simple actions, and can be studied as such, may be quite correct; but that this method, however useful in isolated cases, and especially however fruitful in the application to artificial mechanisms, will never lead to a just comprehension of any large cluster of phenomena, or to an appreciation of the totality of things which surround us, must be evident to anyone who at once appreciates the rigidity and universality of mathematical calculations, and sees how soon they fail to become of practical use when we attempt to attack any complex problem through them." (p. 340). Compare this remark of Professor W. H. Sheldon: "The full meaning of the scientific categories cannot be learned from their numerical values alone; they are concepts which apply to the sense-data, and their meaning must be learned also from their manifestation in those data" (*Strife of Systems and Productive Duality*, p. 126). For a view from a somewhat different angle, see R. F. A. Hoernle, *Studies in Contemporary Metaphysics*, pp. 31-32, 152-154.

for another, they do not at all make clear what is to be understood by 'explanation'; for a third, they fail to take into account the fact that many scientific generalizations do not in the least explain the causes of the items they cover, and do not profess to do so. This is notoriously true of the law of gravitation, of which Professor Hack makes great case. Moreover, the history of scientific thought is full of instances of scientific principles being refuted by new discoveries; indeed, how could scientific progress be otherwise possible? I am perfectly willing to admit that literary definitions must constantly keep actual practice in view, and must take new examples into account; but to hold that all conceivable definitions will be inevitably and automatically subverted by such new examples seems to me a counsel of despair. Indeed, Professor Hack's opinion seems to go as far in the direction of denial of any stable basis for literary judgments as the older views to which he objects ever did in the direction of over-formal fixity.

But without further considering Professor Hack's curious medley of physics, geometry, and biology, let us examine more closely his strictures on the way in which definitions must be framed. In the case of tragedy (to take the form which he selects), it is certainly true that it cannot be defined in the void, and I am not aware that anyone has ever supposed that it could. Surely the desire to define a literary form could hardly have arisen before examples of that form existed; and certainly Aristotle's definition of tragedy was not framed in the absence of concrete works. We may grant, also, that the process of definition must be by collecting and combining the essential attributes of the given examples; but to say that this must inevitably be a process of abstraction is a very disputable proposition. A sounder philosophy would teach us that there are two stages in the formation of a general conception—a stage of extended, undifferentiated notions, general only because ill-defined, and a stage in which distinct notions are worked out by the conscious noting and addition of differences, not by abstraction.⁹ It is perfectly true that a mere process of abstraction, applied to phenomena as complex and delicate as those of literature, will lead to deplorable results; but it is by no

⁹ Cf. James Ward, *Psychological Principles*, pp. 200 and 304.

means true that abstraction in the sense of withdrawal from the concrete is our only resource in framing literary definitions.¹⁰

Furthermore, on what grounds should it be required that such definitions be "equivalent to the concrete facts?" Certainly no scientific definition is so; it is merely applicable, for the scientific purposes already specified, to any instance which can fairly be brought under it. The multiplication table, to take a simple example, is not "equivalent" to any of the countless specific operations which can be performed with its aid; it merely codifies the principles necessary to their prompt solution. Just so, a good literary definition enables us to think more clearly about the phenomena which it covers; but we could get along without it, just as we could settle every arithmetical problem by counting on our fingers—a process, I suppose, more "concrete" than the use of Arabic numerals. Certainly, literary phenomena are much too complex to be reduced to any such simple scheme as that of the multiplication table; but why that should forbid our trying to get increasingly accurate statements about them is to me at least not clear. The whole point is that no one is compelled to use literary definitions; but that some of us find it serviceable to do so, and are therefore interested in making them as efficient as we can for our purpose.

II

What, then, is our real aim in framing and using literary definitions? It is, I believe, a double one: we may desire either something which will assist us in surveying a particular field of literary endeavor, or something which shall express our sense of underlying literary kinships. Evidently these two purposes

¹⁰ Contrast Pater, *Plato and Platonism* (1st edn., 1893), p. 140: "The concrete, and that even as a visible thing, has gained immeasurably in richness and compass, in fineness, and interest towards us, by the process, of which those acts of generalization, of reduction to class and generic type, have certainly been a part. And holding still to the concrete, the particular, to the visible or sensuous, if you will, last as first, thinking of that as essentially the one vital and lively thing, really worth our while in a short life, we may recognise sincerely what generalisation and abstraction have done or may do, are defensible as doing, just for that—for the particular gem or flower—what its proper service is to a mind in search, precisely, of a concrete and intuitive knowledge such as that." The whole context (pp.138-143) deserves careful consideration.

are distinct, and the definitions which fit either one must be carefully kept apart. In particular, we must beware of carrying over definitions of the first sort into the field of the second, unless we watch what we are doing. When we are aiming at general or historical study, we spread our net wide and collect whatever comes in our way; a 'trace,' as the chemist would say, of the particular element of which we are in search may lead us to include a work which otherwise is little to our purpose. But when we seek to define a literary form, we must look for some essential or constituting resemblance in the class of works under discussion, and we can afford to pass over, or to leave in the background, works in which that resemblance is not sufficiently prominent. We are no longer collecting specimens, but trying to find a principle of grouping. Furthermore, we must in this latter case look more closely and more deeply. Superficial traits, or statements of intention by the writers themselves, may be misleading; and conversely, we may discover a real unity underlying works which at first sight appear very unlike.

From this statement it is easy to see what kind of validity these two classes of definition can fairly claim. The validity of the first class is that of utility pure and simple; any definition which enables us to carry on a particular investigation in accordance with the limits fixed for it is *for the purpose of that investigation* a good definition. Let us say that the investigation deals with a field as yet imperfectly surveyed, or with a tract of time limited for convenience of treatment; evidently, in either case, a definition might work very well which would yet need much modification before it could be applied to another field or period. And still more might that be the case if we sought to transfer it to the second sphere of interest, in which we are concerned with definitions which satisfy our theoretical interest, our love of disinterested speculation. There would seem to be no reason why the field of literature should not, as much as any other, be the object of such speculation—why we should not trace in it resemblances and differences, scrutinize varieties of material, distinguish the various ways in which the mentality of a writer is brought to bear on them. Only, of course, we should not engage in such a task without a sense of its true nature and of its attendant limitations.

What these limitations are has already been intimated in the first part of our discussion. We cannot expect definitions which deal with such complex and shifting items as those of literature to have the sharpness and the immediate acceptability of the definitions of physics and chemistry; the material they cover cannot be simplified to the requisite extent for that without entirely losing its specific character. We cannot expect them to exhaust all the concrete variety of all the possible cases under them (no scientific definition, indeed, does that), and we cannot use them as a means of prescription, except to a limited extent, or as a means of prediction. No one, for instance, could have predicted that in 1907 there would appear a novel entitled *The Secret Agent*, which would present a new phase in its author's development, and embody some very striking technical innovations. Doubtless no one expects that sort of minute prediction in literary affairs; but even the emergence of a new literary trend is hardly a matter which can be forecast. We can, it is true, suppose that a movement which has prevailed for a considerable time will normally provoke a reaction; but just what direction that reaction will take, and still more what specific forms it will assume, we shall hardly be able to foretell.

So long, then, as we do not imagine that literary definitions will help us to frame specifications to be followed in production, or prophecies of the form production will assume, we can devise them with a clear conscience. I do not know that the desire to predict literary developments has ever caused serious harm; but it is a familiar fact that at certain periods, especially under the dominance of neo-classic ideas, the definition has been held up as a rigid form, with which practice must, on pain of failure, coincide. (This, incidentally, explains why so much effort has been devoted to defining such neo-classic favorites as epic and tragedy, whereas such freer forms as lyric, novel, and essay have attracted less attention.) I need hardly say that the kind of definition I am here advocating has no such aim in view; and that I can understand, though I do not share, the suspicion of literary definitions in general which the opposite tendency has in some cases aroused among writers who are not merely indifferent to the question. What my kind of definition aims at is simply to survey a given field of literary production, to perceive there such literary kinships as may come to light, and

to specify, as accurately as the case permits, the characteristic marks of those kinships. It may very well happen that these marks, when they are at length discriminated, may reveal resemblances between works superficially not much alike, and may in other cases override equally superficial likenesses; for what we are in search of would be not mere ear-marks, but the essential and constituting resemblance underlying a group of literary objects. And this, in turn, shows us the only real sense in which literary prediction is possible—namely, not in predicting the exact shape which a particular work will assume, but in postulating for it the presence of elements which we have already distinguished as constituting a kinship, and hence in assigning it to its true literary kindred. If a work is to fit into a given series, it must present the validating marks of that series. If those marks are rightly chosen, the definition itself is valid; if they are not, it falls; and that is all there is to it.

Literary definitions, then, far from being framable in the void, must be framed with constant and attentive regard to the works in question. Consequently, every sound literary definition implies a theory—that is, it must be based on inspection of and acquaintance with the range of works needed to establish it. By a theory, in this sense, I do not in the least mean an *a priori* construction of the neo-classic type, but what the word originally and properly implies—namely, a *view*. More exactly, I mean a survey and scrutiny of the works in question carried far enough to reveal a valid constituting resemblance of the kind already specified. The existence of a theory thus implies a range of facts to be dealt with, and a definite point from which they are viewed. It does not necessarily imply an absolutely comprehensive survey; but if the main position is carefully chosen, and the observer properly sensitive, the applicability of the results will not be limited to their immediate range. It is perhaps possible to frame such a theory in a single department of literature; but results are likely to be safer if a larger field is taken, and certain important theoretical questions can hardly be answered without taking into account literature as a whole.

The formation of any literary theory is therefore based on a certain number of acts of criticism; but it is also true, in a sense, that the practice of criticism implies the presence of a certain amount of theory. What happens is, I suppose, that in the

process of acquiring familiarity with literature both particular judgments and a general background gradually take shape, and eventually develop into explicit criticisms on the one hand and a background of theory on the other. Criticism is perhaps possible without *explicit* theory, but hardly possible for long without *implicit* theory. The mere work of collection and comparison will almost inevitably, in any thinking critic, lead to the working out of principles which extend beyond the works immediately in hand; and such a critic usually furnishes more or less definite glimpses of what his theoretical background is. A merely discursive and non-unified sensitiveness can scarcely survive for long in its original keenness; if it is to get anywhere, it will pretty surely try to organize itself. This process will naturally involve the framing of definitions, at first in the shape of practical clues to the detection of forms and qualities, and ultimately in the final shape of connecting principles among the several items. Such, in the most summary outline, is the cyclical process by which definitions first emerge as a convenient means of dealing with literary phenomena, are then tested and modified by reference to those phenomena, and finally take their places as constituents of a developed literary theory.

III.

After this account of the sources from which literary definitions derive their validity, a few words may be added at the close concerning the ways in which they may best be framed,¹¹ especially with reference to those of the theoretical type; for, as I have said, all kinds of definitions may provisionally serve the purposes of particular investigations. In view of the general nature of the defining process, as previously analyzed, we can see that there must be two main directions of procedure—either we try to apply a definition to an object, or we try to elicit a definition from a group of objects. But we employ neither method in its purity. It is presumably the recurrent existence of facts which forces upon us the need of thinking about them inclusively; and it is the traits of the individual fact which lead

¹¹ In this section I am much indebted to Dr. J. S. Mackenzie's *Outlines of Constructive Philosophy* (1917), especially pp. 70, 72, 112, 139; a work, by the way, which can be strongly recommended to any who desire a clear and non-technical exposition of recent philosophical tendencies.

us to verify or to modify our initial conception. No true literary definition is framable *in advance* of literary objects; and the neo-classic attempts at such a feat are really framed on considerations quite other than literary. What we can actually distinguish is a shift of emphasis in a continuous cyclical process; we can fix our attention more on the object than the class, or the reverse, but we cannot really *think* of an object absolutely unique or of a class entirely without reference to its component objects. For convenience of treatment, however, we may, with the proper reservations, think of the object in itself or with reference to something else.

Taking, then, a literary object in itself, the first step toward its definition is to ascertain, as precisely as possible, its properties—how it affects us when read. This may lead to an examination of its constituents, whether as directly revealed by inspection or as disclosed by analysis. And further, since many points cannot well be understood as they appear, but only in the light of what has gone before, we may have to make such a study of their antecedents as will reveal the efficacy of the latter as shaping conditions. We have to deal, then, with properties ascertained by direct experience, with constituents revealed by analysis, and with antecedents reached by historical study; and each step is subject to certain cautions. The object must be allowed to produce its effect with the minimum of resistance, and with the least possible deviation from the line of the author's intention. Analysis, in its search for constituents, must not be pushed too far, especially not beyond the point from which a return to the grasp of the entire work is possible. Just so, the study of antecedents should not be carried on after solid evidence has evaporated, or the line of filiation become too thin to hold securely. Finally, we must be on our guard against the general "fallacy of explanation" —the fallacy of supposing that a whole can be restored by the mere addition of its parts, or explained by a mere listing of its lowest and simplest constituents; though at the same time it remains true that the higher or more inclusive view does not contradict these simpler aspects, so far as they go, however much it may add or modify.

But since, as we have seen, no piece of literature lives solely to itself, we can also consider a work in its relations; and, for the task of defining, two of these relations are of special im-

portance. Every work has at least a few others more or less akin to it, and accordingly takes its place in a more or less definite *order*, determined, for instance, by the kind of mental energy chiefly active in its production, or by the sort of items with which it deals, or by the circumstances amid which it arises, or by a combination of these. (This is not the place for attempting a complete map of the literary field, a task which I hope later to take up elsewhere.) Thus, we might examine a tragedy primarily as a play, or primarily as a piece of imaginative literature; but we might or might not be concerned with its antecedents, according to the nature of the particular case. And in carrying out the process we should in the long run, as already emphasized, find our conceptions both of the work and of its order interacting, to the ultimate greater definiteness of both.

As the conception of any given literary order grows clearer, there will emerge in it the second relation we have to deal with, namely, that exemplified by the *type*. A type is simply that object in any order which presents the greatest number of the distinguishing traits of the order, with the least admixture of other traits. The importance of the type for literary theory lies not so much in itself as in sundry mistaken notions to which it may give rise. For one, the typical work of a given class is usually not the highest work in that class, because the energy required for gaining the highest point may draw in qualities not needed in a less energetic manifestation. For another, the type, though it may tend to become a mean, is not a norm; that is, other examples of the class do not necessarily approach perfection simply as they approximate the type. Just here, I take it, is the real root of the neo-classic delusion, which has always been prone to set up the type as that to which all other cases *ought* to conform, and has often been prone to hold that the type is in truth an archetype given by some superhuman power. In reality, of course, the type cannot be discovered until an order to which it belongs has been constituted; there is no such thing as a type *in vacuo*. To suppose that there is, is to rejoin the untenable position that literary definitions can prescribe the course that literature ought to adopt.

None the less, the idea of literary types, when properly controlled, has considerable value for the procedure of literary

theory. For one thing, the selection of suitable types is a good training for discovering the capacities of any literary medium or form, so long as it is remembered that the choice of types varies according to the end in view, and that the type must be able to disclose the desired qualities on a sufficiently large scale. Otherwise, we shall have such fallacies as that of an *inherent* superiority of some types over others, or that of Matthew Arnold's doctrine of "poetic touchstones," according to which you can determine the merit of any given poetical passage by the application of certain selected lines—somewhat like a pocket battery-tester. Another legitimate use of types is as guides and rallying points in a specific investigation. An admirable recent example of this is Mr. Percy Lubbock's *Craft of Fiction*, which employs a small group of novels, each of them exemplifying as singly as possible some aspect of his conception of the novel itself. Other applications, within the limits of the previous cautions, will readily suggest themselves to my readers.

We can now see that the framing of a literary definition which shall be viable in the domain of theory is a task which depends on a number of factors—on a thorough knowledge of the literary field with its antecedents and issues, on a due sense of our aim in any particular case, on a careful emphasizing of the aspect which we may have especially in view. It would be an interesting task to pass in review some celebrated literary definitions, noting how far their successes and their failures have been due to observance or neglect of these considerations. For such a task space is here lacking; but I cannot resist pointing out that one of the earliest and most potent of them all—Aristotle's definition of tragedy—takes into account practically all the specifications I have suggested. Before coming to the definition itself, Aristotle briefly sketches the antecedents of tragedy; then enumerates its constituents ("an action serious and complete, in embellished language, enacted not narrated") and its properties ("through pity and terror effecting the proper purgation of these emotions"); and is throughout concerned with placing tragedy in the general literary field. Some details of his view may rouse our dissent; but the soundness of his general method is undeniable.

The upshot of our discussion is thus the conception of literary definitions as providing us with clues, with kinships, with orders,

and with types. The basis of this division is functional, and the validity of the resulting forms is likewise functional—derived, that is, from the fulfilment by each of its due office, within its attendant limits. We have seen some of the confusions which may arise if these limits are not observed—if, for instance, a clue is exalted into unjustifiable range or permanence, or a type is set up as a law-giving norm; we know, indeed, that the history of literary theory swarms with the progeny of these and similar delusions. My aim here has been to show that, even after all legitimate reservations have been made—after we have granted that literary definitions are neither as water-tight as scientific formulas, as fillable as prescriptions, or as concrete as actualities—there yet remains for them, in the summing up of literary kinships, a theoretical office which they have both the right and the ability to discharge.

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XXXIII. THE EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS OF
THE *CANTERBURY TALES*

One of the preliminary problems that confronts the textual investigator of the *Canterbury Tales* is to determine which if any of the early prints can claim to rank with the manuscripts as independent authorities. It seems to be generally agreed that no account need be taken of any edition later than that which Thynne included in his collection of the Chaucer's works printed by Godfray in 1532, but of the six prints of the *Tales* of which that was the latest no complete investigation seems yet to have been attempted. My object in this paper is to make a beginning by subjecting to critical analysis the first 116 lines of the Knight's Tale as they stand in these six editions.¹

¹ An apology or at least an explanation is due with regard to the manuscript notation adopted in the present article. This is itself but a fragment of a more extended inquiry, and for this I found the current symbols unsatisfactory. There is, indeed, no fixed and consistent usage, and those generally employed are both clumsy and confusing. The notation I propose and have here employed is as follows: every manuscript in the British Museum is designated by a single capital letter (the initial, as a rule, of the collection in which it is found); every manuscript at Oxford or Cambridge by a capital and a small letter (the Oxford manuscripts having the two letters different, the Cambridge the same); every other manuscript by a Latin capital followed by a small Greek letter; where there are two or more manuscripts in the same collection they are distinguished by superior numerals; prints are indicated by the initial of the printer followed by the decade number of the date. I have not yet examined all the accessible manuscripts containing the beginning of the Knight's Tale, still less all extant, but have made a beginning with those in the British Museum, a few at Cambridge, and all those that have been facsimiled or reprinted. There seem to be 68 manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* (or parts of them) known, of which

The six earliest editions of the *Canterbury Tales* are those printed by Caxton, c. 1478 (C₁), Caxton, c. 1484 (C₂) Pynson, c. 1490 (P₁), de Worde, 1498 (W₁), Pynson, 1526 (P₂), and Godfray, 1532 (G₁, Thynne's edition). It is a common place of criticism that in his second edition Caxton made use of a manuscript different from that from which his first was printed: it is sometimes said that his second edition was printed from a different manuscript from his first; but it is clear that whether true or not this is a perfectly distinct assertion, and one on the face of it far less probable. The preface to the second edition, in which Caxton explains his procedure, though famous in allusion and quotation is not as a whole very accessible, and it may be convenient to reprint it here.

Prohemye

g Rete thanks lawde and honour / ought to be gyuen vnto the clerkes / poetes / and historiographes that haue wreton many noble bokes of wysedom of the lyues / passiōs / & myracles of holy sayntes of hystories / of noble and famous Actes / and faittes / And of the cronycles sith the begynnyng of the creacion of the world / vnto thys present tyme / by whyche we ben dayly enformed / and haue knowleche of many thynges / of whom we shold not haue knowen / yf they had not left to vs theyr monumentis wreton / Emong whom and in especial to fore alle other we ought to gyue a synguler laude vnto that noble & grete

57 are believed to contain a portion at least of the selected passage. Of these I have collated 22; the following list giving their identifications and symbols:

A ¹ = B.M., Addit. 5140	R ¹ = B.M., Royal 18 C. II
A ² = B.M., Addit. 35286	S ¹ = B.M., Sloane 1685
E ¹ = B.M., Egerton 2726	S ² = B.M., Sloane 1686
E ² = B.M., Egerton 2863	Cp = Oxford, Corpus 196
E ³ = B.M., Egerton 2864	Dd = U.L.C., Dd. 4. 24
H ¹ = B.M., Harley 1239	Gg = U.L.C., Gg. 4. 27
H ² = B.M., Harley 1758	Tt ¹ = Camb., Trinity R. 3. 3.
H ³ = B.M., Harley 7333	Tt ² = Camb., Trinity R. 3. 15.
H ⁴ = B.M., Harley 7334	El = Ellesmere
L = B.M., Lansd. 851	Hγ = Hengwrt 154
R ¹ = B.M., Royal 17 D. xv	Pr = Petworth

Whenever in my article I speak of 'no manuscript' or 'all manuscripts' I do so strictly with reference to this list; readers will kindly understand 'manuscripts consulted' not 'manuscripts known'. Whether any further installments of the inquiry I have undertaken are published must depend mainly upon whether any results of value seem likely to emerge, a possibility which at the moment appears to me rather remote. Meanwhile, however, I think that some interest attaches to the solution of the more restricted problem.

philosopher Gefferey chaucer the whiche for his ornate wrytyng in our tongue maye wel haue the name of a laureate poete / For to fore that he by hys labour enbelysshid / ornated / and made faire our englishe / in thys Royame was had rude speche & incongrue / as yet it appiereth by olde bookes / whyche at thys day ought not to haue place ne be compared emōg ne to hys beauteuous volumes / and aounate wrytynges / of whom he made many bokes and treatyces of many a noble historye as wel in metre as in ryme and prose / and them so craftyly made / that he cōprehended hys maters in short / quyk and hie sentences / eschewing prolyxyte / castyng away the chaf of superfluyte / and shewyng the pyked grayn of sentence / vtteryd by crafty and sugred eloquence / of whom among all other of hys bokes / I purpose temprynte by the grace of god the book of the tales of cauntyrburye / in whiche I finde many a noble hystorye / of euery astate and degre / Fyrst rehercyng the condiciōs / and tharraye of eche of them as properly as possyble is to be sayd / And after theyr tales whyche ben of noblesse / wysedom / gentylesse / Myrthe / and also of veray holynesse and vertue / wherin he fynysshyth thys sayd booke / whyche book I haue dylygently ouersen and duly examyned to thende that it be made accordyng vnto his owen makyng / For I fynde many of the sayd bookes / whyche wryters haue abrydgyd it and many thynges left out / And in some place haue sette certayn versys / that he neuer made ne sette in hys booke / of whyche bookes so incorrecte was one brought to me vj yere passyd / whyche I supposed had ben veray true & correcte / And accordyng to the same I dyde do enprynte a certayn nombre of them / whyche anon were sold to many and dyuerse gentyl men / of whome one gentylman cam to me / and said that this book was not accordyng in many places vnto the book that Gefferey chaucer had made / To whom I answered that I had made it accordyng to my cōpye / and by me was nothing added ne mynusshyd / Thenne he sayd he knewe a book whyche hys fader had and moche louyd / that was very trewe / and accordyng vnto hys owen first book by hym made / and sayd more yf I wold enprynte it agayn he wold gete me the same book for a cōpye / how be it he wyst wel / that hys fader wold not gladly departe fro it / To whom I said / in caas that he coude gete me suche a book trewe and correcte / yet I wold ones endeuyre me to enprynte it agayn / for to satisfye thauctour / where as to fore by ygnourance I erryd in hurtyng and dyffamyng his book in dyuerce places in setting in some thynges that he neuer sayd ne made / and leuyng out many thynges that he made whyche ben requysite to be sette in it / And thus we fyll at accord / And he ful gentlyly gate of hys fader the said book / and delyuerd it to me / by whiche I haue corrected my book / as here after alle alonge by thayde of almyghty god shal folowe / whom I humbly beseche to gyue me grace and ayde to achyue / and accomplysshe / to hys lawde honour and glorie / and that alle ye that shal in thys book rede or heere / wyll of your charyte emong your dedes of mercy / remembre the sowle of the sayd Gefferey chaucer first auctour / and maker of thys book / And also that alle we that shal see and rede therin / may so take and vnderstōde the good and vertuous tales / that it may so prouffyte / vnto the helthe of our sowles / that after thys short and transitorye lyf we may come to euerlastyng lyf in heuen / Amen

By William Caxton

Here it will be observed that, although the treasured manuscript was offered him 'for a copye', all Caxton claims to have done is to have 'corrected my book' by it, which, of course, is just what we should expect a printer to do, but which is not the same as setting up the new edition afresh from manuscript copy. Moreover the more modest and more probable claim actually made by Caxton is amply borne out by an examination of the texts. Indeed, I may say at once that it is clear that no print after the first was set up from manuscript; each successive printer, whatever alterations or corrections he may have introduced, set up his edition from one or other of its predecessors. A few readings will at once make this evident. Thus, in the very first line the reading 'telleth' for the more usual 'tellen' is found in no manuscript except Tt², but it persists through all the prints except the last. In l. 12 the adjective 'grete' is absent from only two manuscripts, R¹ Tt², but from all six prints. In l. 15 Tt² is the only manuscript which has 'worthy' for 'noble' as an epithet of 'duke', but it is followed by all the prints; and except for G, the same is true of the error 'matere' for 'manere' in l. 18. In l. 29 all the prints except P, follow Tt² in reading 'the plowe' where all other manuscripts have 'my plowe'. Instances need not be multiplied. It is inconceivable that Caxton's second manuscript should have contained just these same anomalous readings which his first edition had reproduced from its rather peculiar source, evidently a close relative of Tt². But what makes the interdependence of the prints perhaps even clearer is the agreement in spelling. Of course, a century later printers had evolved something approaching a standard orthography, and the fact that different prints agree in spelling is little evidence of interdependence, unless the spellings are in themselves unusual: it is even conceivable that this tendency may have begun in the fifteenth century, but it must have been still very feeble. Thus any spelling common to the prints and rare in the manuscripts may be accepted as affording evidence of dependence. In l. 7 all the prints except P, insert an 'e' in the middle of the word 'wisdom' which appears in R¹ alone among manuscripts. In l. 22 all the prints spell 'amasones' with an 's' in the middle, where all manuscript except Dd and Tt² have a 'z'. The initial 'C' in 'Cithea', consistently found in the

prints (ll. 9, 24), appears in only three or four manuscripts. In l. 32 the print spelling 'felow(e)' is found in two manuscripts only, H² S¹, the rest reading 'felaw(e)'. Finally in ll. 73 and 92 the words 'wretche' and 'wretched' are spelled with a 't' in all prints except C₇ and P, but in no manuscript but S². Taken in conjunction with the evidence of variant readings these examples seem conclusive.

It is therefore evident that no print after Caxton's original edition was set up from a manuscript, but it still remains to determine what particular copy the later editions used, and to inquire what were the affinities of the manuscripts, if any, which were consulted for corrections.

An elaborate investigation into the relationship of the texts of the *Canterbury Tales*, based mainly on collations of the Pardoner's Prologue and Tale, has been published by the Chaucer Society.² It was the work of two great German scholars, Zupitza and Koch, and from their results M. H. Liddell made a first attempt to draw up a genealogy of the manuscripts. Important, however, as are the conclusions reached, they cannot be accepted as other than provisional, and in particular it is desirable to ascertain how far relations, which may appear to be established for one portion of the work, hold good in others. Moreover, our immediate problem is not completely covered by this earlier investigation, since the editors took into account only three out of the six early prints. Nevertheless, it will be well to record here the results at which they arrived.

Zupitza established (1893, Pt. III, §§ 2-10) that C₇ belonged to what he styled the Corpus group, and that of the manuscripts within this group the one to which it showed closest affinity was Tt². Nevertheless C₇ 'does not go back to' Tt², and 'only very rarely' are the readings of Tt² 'better than those of' C₇. So he concluded that Tt² 'goes back either to the same MS. that Caxton made use of, or to another very much like it.'

Zupitza's work was continued by Koch, who extended the inquiry to embrace C₈ and G₈ (1898, Pt. V, §§ 18-25). His conclusions, which cannot, I think, be regarded as free from obscurity, are as follows. 'The three printed texts . . . seem to

² *Specimens of all the Accessible Unprinted Manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales*, 1890, &c.

belong to the same group' but the dependence of the two later ones 'is not quite so clearly to be recognized, as each has made use of at least one other source belonging to different groups' (§18). C₈ and G₈ 'frequently go together in readings taken from another source' where C₇ has those of the Corpus group 'or its particular branch' (§19). Yet C₈ 'has made use of a MS. of a better class, in several places' where G₈ 'has the same reading' as C₇ 'or deviates from both' (§20). 'The source from which Caxton drew the alterations in his second edition' belonged to the Eλ-Dd group, but the individual manuscript 'cannot be fixed with any certainty, as there is not one of those extant . . . which embraces all the peculiarities' of C₈ (§22). Some of the readings in which G₈ differs both from C₇ and C₈ are only supported by 'a few MSS.' of the Petworth group, but the agreements with that group are 'frequently also shared by other MSS. of other groups' (§§23-4). 'Thus the result of our researches is, that Thynne made up his text from Caxton's second edition . . . and a MS. similar to Phillipps 8137' belonging to the Petworth group, 'perhaps already containing [certain] corrections . . . But which of these two sources he made his basis, and which he used for his corrections cannot be stated with any certainty' (§25).

Had the writer been as familiar with the bibliography of printed books as he no doubt was with that of manuscripts, he would certainly never have penned this last sentence. As we have already seen there is no possible doubt on the matter. We shall find as we proceed that our investigations bear out in general manner the conclusions thus arrived at a generation back, but that there is no complete accordance in detail. This may be due either to the actual textual relations differing in the several portions of the *Tales*; to the sections examined being of insufficient extent to eliminate the element of chance; to obscurities introduced by undoubtedly profound and probably capricious contamination; or lastly by imperfections of method either on my part or that of my predecessors. I am very much alive to the ease with which these may creep into even the most careful work, and I can feel no confidence that I have wholly succeeded in avoiding pitfalls. At the same time I feel justified in pointing out that Koch's arguments are not free from am-

biguity, and in particular that §§20 and 25 appear contradictory. It is for readers to judge.

The textual evidence I have collected relating to the editions is contained in the following table, which includes, I believe, every variant found in the six earliest prints involving more than a difference of spelling. For comparison are added the readings of two manuscripts; one at Trinity College, Cambridge, (Tt²) which shows the closest affinity to C₁, the other at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, (Cp) which is the leading manuscript of the group to which Tt² belongs.³

³ The table requires some explanation. Although mere variations of spelling are excluded, whenever a variant is quoted the forms found in the different texts are reproduced exactly. Where no reading is entered exact agreement with that next preceding is to be understood. For the sake of clearness, however, substantial variants are distinguished by heavy type, the rest being mere differences of form. Such a distinction is of necessity arbitrary, but is useful in practice. Here the absence of a final 'e' required by the metre (but not of one required by grammar) had been treated as a variant, otherwise its presence or absence has been held indifferent. Word division and capitalization has been similarly disregarded. A caret-mark indicates the omission of a word. A letter or word in parenthesis serves to indicate the position of a reading in the line. Letters printed in *italic* are represented in the original by some mark of contraction. The tags found on certain final letters in the manuscripts, originally indicating an 'e', have been disregarded, since they have evidently degenerated into mere scribal tricks. Those found in Caxton's prints, particularly with the letters 'd' and 'h', have also been disregarded, but an exception has been made in favour of that distinguishing final 'g', which may possibly be significant and has been rendered by 'e'. For the Corpus manuscript I have relied on the Chaucer Society's print. To facilitate reference, where several variants appear in the same line, they have been distinguished by superior numbers.

Corpus	TCC	(1) C ₇	(2) C ₈	(3) P ₈	(4) W ₉	(5) P ₈	(6) C ₉
1 ¹ stories	story	.....	.....	stories	.....	stories	.....
1 ² tellen	telleth	.....	.....	telleth	telleth	.....	tellen
2 ¹ that	.....	.....	.....	^	that	.....	y ¹ hight
2 ² highte	.....	.....	hyghte	hight	hyght	.....	Athenes
3 Athenes	tebes	tebes	.....	Thebes	Athenes	Thebes	^
5 ¹ ^	there	ther	.....	.....	.....	there	.....
5 ² pe s)	the	^	.....	the	.....	.....	country
6 Contre	countrie	contre	.....	.....	countrie	What	vwhat
7 ¹ What	That	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	his
7 ² his (ch)	^	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
8 regne	reame	regne	.....	.....	.....	regne	.....
9 I cleped	cleped	.....	.....	.....	called	cleped	.....
10 weddede	wedde	wedded	.....	.....	.....	.....	icloped
11 ¹ wip him	^	.....	.....	.....	in to	.....	with him
11 ² in	in to	.....	.....	in	in to	.....	is to? ^
12 ¹ muche	moche	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	mykell
12 ² gret	^	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
13 ¹ yonge	yonge	.....	yonge	yong	yonge	yong	yonge
13 ² suster	sustre	suster	syster	sustre	syster	suster	.....
14 with (m)	^	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
15 noble	worthy	.....	.....	.....	noble	.....	.....
16 ¹ host	hoste	oost	hoost	.....	.....	.....	host
16 ² armes	.....	.....	.....	harneys	armes	.....	manere
18 manere	matere	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
19 regne	Reame	regne	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
21 grette	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
22 Bitwixen	Bitwix	.....	Bitwix	Bitwix	Bitwix	great	Betweene
23 assaged	beseged	.....	.....	.....	.....	beseged	beseged
24 ¹ faire	foire	.....	fayre	.....	fayre	.....	yonge
24 ² hardy	lady	.....	hardy	.....	.....	.....	.....
24 ³ Scithia	Citha	Citha	Cythea	Cithea	.....	.....	.....

	Corpus	TCC	(1) C ₁	(2) C ₂	(3) P ₀	(4) W ₀	(5) P ₁	(6) G ₁
25 ¹	at	^	at	hvr	her			
25 ²	hir			hvr	her			
26	hir			that				y ⁴
27 ¹	bat	^						welwed
27 ²	moot		moot				mote	
29 ¹	weyke		week		weke	the	weake	
29 ²	my				my			
30	be (t)							
31 ¹	wol			wyl	wil	woll	wyll	
31 ²	not				nat	not	nat	
31 ³	letten		lette		let	lette		letten
32 ¹	Lat					Lete	Let	
32 ²	felawe		felow			felowe		
33 ¹	lat					lete	let	
33 ²	^						(let) vs	^
34	wil		wil	wyl	wille	woll	wyll	
36 ¹	comen							
36 ²	to			to				
37	welw		welthe			welth		welw
37-8	(37, 38)			(37, 38)				
41	cladde			clad	cladde	clad	cladde	
43 ¹	is							
43 ²	lyuunge		lyuunge		lyuung	lyuunge	lyuung	lyuunge
44 ¹	^							(That) euer
44 ²	anoder		an other				another	a
45 ¹	nolde			nolde				stynten
45 ²	stente				stentyn	stynten	stentyn	hentyn
46	hente				hentyn	hentyn	hentyn	
47 ¹	be				ben			y ⁴
47 ²	bat		that			bat		myn
47 ³	myn		myn				myne	
48 ¹	Pertourbe			Perturben				
48 ²	so			soo	so			

	Corpus	TCC	(1) C ₇	(2) C ₈	(3) P ₉	(4) W ₆	(5) P ₅	(6) G ₃
48 ¹	feste	fest	feste	.....	fest	fest	misboden	myabode
51 ¹	mysboden	mysdone	mysboden	.....	.....	.....	.....	Nowe
52 ¹	And	^	Tel	And	.....	.....	.....	telleth
52 ²	telleþ	Telle	and	tel	.....	.....	.....	.....
52 ³	if	^	and	yf	if	.....	if	.....
52 ⁴	may ben	shalbe	shal be	may be	.....	may be	may be	.....
53 ¹	ben	be	be	.....	be	.....	.....	.....
53 ²	(ben) cloþed	cloþede(be)	(be) cloþed	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
53 ³	thus	^	thus	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
54 ¹	eldest	^	.....	oldest	.....	.....	.....	.....
54 ²	hem	.....	.....	them	.....	.....	.....	.....
54 ³	alle	alle	.....	.....	.....	all	.....	.....
55 ¹	When	When	Whanne	When	.....	.....	.....	vvan
55 ²	swowned	sownede	swowned	.....	swoned	swowned	swoned	swowned
56 ¹	routhe	routh	rowthe	rewthe	rewth	.....	.....	for
56 ²	for (to)	^	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	^
56 ³	seen	se	see	.....	se	.....	.....	said
56 ⁴	^	(and) to	.....	sayd	.....	.....	.....	.....
57 ¹	seide	.....	sayde	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
57 ²	yuene	yuene	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
58 ¹	yuene	yuene	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
59 ¹	Not	Nought	Nought	Nough	Nought	.....	.....	.....
59 ²	your (h)	your	your	.....	.....	.....	.....	^
60 ¹	beseche	beseche	beseche	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
60 ²	^	you of (m)	.....	^	.....	.....	.....	.....
61 ¹	^	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	And (haue)
61 ²	our (d)	^	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
62 ¹	purgh	for	.....	thurgh	thugh	.....	through	gentylnesse
62 ²	gentilnesse	gentilnes	gentilnesse	gentylnesse	gentilnesse	gentylnesse	women	wymen
63 ¹	worrimen	women	women	.....	women	wymen	nowe	thou
63 ²	þe	nowe	now	.....	.....	.....	.....	nys
64 ¹	is	be	.....	.....	been	be	.....	.....
65 ¹	ben	be	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Corpus	TCC	(1) C ₁	(2) C ₂	(3) P ₂	(4) W ₂	(5) P ₃	(6) G ₂
65 ^a a (d)	.....	.....	^	.....	.....	a	.....
66 scene	scene	.....	Thanked	.....	seen	scene	isene
67 ¹ Thanked	I thanked	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
67 ² false	false	.....	.....	.....	.....	false	.....
68 ¹ estat	estate	astat	.....	estate	astate	estate	assureth
68 ² for (to)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	for
68 ³ certes	^	certis	.....	certes	.....	certesse	certes
69 goddess	corteys	^	the	goddess	.....	goddess	goddess
70 ¹ the (g)	goddess	goddis	goddess	fourtenyght	fourtenygh	fourtenyght	fourtenyght
71 fourte night	fourtenyght	.....	.....	.....	.....	Nowe	^
72 ¹ ^	Now (h)	.....	lieth	.....	lyeth	.....	Wretche
72 ² is	wreched	wreched	wreche	Wreche	Wretche	wreche	^
73 ¹ wreche	wight	.....	which	.....	^	whiche	.....
73 ² which	^	.....	&	and	.....	.....	.....
73 ³ and	^	.....	wayle	.....	wayle	wayle	.....
73 ⁴ weile	^	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
74 ¹ Was (wh)	.....	som tyme	Whylom	Whilom	Whylom	.....	vwhylo
74 ² whilom	som tyme	.....	to	.....	.....	.....	.....
74 ³ of	^	Campaneus	kyng	king	kyng	kyng	.....
74 ⁴ king	campaneus	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
74 ⁵ Cappaneus	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
75 ¹ start	.....	.....	.....	start	start	start	starfe
75 ² cursed	.....	.....	.....	a cursed	acursyd	a cursed	cursed
76 ¹ alle	alle	acursaid	.....	than	all	.....	.....
76 ² pat	.....	.....	.....	.....	that	.....	.....
77 maken	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	maken
78 at	make	.....	at	.....	.....	.....	.....
79 ¹ Whil	in	.....	Whyles	Whiles	Whyles	.....	vwhylo
79 ² pat	Whiles	.....	that	.....	.....	.....	.....
79 ³ basage	the siege	^	.....	.....	.....	the siege	aboute
79 ⁴ aboute	.....	the sege	.....	.....	abowte	about	.....
80 now	nowe	now	.....	.....	.....	nowe	^

	Corpus	TCC	(1) C ₇	(2) C ₈	(3) P ₉	(4) W ₉	(5) P ₉	(6) G ₉
81	be (C)	that	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	^
82	(and) of	^	.....	for	.....	.....	.....	of
83	for (his)	^	.....	don	.....	.....	done	.....
84 ¹	deede	dede	ded	.....	.....	deed	.....	.....
84 ²	vilenye	vylonye	vilonye	vylonye	vilonye	vylanye	villany	vylanye
85	whiche	.....	.....	whyche	whiche	whyche	whiche	.....
87 ¹	wol	.....	.....	.....	.....	woll	wyll	.....
87 ²	nought	not	.....	.....	nat	not	nat	.....
87 ³	hem	.....	.....	.....	theym	them	hem	.....
88 ¹	ben	be	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
88 ²	y buried	buried	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
88 ³	noþer	ne	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
88 ⁴	^	(ne) to be	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
88 ⁵	y brent	brent	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
88 ⁶	^	to (etc.)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
88 ⁷	hem	them	hem	.....	them	hem	.....	.....
90 ¹	with þat	withat	with that	wyth that	with that	wyth that	with that	w ^t that
90 ²	wilþoute	withouten	without	wythout	with oute	wythout	without	.....
91 ¹	fallen	fallen	.....	.....	grouding	grofyng	grouelyng	.....
91 ²	gruf	grovelynge	grofyng	.....	cry	grofyng	.....	grofy
91 ³	cryden	cry	crye	.....	pitously	crye	pitously	cryen
91 ⁴	pitously	pitously	pitously	pitously	women	pitously	women	pitously
92	wommen	women	wommen	wymmen	women	wymmen	women	wymen
93 ¹	let	let	.....	.....	.....	lete	let	.....
93 ²	sorwe	sorowe	sorow	.....	.....	sorowe	.....	.....
93 ³	synaken	synake	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
93 ⁴	þu	thay	.....	.....	thyn	thay	thyn	thyn
94 ¹	duk	duke	.....	.....	.....	duche	duke	.....
94 ²	doon (f)	^	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	down
94 ³	from	of	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	from
94 ⁴	coursur	.....	.....	.....	coursur	coursur	.....	.....
95 ¹	herte	hert	herte	.....	hert	herte	hert	hert

Corpus	TCC	(1) C ₇	(2) C ₆	(3) P ₉	(4) W ₉	(5) P ₃	(6) G ₃
95 ² when	when	whenne	.....	.....	when	hem	whans
95 ³ hem	thought	toughte	thoughte	them	thoughte	thought	.....
96 ¹ boughte	^	.....	.....	thought	.....	.....	that
96 ² (th) bat	her	her	.....	her	her	her	her
96 ³ herte	When	When	.....	When	When	.....	vvan
97 ¹ When	.....	.....	.....	them	.....	.....	hem
97 ² hem	pitous	.....	pitous	pitous	pitously	pitous	.....
97 ³ pite	^	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
98 ¹ were	estate	were	.....	estate	astate	estate	astate
98 ² astate	.....	astate	.....	them	hem	.....	.....
99 hem	.....	.....	.....	them	hem	.....	.....
100 ¹ hem	conforted	conforted	.....	conforteth	conforted	conforted	conforted
100 ² conforteb	.....	.....	.....	trew	true	trewe	true
101 trewe	do	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	don
102 ¹ don	ferforth	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	ferforthly
102 ² ferforthly	Creon	.....	.....	creon	Creon	ferforth	.....
103 ¹ ^	hym	.....	.....	him	hym	.....	hem
103 ² hem	shold	.....	shold	shuld	sholde	.....	.....
104 scholde	Thesbe	sholde	.....	thesus	.....	shulde	.....
105 Theasus	hath	Theasus	.....	.....	.....	Thesus	.....
106 ¹ hadde	^	.....	.....	.....	^	hath	had
106 ² ful (wel)	he (r)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	full
108 ^	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	^
109 host	.....	oste	.....	oost	hoost	.....	.....
110 ¹ nerre	nerre	ner	.....	.....	.....	ner	.....
110 ² wolde	molde	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
111 ^	not (f)	nat	not	nat	not	nat	^
112 onward (on)	^	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	onward
114 ¹ yonge	(deest)	yonge	yonge	yong	yonge	.....	.....
114 ² suster	(deest)	sustir	.....	sustre	syater	suster	syater
116 ¹ ritte	(deest)	rideth	.....	rydeth	.....	.....	.....
116 ² nys	(deest)	is	.....	.....	.....	.....	nys
116 ³ namore	(deest)	nomore	.....	no more	nomore	no more	.....

Our first problem is to determine the parentage of *C*₇. According to Zupitza the manuscript from which Caxton printed his first edition belonged to what is known as the Corpus group. It will not, however, be necessary to discuss his conclusion here, since the outstanding fact about *C*₇ is not its agreement with readings common to the group, but with those of a particular manuscript included therein. The close connection between *C*₇ and *Tt*² becomes evident as soon as we begin collation, and may readily be tested by comparing the readings of these two with those of *Cp* itself, the leading manuscript of the group.⁴ The table of collations shows that there are ninety-six readings in which *C*₇ agrees with *Tt*² against *Cp*. Of these twenty are found in no manuscript except *Tt*² (1¹, 1², 3, 11¹, 15, 18, 29², 37¹, 37-8, 48², 52⁴, 56⁴, 61², 62¹, 73², 73⁴, 91², 94⁴, 96², 111), while a further twenty are found (more or less exactly) in not more than two manuscripts besides *Tt*² (12² in *R*¹, 24² in *Pr*, 27¹ in *R*¹, 67¹ in *R*¹ and *Tt*¹, 73¹ in *Tt*¹, 74² in *A*¹ and *E*², 74⁴ in *R*¹, 74⁵ in *H*², 78 in *R*¹, 81 in *H*¹, 83 in *E*¹, 88² in *R*¹ and *L*, 89¹ in *H*² and *H*⁴, 91² in *R*¹ and *E*¹, 93⁴ in *H*¹ and *Pr*, 94² in *H*¹ and *S*¹, 102² in *E*¹, 103² in *H*¹, 110² in *R*¹, 112 in *R*¹). These outside agreements are as follows: with *R*¹ nine, *H*¹ four, *E*¹ three, *H*² *Tt*¹ *Pr* two each, *A*¹ *E*² *H*⁴ *L* *S*¹ one each. But, with the exception of *L*, not one of these manuscripts is recognized as belonging to the Corpus group, and the agreement must therefore, it would seem, be the result either of chance or of conflation. The latter may be presumed in the case of *R*¹ on account of the number of agreements, and in those of *H*² and *Pr* on account of their nature; and the curious disposition of these outside correspondences suggests that the latter half of the passage examined is more extensively contaminated than the earlier. The remaining fifty-six readings in which *C*₇ and *Tt*² agree against *Cp* find support in at least three other manuscripts and are therefore of less evidential value. That *C*₇ has no particular connection with any manuscript other than *Tt*² is evident from a consideration of those readings in which it differs from *Tt*². These are forty-one in number, but the great majority are useless as evidence. For no less than thirty-three

⁴ I have not examined the manuscript at New College, Oxford, (*Nw*) which is said to be the closest to *Tt*², but Zupitza is quite clear that it is with *Tt*² and not *Nw* that *C*₇ most closely agrees.

are readings common to many, often to all the other manuscripts, while four (52², 75², 79², 111) are peculiar to C₇, being found in no manuscript whatever. There remain four readings in which C₇ agrees with a small group of manuscripts against Tt²: thus 5² is found in Tt¹ only, 32² in H² S¹, 68¹ in E¹ H¹ L R¹, 70¹ in E¹ H¹ L. The correspondence of the last two groups is curious, but the readings are not themselves of much value. It is conceivable that conflation has occurred, but we are by no means forced to suppose it. Thus we find that whereas there are twenty exclusive correspondences between C₇ and Tt², only a single other manuscript, namely Tt¹, shows any such correspondence at all, and that only in a single reading.⁵

It is therefore clear that the source of C₇ is most nearly represented by Tt². At the same time C₇ is not derived from Tt² itself. This is evident from the cases in which C₇ agrees with Cp where Tt² is divergent. Of these there are thirty, some possibly printer's corrections and a few more accidents, but others clearly significant (e. g. 8, 19, 27², 51, 53², 69). On the other hand Tt², which is a late manuscript, is not derived from C₇, as is shown by its occasional, though rare, agreements with Cp where C₇ is divergent. There are only ten of these, and again allowance must be made for correction and accident, but three at least seem to be significant (70¹, 75², 79²). We may then safely conclude that C₇ was printed from a manuscript closely allied to, but not identical with, Tt², nor descended from it.⁶ Since, however, the divergences of C₇ are easily explained as individual variations and its agreements with other manuscripts as accidental, there is nothing to prevent our supposing it to have been printed from the immediate parent of Tt², and the very close agreement between the two texts suggests that this may actually have been the case.

⁵ It is to be presumed that some of the four readings peculiar to C₇ are to be found in Nw, but the greatest possible number of exclusive correspondences afforded by that manuscript is four. No doubt some of the exclusive correspondences of C₇ and Tt² are also to be found in Nw, but it seems exceedingly unlikely that they would amount to as many as sixteen.

⁶ It might have been a daughter of Tt² in which a certain number of readings had been introduced from another source, say Cp. But if we allow the assumption of conflation in hypothetical manuscripts a definite conclusion becomes impossible. It is only through the exclusion of such a possibility that the statement that B is (or is not) descended from A can ever be significant.

We have already seen that C₈ was printed from C₇, but we have Caxton's own word for it that the text was carefully revised by comparison with a new manuscript, and this claim is amply borne out by the table of collations. The readings in which C₈ differs from C₇ number thirty-nine, but of these not more than twenty-six are of much value, the rest being small modernizations or other variants for which there is no reason to suppose any manuscript source (13², 16¹, 27¹, 48¹, 52⁴, 54¹, 57¹, 65², 84, 92, 96¹, 104, 111). The following table shows which manuscripts agree with C₈ in the twenty-six passages in question;⁷ but it has been necessary to distinguish between those which agree exactly and those which only do so approximately, since, while of course the former are more likely sources, the latter cannot be left out of consideration.

24 ² all except H ⁶ Tt ² Pr.	67 ¹ all except R ¹ Tt ¹ Tt ² .
36 ² all except H ⁷ Tt ² EΛ.	70 ^{1,2} all except A ² E ¹ H ¹ L S ¹ Tt ² Pr.
37-8 all except Tt ² .	72 ² A ² H ⁶ Tt ¹ .
41 all except E ¹ H ⁶ Dd Tt ² ; but R ¹ approx. only.	73 ^{1,2} all except Tt ¹ Tt ² ; but H ¹ approx. only.
45 ¹ L R ² S ¹ Cp Tt ¹ EΛ Hγ Pr; approx. A ² H ⁶ R ¹ .	73 ^{2,4} E ² H ¹ H ² R ¹ ; approx. all others except L Tt ² EΛ.
48 ² all except R ¹ Tt ² .	74 ¹ approx. only E ¹ Pr.
52 ¹ all except H ⁶ Dd Tt ¹ Tt ² Pr.	74 ² all except A ¹ E ² H ¹ Tt ² .
52 ² all except E ¹ Dd Tt ¹ Tt ² .	74 ³ all except E ² H ⁶ R ¹ R ² S ¹ S ² Cp Tt ² .
52 ⁴ all except Tt ² .	74 ⁴ all except R ¹ Tt ² .
56 ¹ A ¹ E ¹ E ² L R ² S ¹ Dd.	78 all except R ¹ Tt ² .
62 ¹ A ² E ¹ H ² H ⁷ L Cp Hγ; approx. all others except Tt ² .	79 ² all manuscripts.
	83 all except E ¹ Tt ² .

From this it is evident that none of the manuscripts examined will supply all the readings required, for there is no real likelihood of 74¹ having been derived from any of them, and the only two that approximate to it are otherwise quite out of the running. But even setting this reading aside the field is severely restricted by 72², which certainly seems a particularly clear significant variant. Here we have three manuscripts as possible sources, but all are excluded by some other reading. A² fails in two and is only approximate in two others (56¹, 70^{1,2}; 45¹, 73^{2,4}); H⁶ fails in four and is only approximate in three others (24², 52¹, 56¹, 74³; 62¹, 45¹, 73^{2,4}); while Tt¹ fails in five and is only

⁷ It will be best to count 70^{1,2}, 73^{1,2,4} and 73^{2,4} each as a single reading, thus reducing the number to twenty-three.

approximate in two others (52¹, 52³, 56¹, 67¹, 73^{1,2}: 62¹, 73^{3,4}). Evidently A³ does best, and it should be further observed that 56¹ is of very doubtful significance, that its failure in 70^{1,2} is confined to the second part, and that its approximations in 45¹ and 73^{3,4} are practically sufficient. Still there remain 70² and 74¹ which seemingly bar this manuscript.

The really remarkable thing is how very little there is to choose between the manuscripts as possible sources for the readings of C_a. If we exclude five which are defective, and Tt² which is naturally uniformly unsuccessful, there remain sixteen manuscripts of which the most successful succeeds exactly in nineteen cases and approximately in one case, and the least successful exactly in twelve and approximately in three. There is also one, H³, which for the portion for which it is available, the later half precisely, is more successful than any other, exactly supplying eleven readings out of thirteen. But for the missing portion three manuscripts (L R² S¹) supply all ten readings. If, therefore, the missing part of H³ had equal comparative success, this manuscript when perfect would have supplied twenty-one readings out of twenty-three for certain and ranked easily first. The actual figures are as follows, in order of success:

(H³ 21,) H_γ 19-20, L 19, A³ 18-20, R² 18-20, E³ 18-9, Cp 18-9, A¹ 17-9, S¹ 17-9, H⁷ 17-8, E_λ 17-8, E¹ 16-8, S² 16-8, Pr 15-8, Tt¹ 15-7, H⁶ 14-7, R¹ 12-5.

The reason for this uniformity is of course the large number of readings which are supplied by nearly all the manuscripts. Of the twenty-three readings there are only four which are not supplied either exactly or approximately by a majority, while of these four the most successful manuscripts only supply two each (L Cp Tt¹ H_γ). It will be remembered that Koch assigned the source of Caxton's second manuscript to what he described as the E_λ-Dd group. According to Liddell this is not one group but two, but the class of manuscripts intended is fairly clear, and includes, of those collated, E_λ H_γ Dd E¹ A¹. Now of these five only one, H_γ, achieves any conspicuous success: Dd is imperfect, but so far as it goes it is a rather marked failure. Examining the other manuscripts that supply certainly eighteen readings or more, we observe that H³ and R² belong to the Petworth group, and Cp and L to the Corpus group (A³ and E³ are not placed by Liddell). There are therefore three groups competing

for the honor. Now if we take the five manuscripts of the Eλ-Dd group, we find that between them they supply exactly all but three readings: in 72² they fail wholly, in 73²⁻⁴ they give a sufficient approximation, while in 74¹ E¹ comes as near as any manuscript to success. Of the Petworth group we have, besides H³ and R², R¹, S¹, and Pr, and these five manuscripts between them supply for certain all but two readings, namely, 72² and 74¹, while Pr comes as near as any manuscript to supplying the second of these. Lastly the more restricted Corpus group (excluding the Tt²-H⁶ branch) is supposed to consist of L, Cp, and S², and these three manuscripts together again fail in three readings only, 72², 73²⁻⁴, and 74¹, and two of them supply a working approximation to 73²⁻⁴. Moreover if we extend the Corpus group to include H⁶ we get 72² supplied. It cannot, then, honestly be said that there is anything to choose between these three groups, and we seem bound to suppose either that Koch's conclusion was invalid or that the relations of the manuscripts are not constant. Certainly it does not appear possible to determine the affinities of Caxton's second manuscript for the opening of the Knight's Tale. If Liddell's classification is to be trusted it follows that in this passage at any rate the manuscript was profoundly conflated.

The next print, P₈, reproduces the distinctive readings of C₈ and is therefore printed from it (assuming, of course, as I shall do throughout, that no editions have been lost). It has, however, a number of variants of its own. There are in all forty-two, but of these no more than eight possess any serious significance (1, 2¹, 5², 11², 13², 16², 29², 100²).⁸ Only one of these, namely 29², seems conclusive as to manuscript influence, but it might have been derived from any manuscript except Tt². One, 16², is found in no manuscript; and one, 2¹, only in Pr where the passage is recast: these two are therefore probably individual peculiarities of P₈. Similarly 5² and 11², though found in many manuscripts, are very likely individual variants, and this may be the case likewise with 1, which is a natural alteration if 'telleth' will pass as a plural. There remain 13² and 100². In the word 'sustre' the termination (found in Tt² only) is probably a com-

⁸ The other thirty-four are 2², 13¹, 25², 26, 31², 48², 55², 56¹, 62¹, 65², 68¹, 71, 75¹, 76², 85, 87², 87¹, 89², 91⁴, 92, 93⁴, 94⁴, 95¹, 95², 96¹, 96², 97¹, 97², 98², 99, 100¹, 101, 111, 114¹.

positor's peculiarity (cf. 114²) but the reversion to the archaic 'u' in place of 'y' is presumably due to manuscript influence and is found in A¹ E¹ H⁷ L R¹ R² Cp Dd Tt¹ Tt² Eλ Hγ P₇. The word 'conforteth', combining as it does an archaic form with a false sequence of tenses, must clearly be derived from some source giving this exact reading: such are E² H³ H⁷ Cp Tt¹ Eλ Hγ P₇. The manuscripts common to these two sets are H⁷ Cp Tt¹ Eλ Hγ P₇; also possibly E² and H³ which are defective for 13². Of these P₇ alone would supply 2¹, but it is not a likely source: on the other hand P₇ and Tt¹ would be excluded by 11² if this should happen not to be an individual variant. But even if we confine our attention to H⁷ Cp Eλ Hγ, it will be observed that they belong to three widely different groups. While therefore we may feel confident that some manuscript was used in the preparation of P₉, we are quite in the dark as to its affinities.

It will be convenient to consider next Pynson's second edition, P₂, since it was clearly printed from P₉, as is proved by its reproducing the misprint 'starft' for 'starf' in l. 75 which W₉ corrects. At the same time, of the readings in which P₉ differs from C₈, only about half are retained in P₂, in the remaining cases those of C₈ being substantially restored. Of the eight readings which we held to be significant three are retained (1, 5², 13²), four are restored (2¹, 11², 16², 29²), and one (100²) is compromised. That these restorations are not due to fresh manuscript collation seems proved by 29² in which the reading of C₈ is supported by no manuscript but Tt². It would appear, therefore, that, before being used as the basis of P₂, P₉ was corrected with some care by comparison with C₈.⁹

Readings of P₂ not derived from either P₉ or C₈ are eighteen in number (6, 7¹, 21, 22, 33², 54, 65², 67, 70², 71, 76, 79, 84², 87, 95,

⁹ Or C₇, though in that case we should expect to find some distinctive C⁷ readings, which we do not. So far as the eight significant readings are concerned the restorations might equally well have been made by comparison with W₉, and this would seem on the face of it more likely. The supposition, however, is ruled out by the fact that P₂ occasionally restores the archaic 'hem' for the 'them' of P₉ in cases (87², 95²) where W₉ modernizes. Since we can hardly suppose that the compositor of P₂ worked with a manuscript as well as C₈ in front of him, we must suppose that his copy of C₈ had already had manuscript alterations inserted. If so it was presumably not the same copy of C₈ that was used in the preparation of P₁.

101, 102², 109), but the variants are for the most part insignificant. Six of them are found anticipated in W₉ (6, 54, 76, 84², 95, 109), but none are of a nature to make one suspect this as an actual source. The only readings of any importance are 7¹, 33², 65², 70², 71. Of these 71 is supported by S² but is probably no more than a slip; 65² is a natural correction found in all manuscripts; 33² is a natural though unmetrical alteration found in none. There remain 7¹, which almost certainly implies recourse to a manuscript, and might have been derived from any manuscript except H⁷ R¹ Tt¹ Tt²: and 70², which might possibly be an original misunderstanding, but is much more likely to have been derived from a manuscript such as A³, S¹, Tt², or Pr. Since Tt² is excluded by 7¹, there remain A³ S¹ Pr as possible sources of the peculiar readings of P₂. Of these A³ is not classed by Liddell, but S¹ and Pr both belong to the Petworth group. There is therefore good reason to suppose that the copy of P₂ from which P₂ was printed, besides being corrected by comparison with C₈, contained a few readings drawn from a manuscript, and there is some indication that this manuscript belonged to the Petworth group.

We now come to W₉, which must evidently have been printed from either C₈ or P₉. In the forty-two readings in which C₈ and P₉ differ, W₉ agrees with C₈ in thirty-two and with P₉ in ten. Among these ten are only two of any significance, namely 1 and 5², the rest being mostly small modernizations. But we have already seen that, for any compositor ready to accept 'telleth' as a plural, 1 would be a natural alteration to make, and that 5² likewise is probably an individual variant. The other six most significant readings (2¹, 11², 13², 16², 29², 100²) are all in favour of C₈, including the really conclusive 29². There is, therefore, no reasonable doubt that W₉, like P₉, is printed from C₈.

The readings in which W₉ differs both from C₈ and P₉ are eighteen in number (3, 6, 9, 31¹, 34, 45², 46, 54², 63¹, 73², 76, 84², 94¹, 95², 97², 106¹, 109, 114²), but of these not more than six are of serious significance. In 3 we have an important correction which might have been made by an attentive reader but might equally be derived from any manuscript except Tt²: in 31¹ and 34 we have what may be an idiosyncrasy of the compositor, but which, if derived from a manuscript, might

come from A¹ A³ E³ H⁶ S¹ EΛ Hγ, or possibly E² H¹ H³ Gg: while in 73² we have what is probably an individual variant; it is found in no manuscript though there is a hint of it in H³ (where 'whiche' is interlined): in 9 and 106¹ we have important variants, which however wholly lack manuscript support. There is nothing here to prove recourse to a manuscript, but if any is to be supposed one resembling H³ is perhaps indicated, especially as this is one of six manuscripts which would give the W, reading 'vylynye' in 84; though H⁶ likewise will supply 31¹, 34, and 84, and also 6 and 95² in addition. We shall later on see some reason to suppose that recourse was actually had to a manuscript, but not to one resembling either H³ or H⁶.

Our last and not least difficult problem is the source used by Thynne in G₃. Examining the list of eighteen readings in which W₉ differs from C₃, it will be found that G₃ reverts exactly to the reading of C₃ in four instances only: two in which W₉ is clearly in error (94¹, 97²), and two which are modernizations (31¹, 34). Otherwise G₃ either follows the original variations of W₉ (eleven instances), or normalizes (46), or gives evidence of some other source (9, 106¹). It is true that the eleven agreements with W₉ include six agreements with P₂ and that the seven disagreements include three agreements with P₂, though there are none of them of any importance. But 3, 45², and 73² seem conclusive of dependence on W₉ and 55², 63¹, 71, 92, 98², 100², tend to confirm independence of P₉ and P₂. We may assume therefore that G₃ was printed from W₉, and interest centres on the source whence the original variants of G₃ were derived. A few might come from P₂, but these include only one of importance, and since the great majority certainly came from elsewhere, the discussion of P₂ as a possible source could have no relevance at the moment.

The readings in which G₃ differs from W₉ are sixty-seven in number, and of these less than a score agree with P₂. But these readings include of course many that have no significance. Several are obvious corrections of errors in W₉, several are small modernizations or compositor's individualities: further a number are found in all or nearly all manuscripts (11¹, 18, 37¹, 54¹, 65², 75², 87², 94², 95², 96², 111) and others in no manuscript (24¹, 29¹, 52¹, 91², 91³, 103²) and are therefore useless for determining the source. Excluding these and a few other minor vari-

ants there remain thirty-three to which some significance can be attached. But even these are not supplied by any single manuscript, as may be seen from l. 68, in which the reading 'assureth for to' is found in no manuscript, though ten supply 'assureth' (A³ E¹ H¹ H³ H⁶ H⁷ R¹ Tt¹ Eλ Hγ) and seven supply 'for to' (E² L R² S¹ S² Cp P₇). Or, if we pick out what seem to be the three most crucial readings of G₃, we find 63² in eight manuscripts (A³ E¹ H¹ H³ H⁷ R¹ Hγ), 72¹ in seven manuscripts (E² H³ H⁶ L R² S¹ Cp), and 94⁴ in only two manuscripts (A¹ E²): only one manuscript (H³) supplying as many as two out of the three readings. The following table gives the manuscript agreements for the thirty-three original and significant variants of G₃:

1 ² all except R ¹ Tt ¹ Tt ² .	66 A ³ E ² R ² S ² .
5 ¹ L R ² S ¹ S ² Cp P ₇ (?). ¹⁰	68 ² A ³ E ¹ H ¹ H ³ H ⁷ R ¹ Tt ² Eλ Hγ.
7 ¹ all except H ⁷ R ¹ Tt ¹ Tt ² .	68 ³ E ² L R ² S ¹ S ² Cp P ₇ .
7 ² all except E ¹ Dd Tt ² .	72 ¹ E ² H ³ H ⁶ L R ² S ¹ Cp.
9 H ³ H ⁷ R ² S ² Cp Tt ¹ .	77 all except E ¹ S ² Tt ¹ Tt ² .
12 ¹ R ¹ .	80 H ⁷ S ² .
13 ² all except A ¹ E ² H ³ S ¹ S ² .	81 L R ² S ¹ S ² P ₇ .
22 E ¹ Dd.	82 A ³ E ² H ³ H ⁶ H ⁷ R ¹ R ² S ¹ Cp Eλ Hγ
44 ¹ E ¹ R ¹ Dd.	P ₇ .
44 ² H ¹ .	94 ² all except E ¹ H ¹ S ¹ Tt ² .
51 H ¹ .	94 ⁴ A ¹ E ² .
52 ² all except E ¹ H ¹ H ⁶ Dd Tt ² .	102 ² all except E ¹ H ¹ S ² Tt ² .
56 ² all except H ¹ R ¹ S ² Tt ¹ Tt ² .	106 ¹ all except A ³ H ⁷ S ¹ Tt ² .
59 ² A ¹ E ¹ E ² H ⁷ R ¹ Dd.	106 ² all except A ¹ E ² R ¹ Tt ¹ Tt ² .
61 ¹ L.	108 all except A ³ E ² H ¹ Tt ¹ Tt ² .
63 ² A ³ E ¹ H ¹ H ³ H ⁷ R ¹ Eλ Hγ.	112 all except E ¹ H ⁶ R ¹ Tt ² .
64 H ¹ .	116 ² H ³ H ⁶ R ¹ R ² S ¹ Cp Hγ.

If we analyze this table we find the manuscripts ranged in order of success, with the number of readings supplied by each, as follows (excluding imperfect manuscripts except H³ which again receives an average for the missing portion):

R² 21, Cp 19, (H³ 19,) H⁷ 18, L 18, Hγ 17, P₇ 16 (?), Eλ 16, S¹ 16, A³ 15, H⁶ 15, R¹ 15, S² 15, E² 13, E¹ 12, Tt¹ 9.

Here it will be noticed that R² stands somewhat apart from the rest, while the next twelve manuscripts follow in a close series, Cp H³ H⁷ L being the most successful. It will also be

¹⁰ The Chaucer Society print of the Petworth manuscript is ambiguous. In this line the word 'ther' is enclosed in brackets, but what is meant thereby is not stated.

remembered that Koch concluded the source to have belonged to the Petworth group, of which R² and H³ are members. Cp and L are, however, supposed to belong to the smaller Corpus group, while H⁷ belongs to another group altogether. The manuscripts of the Petworth group examined are H³ R¹ R² S¹ Pr, and these five between them will supply twenty-six out of the thirty-three readings (i.e. all except 22, 44², 51, 61¹, 64, 80, 94⁴). On the other hand the manuscripts of the extended Corpus group examined are H⁶ L S² Tt² Cp, and these five supply twenty-four out of the thirty-three readings (i.e. all except 12¹, 22, 44¹, 44², 51, 59², 63², 64, 94⁴). Lastly the so-called Eλ-Dd group includes the examined manuscripts A¹ E¹ Dd Eλ Hγ, and these five (of which one is slightly and one seriously imperfect) supply twenty-one out of the thirty-three readings (i.e. all except 5¹, 9, 12¹, 44², 51, 61¹, 64, 66, 68², 72¹, 80, 81). This last is less successful and may be dismissed, but between the other two there is not very much to choose. Of the thirty-three readings twenty-two are supplied by either group, five by neither; Petworth supplies four in which Corpus fails, and Corpus two in which Petworth fails. Of the five in which both fail two are supplied by the Eλ-Dd group, two by H¹ alone, and one by H⁷ alone. Individually the failures of the two groups are of approximately equal weight. It cannot therefore be said that either group is markedly more successful than the other in supplying the readings peculiar to G₁. It will be remembered that, according to Koch, MS. Phillipps 8137 (Pλ²) came nearest to proving a complete source of these readings. This manuscript I have not seen, but Koch does not claim for it complete success, and supposing that its relative success is the same in the Knight's as in the Pardoner's Tale, we should I think be bound to account for the fact by a close individual relation to the source, rather than by its membership of the same general group. Of course there is nothing unlikely in Thynne having made use of more than one manuscript in the preparation of his edition.

Before summing up the results of this inquiry a word is needed as to the order of the tales in the different prints. Into this I have made no independent investigation and merely take the facts as given in Miss Hammond's excellent Chaucer manual. The order of the tales in C₇ is, according to the usual

grouping, AB¹F¹E²DE¹F²GCB²HI. This is found in H⁴ and may therefore be presumed to be the original order of this branch of the extended Corpus group, disturbed in Tt². The order in C₈ does not appear to be that of any known manuscript, and most likely Caxton merely took a hint from his source toward an improved order. All he did was to bring together F¹ and F² between E² and D, and the union of F¹ and F² is common to various types. This order was preserved in P₁ and P₂. The next change was made in W₁, where the order is that of H⁷ minus Gamelyn, namely AB¹DE¹E²F¹F²GCB²HI. But this order was easily obtainable from that of C₈ by moving DE¹ from after F² to before E², a transposition that may have been suggested by any manuscript of the Ellesmere type. This confirms what was before the rather slight suspicion that some manuscript source was used in the preparation of W₁, but does not help in the identification of the manuscript since neither H³ nor H⁶ has the Ellesmere order. Lastly G₂ reverts to the order of C₇. This was easily effected by moving E²F¹ from after E¹ to before D and reversing them in the process. The order, as already mentioned, is found in H², but is unlikely to have been derived from that manuscript, since it is by no means successful in supplying the peculiar readings of G₃.

To sum up. Caxton printed his first edition from a manuscript closely resembling, perhaps the immediate parent of, Tt², a somewhat peculiar manuscript belonging to a branch of the Corpus group. His second edition he printed from his first after it had been extensively altered by comparison with another manuscript whose affinities cannot be determined. Pynson printed his first edition from a copy of Caxton's second in which certain readings had been introduced from some manuscript of whose nature we know nothing. Pynson's second edition was printed from his first, but the copy used had been collated with Caxton's second (not however with the copy previously used) and a few readings introduced from a manuscript possibly of the Petworth group. Wynkyn de Worde printed his edition from Caxton's second, and it is probable that he too had recourse to some manuscript source, though this cannot be identified. Lastly Thynne's edition was printed by Godfray from that of de Worde, extensive alterations being again made by comparison with a manuscript. This manuscript

may have been closely related to one now extant (P^Λ) which is classed as belonging to the Petworth group, though the readings disclose no particular affinities with manuscripts of this group in general, and it is quite likely that more than one manuscript was used.

The following conclusions seem to be of interest. While Caxton's first edition was the only one set up from manuscript, the printers of the next five editions all had recourse more or less extensively to manuscript sources in the hope of improving their texts. It follows that Caxton's first edition alone ranks with the manuscripts as a textual authority. In no case can the readings of the manuscripts used in later editions be recovered with anything approaching completeness; the editions themselves are merely reprints of the first more or less seriously conflated, and their only textual value lies in the fact that they may possibly preserve individual readings derived from manuscripts but not found in any now extant. Lastly the utter failure to identify the affinities of the manuscripts used in Caxton's second edition and in Thynne's, unless it be due to a plurality of sources, raises some doubt as to whether conflation may not be so wide spread as seriously to interfere with any useful classification of the manuscripts. This, however, is clearly a problem requiring more extensive investigation before any considered opinion can be expressed.

W. W. GREG

XXXIV. COLFOX VS. CHAUNTECLEER

"Geoffrey Chaucer," says Professor Kittredge, "is nearer to us than Alexander Pope." This is true, not only of the spirit of his times, but also of the man. Chaucer is more like us than Pope is: we feel more mental, moral, and spiritual kinship with the writer of the *Nun's Priest's Tale* than with the author of the *Essay on Man*. But, though this is true, we are not to think that therefore we understand him more thoroughly. In reality, we comprehend nearly all of Pope, and some of him we don't like; *per contra*, we like all of Chaucer that we comprehend: yet there are moods and meanings in him hard to fathom.

Though the modern reader finds some of his meanings obscure, we may be sure that they were clear to his contemporaries. We can draw no other conclusion from the evidence of his firm, compact style, and his unfailing choice of the right word. When Chaucer's meaning is not plain to us, the fault lies in our ignorance either of his speech and education or of the smaller and more interesting facts of his life and times. Often we are baffled by a passage which we feel contains more meaning or humor than we can get from it. What would we give to appeal to the author in the words of Criseyde:

For al this world ne can I reden what
It sholde been; som jape, I trowe, is this;
And but your-selven telle us what it is,
My wit is for to arede it al to lene;
As help me god, I noot nat what ye mene.

Chaucer's mood complicates his meaning; and his most intricate mood is humor. The greatest rub in the path of understanding it is *partial appreciation*. Our satisfaction at having seen something, one or two points, perhaps, quite prevents us from seeing more. In exploring Chaucer's humor we are sailing on perilous seas; yet it is true that we are in more danger of not seeing his whole meaning than we are of misrepresenting what we see. We lose more than we distort.

With these considerations in mind, let us turn to the tale of the Nun's Priest. Here we are in the midst of Chaucer's humor; here we have his skill at its finest and his genius at its height. Harry Bailly has ordered the priest to tell a tale, and to be merry about it. "Yis, sir," replies the goodly man, "But I be merry, y-wis I wol be blamed." This gives the note; but the preacher, from force of habit, casts his whole fable into homiletic form, adds long illustrations, or *exempla*, and uses the main episode to point a serious moral. Yet all this covers the story only as the robe covers the priest. Inside is the 'large breest,' swelling with fun and ironic humor, and unfolding the irresistibly comic tale in admirable periods of eloquence.

Its most delightful quality is the mock-heroic. Royal Chauntecleer's grim forebodings; Dame Pertelote's contempt for his cowardice; her common-sense prescriptions for his diet; Chauntecleer's defense of the significance of dreams, and his long appeal to grave authorities; his supercilious rejection of homely remedies, and his ironical praise of woman, which restores his good humor—what glorious fun! Yet, even though the general tone of the story is sympathetic and not satirical, and though we like to think that Chaucer wrote it solely as a perfect bit of comic narrative, to judge it properly we must put ourselves in the place of his audience.

Now the medieval readers did not understand 'art for art's sake'; they preferred useful stories: stories that taught, that satirized, or that pointed an excellent moral. The authors were of the same mind; the attitude of even the most 'artistic' of them is exposed by Pandarus:

How-so it be that som men hem delyte
With subtil art hir tales for to endyte,
Yet for al that, in hir entencioun,
Hir tale is al for som conclusioun.

Chaucer, of course, does point a moral at the end of his fable; yet I question whether the medieval reader, although delighted with the mock-heroics and pleased with the moral, was satisfied with the very general nature of the satire on human frailty in the rest of the tale. Moreover, the thing is told with such *verve* and high spirits, that it is hard not to suspect that author and audience saw something further in it to amuse them:

something besides the main comic dialogue, the characters, and the stock situation, which time has hidden from us.

This suspicion gathers weight when one considers the origin of the *Cock and the Fox*. It is drawn from an incident in the *Renart* epic. The *Renart*, in its allegorical sense, was a satire on contemporary society. Are we sure that Chaucer's selection departed completely from this tradition of contemporary satire, and took perennial human nature as its province? Furthermore, the *Cock and the Fox* is a *fable*. Fables, in the Middle Ages, were commonly-used engines of satire. In the hands of Marie de France, the animal figure always concealed a man. It is evident that Chaucer's readers were educated to expect satirical hits and some more than didactic pieces of allegory in their beast epic and beast fable. The *Nun's Priest's Tale*, we must remember, is Chaucer's first and only fable; it deserves closer study than it has received. We must look beneath his lively pictures of human character for sly contemporary hits.

Indeed, after the moral has been pointed, the narrator gravely announces that the tale is, in fact, something more than

a folye

As of a fox, or of a cok and hen.

This homiletic assurance, while thoroughly in character, seems nothing but anti-climax; but there is no anti-climax if we catch Chaucer's solemn wink.

Let us turn to the story, then, to see if there are any grounds in fact for our suspicion. In the first place, the date of the poem has not been fixed. The maturity and finished excellence of its execution, however, lead most scholars to place it in the later period of the *Canterbury Tales*, or, roughly, 1390-1400: a decade which included the last years of the reign of Richard II, and the usurpation of Henry IV.

The natural places in which to look for possible inner meanings are, as we have seen, the passages in which the sense is unclear, in which Chaucer added to his original, or varied from it. One of the particulars in which Chaucer seems somewhat obscure, and also differs from his originals, is in his use of names. The fox in the originals is called *Reinicke* or *Renart*; Chaucer, although he uses the name *Renard* for the fox in the *Legend of*

Good Women,¹ introduces him here as a *colfox*, and later calls him *daun Russel*. What is the purpose in these changes?

Let us look first at the word 'colfox,' which is found in English only in this passage from Chaucer. It is worth while to give Skeat's note on it in full:

col-fox; explained by Bailey as a 'coal-black fox'; and he seems to have caught the right idea. *Col-* here represents M. E. *col*, coal; and the reference is to the *brant-fox*, which is explained in the New E. Dict. as borrowed from the G. *brand-fuchs*, 'the German name of a variety of the fox, chiefly distinguished by a greater admixture of black in its fur; according to Grimm, it has black feet, ears, and tail.' Chaucer expressly refers to the black-tipped tail and ears in 1. 4094 above. Mr. Bradley cites the G. *kohlfuchs* and Du. *koolvogs*, similarly formed; but the ordinary dictionaries do not give these names. The old explanation of *col-fox* as meaning 'deceitful fox' is difficult to establish and is now unnecessary.'²

Skeat is correct in showing that the probable meaning of the word coincides with the description of the fox given by Chaucer in 1. 4094-5; but *in this very description* Chaucer also varies from all the other versions of the story. In the *Renart*, and also in *Reinhart Fuchs* Chantecler dreamed that he saw a beast clothed in a red fur coat, with an opening at the neck made of bone. This he made Chantecler put on.³ Chaucer's Chauntecleer, on the contrary, has no allegory in his dream, but hard fact. A reddish-yellow beast, something like a dog, tipped with black at both ends, with murder in his glowing eyes, came after him.

It seems evident that Chaucer had some purpose in view in making his fox a *colfox*, and in carefully describing him later in the story:

And tipped was his tail and bothe his eres
With blak, unlyk the remenant of his heres.

Let us examine this animal more closely. Why 'colfox'? "Colfox," as a common noun, occurs, we know, only in this passage from the *Nun's Priest*. But Colfox is also a proper

¹ "As doth the fox, Renard." LGW 2448.

² Notes, p. 255.

³ Kate O. Petersen, *Sources of the Nonne Prestes Tale*, p. 53.

name, a surname; and is found in England from Chaucer's time to ours.⁴

Of the Colfoxes living in the period 1360-1400, two, Nicholas and Richard Colfox, were prominent men, and were known at court. Both were at one time or another closely associated with the castle at Barton-Segrave, co. Northampton, which belonged to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

⁴ 1257 Richard COLFOX, Chester (*Second Rept. Hist. Mss. Comm.*, 300). 1303-4 William COLFOX, Chester (*Rec. Soc. Lanc. Ches.* LIX, 64). 1307 William COLFOX, Nantwich, co. Ches. (Hall, J. *Nantwich*, 406). 1309 William COLFOX, Nantwich (*36th Rept. Dep. Keeper of P. Recs.* App. II, 358). 1339 William and Nicholas COLFOX, Nantwich (*Des. Cat. Anc. Deeds*, VI, 376). 1357 Peter COLFOX (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1354-8, 642). 1371 Giles COLFOX (*C. P. R.* 1370-4, 98). 1374 John COLFOX, Mokeleston, Staffs. (*Hist. Coll. co. Staffs.* XIII, 105). 1375 John COLFOX (*C. P. R.* 1374-7, 216).

From this time until far into the fifteenth century the only COLFOXES named are a NICHOLAS and a RICHARD, with following exceptions:

1394 William COLFOX of Chidiok, Dorset (*Som. & Dorset N. & Q.*, XII, 369). 1395 John COLFOX, Staffs. (*Hist. Coll. Staffs.*, XV, 72). 1400 Emma COLFOX, Chester (*C. P. R.* 1391-1400, 649). 1412 William Launce, *alias* COLFOX, Chiltern Dommer, Somerset (*Som. Rec. Soc.* XXIX, 127). 1428 John COLFOX, Kingston (*Feudal Aids*, IV, 192).

The name continues to the present day:

1452 Richard COLFOX, Wroxale co. Somerset (*C. P. R.* 1446-1452, 581). 1466 Henry COLFOX, Leicester (*Rec. Bor. of Leic.* II, 429). 1492 Agn. and Marg. COLFOX, Leicester, (*ibid.*, 333). 1502 Roger COLFOX, Bridport, Dorset (*Som. and Dor. N. & Q.*, VII, 294). 1539 John COLFOX, Haughmond Abbey, Salop (*Let. & Pap., For. & Dom.*, XIV, ii, 42). 1545 Richard COLFOX, Codescote, Salop (*ibid.*, XX, i, 222). 1545 Thomas COLFOX, Meriden, Salop (*ibid.*, XX, i, 531; ii, 542).

1501 Robert COLFOX, Sundridge (Fielding, C. H., *Rec. of Rochester Dioc.*, 273).

Lichfield Wills and Administrations (Index Lib., 7): 1535 COLFOX, —, 23. 1540 John COLFOX, 24. 1548 Richard COLFOX, 26. 1551 Alan COLLFOX, 27. 1551 Thomas COLFOX, 27. 1554 William COLFOX, 28. 1600 Thomas COLFOX, 180. 1621 Thomas COLFOX, 418.

1551 Christopher COLFOX, Beoley (*Worcester Wills, Index Lib. 31, p. 128*). 1582 Katherine COLFOX, Uplyme (*Devon Wills, Index Lib. 35, 276*). 1640 Agnes COLFOX, Bridgewater (*Taunton Wills, Index Lib. p. 155*). John COLFOX, 1st Sergeant (*Royalist Comp. Papers, Index Lib.*, 108). 1590-1600 William COLFOX (*Northants and Rutland Wills, Index Lib.*, I, 175).

1598 Adam COLFOX, Preston Gubbals, Salop (*Prerog. Court of Canterbury, Index Lib. 25, IV, 98*). 1621 Edw. COLFOX, Uffington, Salop (*ibid.*, *Index Lib.* 44, VI, 68).

1597 John COLFOX, Berport (Bridport) Dorset (*ibid.*, *Index Lib.*, 25, 98).

Richard, undoubtedly the younger of the two men (and perhaps the son of Nicholas), appears in the records as an intimate associate of the most prominent Lollard knights, and later as prince's esquire under Henry V. We find him first in 1395, when King Richard granted him a moor called *Overmershe*, in Cheshire.⁵ This was followed by another gift in the next year.⁶ When Henry IV usurped the power in 1399, Richard Colfox evidently enjoyed the especial favor of Henry, Prince of Wales (Bluff Prince Hal), for the latter confirmed the grant⁷ and made sure that the land was his.⁸ By 1404, however, Colfox had associated himself too closely with the Lollard knights to please the prince, who seized his property.⁹ In this year also¹⁰ we find Richard Colfox as an executor of the will of Lewis Clifford, the knight and Lollard who, as Professor

Cal. Dorset Wills and Administrations in Salisbury Probate Court: 1628. John COLFOX (COULFOX) Netherbury, p. 60. 1666 Robert COLEFOX, Chardstock, 2. 1716 Henry COLFOX, Over Compton, 60.

1629 Stephen COLFOX, Chideock, Dorset (*Som. & Dor. N. & Q.*, VII, 304). 1654 John COLEFAX, Wetton Hall, Ches. (*Rec. Soc. Lanc. Ches. XXVIII*, 230). 1664, Abraham COLEFAX (*ibid.*, LXV, 116). 1669 Thos. COLEFAX (*ibid.*, LXIX, 61).

Dorset Wills, Index Lib. 22: 1690 William COLFOX, Chideock, 126. 1702, Elizabeth COLEFOX, 1725, John COLEFOX, Chideock, 42. 1786 Samuel COLFOX, 42. 1746 Joshua COLFOX, Bridport, 5. Hutchins, *Hist. of Dorset*: 1863 W. COLFOX, II, 110. Debrett, *House of Commons*, 1920 W. P. COLFOX, *M.C.*, p. 35.

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1391-1396, p. 649.

⁶ 1396, July 4. "Grant to *Richard de Colfox* of the custody of the lands and tenements . . . of Fulk son of Fulk-fitz-Waryn . . . he to answer for all the issues of the same lands over 8 pounds 6s. yearly." *Welsh Records*, p. 117. (*36th Rep. Dep. Keeper of P. R., App. II*).

⁷ 1400, Mar. 4. "Confirmation to *Richard Colfox* by Henry Prince of Wales of a grant of King Richard, 1395, of the moor of *Overmersh* . . ." (*ibid.*)

⁸ 1400, May 22. "Livery to *Richard Colfox* of the moor of *Overmersh*." (*ibid.*)

1402, Feb. 15. "Grant to *Richard Colfox* by Henry, Prince of Wales, of the moor of *Overmershe*, for life, together with an annual rent of 7 pounds, 6s. 8d. arising out of it." (*ibid.*)

⁹ 1404, July 4. "Writ of Henry Prince of Wales . . . to seize the said . . . moor of *Overmersh*." (*ibid.*, 272).

¹⁰ Dec. 4, 1404. Wylie, *Henry V.*, p. 272.

Kittredge has shown¹¹ was one of Chaucer's friends. Four years later, in 1408, the keeping of Barton Segrave Castle was taken out of the hands of Richard Colfox, now an esquire, and he was found not responsible for its deterioration.¹² By 1413 we find him in partnership with that protagonist of Lollardry, Sir John Oldcastle; they have sold the king a jewel, and are dunning him for the unpaid balance.¹³ But the next winter sees the arrest and trial of the Lollards. Richard Colfox, Esquire, was examined at Winchester and tried at Westminster in January, 1414.¹⁴ In March, the King issued the following 'pardon':

The King orders the several sheriffs to proclaim pardon for Lollards, except Sir John Oldcastle, Sir Thomas Talbot, Richard Colfox, and nine others, those in sanctuary, and those already arrested.¹⁵

For a year this Colfox was an outlaw or a prisoner; then on May 23, 1415, he was pardoned and reinvested with his lands.¹⁶ After nine years he was still in favor, and in 1428 he received a grant.¹⁷ Six years later, he died.¹⁸

So much for Richard Colfox, Prince's Esquire, sometime of Barton-Segrave, Northamptonshire. As we have seen, he was in the closest association with Sir Lewis Clifford, a friend of Chaucer, and must have been well known to the poet. Is he the Colfox aimed at in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*? Before we can decide, we must examine the other Colfox.

Nicholas Colfox was probably born in Nantwich, co. Chester, of a family which had been prominent there for at least a century.¹⁹ Some of the entries of the name 'Nicholas Colfox of Nantwich' are, however, so early, that we are forced to postulate one, or even two earlier namesakes.²⁰ Even when we

¹¹ *Modern Philology*, I, 1. (cf. *Cal. Pat. R.* 1405-8, 165).

¹² *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1405-8, 413; and Jones, *Index to Records*, under *Barton*.

¹³ *Cal. Pat. R.*, I *Henry V*, III, 73.

¹⁴ Cott. MS. Cleop. E. II, f.304.

¹⁵ *Syll. Rymer's Foedera*, II, 578.

¹⁶ *37 Rep. Dep. Keeper, App. II*, 159.

¹⁷ *Feudal Aids*, I, 40.

¹⁸ *37 Rep. Dep. Keeper, App. II*, 159.

¹⁹ See above, note 4.

²⁰ 1339: "Grant by WILLIAM COLFOX to NICHOLAS, his son, of his tenements in Nantwich." (*Desc. Cat. Anc. Deeds*, VI, 376).

1353: "NICHOLAS COLFOX, the younger." (*ibid.*, 377.)

are sure that the documents fall within the active life of our Colfox, it is hard to tell which Nicholas is meant, although the records at times specify 'the younger' or 'Nicholas Colfox, senior.'

The first unmistakable reference to the man whom we are tracing comes immediately after Henry Bolingbroke's seizure of the throne in 1399. In open Parliament, Colfox was implicated, as chief coadjutor, in the murder of a man whose mysterious death two years before had deeply stirred the people of England. In 1397, Mowbray, who was Colfox's master and a creature of Richard II, at the King's secret order, had arrested the duke of Gloucester, taken him to Calais, and there secretly murdered him. Gloucester, a prince of the blood, was uncle to Henry Bolingbroke, and had long led the popular opposition against the detested king. The murder, prearranged and coldly accomplished,²¹ of such a powerful man, could not remain hidden. Almost at once the truth was suspected, and popular feeling ran high against Mowbray. In challenging him at Shrewsbury (in 1398, five months after the crime), Henry publicly accused him of the murder.²² A year later, as we have said, in the Parliament held after Henry had driven Richard from the throne, a circumstantial story of the dark affair was told by an eye-witness. It is the confession of John Hall, formerly valet to Mowbray, who guarded the door of the Prince's Inn at Calais during the murder. Hall's account relates that on that night in September, 1397,

le dit Duc de Norffolk & un Johan Colfox Esquier du dit Duc, viendrent al Chaumbre de dit Johan Halle, en la Ville de Caley. Lequel Johan Colfox appella le dit Johan Halle hors de son lyt, luy comaundant de venir à dit Duc son Seigneur; lequel Johan Halle soy leva de son lyt, & veigna as ditz Duc & Johan Colfox. Et le Duc luy demaunda, Purquoy avez atant demure; & luy demaunda s'il oiast rien del Duc de Gloucestre? Quel Johan Halle responstist,

1380: "NICHOLAS COLFOX, of Nantwich." (*36 Rep. Keeper, App. II*, 390.)

1384: "NICHOLAS COLFOX, of Nantwich." (*Rec. Soc. Lanc.*, 58, 168.)

1397: "Nicholas COLFOX, senior." (*36 Rep. Keeper, App. II*, 117).

1408: "Nicholas COLFOX, Knight." (*ibid.*, 307).

²¹ The damning circumstances are strikingly set forth in Professor James Tait's essay in *Historical Essays*, Owens College, 1907, pp. 193 ff.

²² *Chron. Monk of St. Denys*, XIX, ch. 11.

Qu'il supposa qu'il fuist mort. Et le dit Duc de Norffolk disoit, noun; nepurquaunt de dit nadgairs Roy luy avoit charge pur mourdrer le dit Duc de Gloucestre: Et que le dit nadgairs Roy, & le Duc d'Aumarle, adonques Count de Roteland, avoient envoieés certains leurs Esquiers & Vadlets pur estre illoeques . . .

And, later, having gathered more men—

. . . soy alèrent ovesque le dit Duc de Norffolk toutz ensemble vers l'Ostell appelle le Princes In. Et quant ils furent illoeqes, le dit Duc de Norffolk metta les ditz Johan Colfox, William Hampsterly, — Bradeston, William Serle, — Fraunceys, William Roger, William Denys, — Cok del Chaumbre, & Johan Halle, en une maison deinz le dit Hostell, et ala son chemyn . . . ²²

Then he tells how they brought the duke of Gloucester to this house, where Colfox and the others were placed in wait for him, and how they murdered him. Let us stop here to glance back at our text.

A Colfox, ful of sly iniquitee

Wayting his tyme on Chauntecleer to falle,

As gladly doon thise homicydes alle,

That in awayt ligen to mordre men.

O false mordrer, lurking in thy den! (395, 403-6).

That the name *Johan* of the Colfox who acted as Mowbray's right-hand man in this Calais business is merely a blunder for *Nicholas*, is demonstrated beyond a doubt by later documents:

1404. Mar. 31. Pardon, out of reverence for Good Friday last, to Nicholas Colfox, 'chivaler,' for the death of Thomas, late Duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle.²³

An ancient petition shows that Colfox had earnestly sued Henry for this pardon.²⁴ It was granted, as we see, a little less than seven years after the murder had taken place. In that time he had risen from esquire to knight.

All the other parties to the murder did not escape as easily as Colfox. John Hall, immediately after his confession, was put to death with the peculiarly savage refinements²⁵ which the law

²² *Rot. Parl.* III, 452b. Reproduced in *Froissart* (ed. Kervyn) XVI, 290.

²³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 5 Henry IV, II, 381.

²⁴ *Ancient Petitions*, File 254, No. 12671.

²⁵ " . . . Treinez del Tour-hill jesques a les Fourkes de Tybourne, & la bowelez, & ses bowels arcz devaunt luy, & puis . . . penduz, decollez, & quarterez, & son teste envoie a Caleyys ou le mourdre fuist fait, & les quartres envoieés as autres lieux ou le Roy pierra. "—*Rot. Parl.* III, 453

reserved for traitors. William Serle, another of the murderers, one of the Gentlemen of Richard's Bedchamber, and an executor of his will,²⁷ was captured in 1404, and condemned as a traitor for the murder of the Duke of Gloucester. His death was considerably prolonged²⁸ and made a deep impression on the country. It is recorded in many chronicles. Even the authorities admitted that he had suffered "more and severer penalties than other our traitors have endured before these times."²⁹

But to return to Colfox. Less than three weeks after Hall's confession, Henry seized Colfox's property.

1399. Nov. 3. Grant to the king's esquire Henry Lyvermer of the lands, rents, and services which *Nicholas Colfox* had of the grant of Thomas Mowbray, late duke of Norfolk, in Barton Segrave, co. Northampton.³⁰

His pardon for murder was followed in 1405 by another: this time for 'treasons, insurrections, rebellions, and felonies.'³¹ The remaining references to him are of little importance: a mention of his rental,³² a pardon for not appearing to be sued for debt,³³ and a tax assessment on his property in Gloucester.³⁴ So much for the documents.

We have found, then, in this man, a plausible reason why Chaucer departed from all the variants of the beast fable to make the villain of his piece a 'Colfox.' The killing of Gloucester, a prince of England and youngest son to Edward III, was more than murder: it was treason. Hall and Serle, as we have seen, were executed as traitors. It is worth noting that Chaucer likens the Colfox not to murderers, but to famous traitors:

²⁷ *Wills of Kings*, 200.

²⁸ Beginning at Pontefract "he was drawn by horses through the streets, and afterwards through those of Lincoln and Norwich, and the towns in Suffolk, Essex, and Hertford through which he passed on his way to London. He was more than once hanged by the neck and cut down alive. At length he reached the capital," where he suffered the same death which Hall had undergone. — Wylie, J. H., *Henry IV*, IV, 451.

²⁹ *Close Rolls*, 5 Henry IV, ii, 1.

³⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 Henry IV, ii, 57.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 7 Henry IV, i, 80.

³² *36 Rep. Dep. Keep. App.* II, 307.

³³ *C. Pat. R.* 5 Hen. IV, 101.

³⁴ *Feudal Aids*, IV, 49.

O newe Scariot, newe Ganilon!
False dissimilour, O Greek Sinon,
That broughtest Troye al outrely to sorwe! (406-8)

Besides throwing light on the mysterious Colfox, this notorious murder may also explain the presence of one of Chaucer's *exempla*. These illustrative anecdotes, as we know, were borrowed from Cicero or Valerius Maximus, and added by Chaucer to the fable. The first and longer of them (which constitutes one-eighth of the entire poem) is a harrowing tale of a secret murder, done in a foreign town. Near the end of it, Chaucer digressed from his *exemplum* original to apostrophize God the just, and to reflect on the discovery of hidden murder:

O blisful god, that art so just and trewe!
Lo, how that thou biwreyest mordre alway!
Mordre wol out, that see we day by day.
Mordre is so wlatson and abhominable
To god, that is so just and resonable,
That he ne wol nat suffre it heled be;
Thogh it abyde a yeer, or two, or three,
Mordre wol out, this is my conclusioun. (230-237)

If this emphatic aside, coupled with the anecdote of the secret murder done in a foreign town, be compared with the hidden murder of Gloucester at Calais; and if the vigorous characterization of the traitorous, murdering, and unique *colfox* be placed beside the Colfox of John Hall's confession, it seems more than possible that Chaucer, in writing the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, was touching contemporary history.

On this hypothesis, the work must have been written after September, 1397. Furthermore, it is likely that Chaucer wrote the tale when some little time had elapsed after the crime. We cannot think that such a spirited and humorous performance, if it made the slightest reference to a revolting murder, could have been composed while the country was still shocked by the news.

But, taking the reference for granted, and leaving the question of date aside for the moment, let us ask a question: was Chaucer, in this passage, aiming at Colfox personally, or through him at some man or party which he represented? Dryden, in modernizing the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, naturally did

not grasp the meaning of *colfox*; yet he was not blind to the shining opportunity which the passage offers for political satire:

A Fox, full-fraught with seeming sanctity,
That feared an oath, but, like the devil, would lie;
Who looked like Lent, and had the holy leer,
And durst not sin before he said his prayer;
This pious cheat, that never sucked the blood
Nor chewed the flesh of lambs but when he could. . . . *

The analogy between Chaucer and Dryden is significant. Both were the greatest writers of their time; both wrote for the Court; each of them saw a king of England dethroned and another set up; each lived in an intensely political age, when bitter partisanship was the rule. In his *Cock and Fox*, Dryden aimed at a party. Did Chaucer select a relatively unimportant, but notorious knight for his butt (since his name was miraculously apt), or was Colfox a stalking-horse for higher game?

To answer this question, we must reconsider the whole tale in the light of what we have found. In the first place, did Chaucer launch this *mock-heroic* poem without inspiration or stimulus from some actual *heroic* incident? The murder of a duke, we may be sure, was not an occurrence which would suggest the writing of a mock-heroic. We remember that the central episode is an encounter between a cock and a fox, in which neither is killed, but in which both are damaged by their own folly: the cock through his love of flattery, and the fox by chattering when he should hold his tongue.

An encounter took place in 1398, the year after the murder of Gloucester: an encounter which every reader of Shakespeare or of English history is familiar with. This was the famous quarrel of Henry Bolingbroke, then Duke of Hereford, with Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, followed by their duel at Coventry. Richard stopped the proceedings just before blows were struck, and exiled the antagonists: Henry for ten years, and Mowbray forever.

Such an heroic encounter, ending a bit ingloriously, but without hurt, for both combatants, furnishes an excellent occasion for a *sympathetic*, humorous fable, done in a grave and gay mock-heroic style. Let us go a bit further in search of confirmation or disproof of this conjecture.

Chaucer adds to his original in his description of the antagonists. While none of the other variants gives Chantecleer any color, Chaucer lavishes colors on him, until the lordly cock seems more splendid than Nature warrants:

His comb was redder than the fyn coral,
 And batailed, as it were a castel-wal.
 His bile was blak, and as the jeet it shoon;
 Lyk asur were his legges, and his toon;
 His nayles whytter than the lillie flour,
 And lyk the burned gold was his colour. (39-44)

This description is so heightened as to give rise to suspicion. I have yet to see or hear of a rooster who combines a black bill, white claws, and azure legs with a gold plumage. Moreover, there are terms here which give a strong heraldic tint to the picture: 'gold color,' 'azure legs,' 'battled comb.'

Henry of Bolingbroke's coat of arms, when he entered the lists at Coventry, was emblazoned on his armor.³⁶ His bearings at this time were: "England and France ancient; impaling: azure, a cross fleury between five martlets or; over all a label of five points: three points ermine, and two azure, floretté or."³⁷ The predominant color is gold: the fleurs de lys, the cross, the martlets, and the leopards of England. The fields are azure and gules (red). The label is white and azure; its teeth form crenelated or battlement-like shapes on the red field. The ermine-spots are, of course, black, and are shaped like arrow-heads (compare Chauntecleer's bill). This rough description is enough to show the striking similarity between Chauntecleer's colors and Henry's arms. All the colors on Henry's coat and no others, are found on Chauntecleer; and several of them Chaucer calls by their heraldic names.

Contemporary literature lends strength to the surmise that Henry was here represented under the guise of a fowl. The curious satirical popular poetry of the times constantly refers

³⁶ Scott's *Dryden*, XI, 342.

³⁷ *Chron. de la Traison et Mort Ric. II*, p. 19.

³⁸ Doyle, *Official Baronage*, II, 166.

to him as a bird: 'an *eron*,³⁸ '*aquila*,³⁹ '*egle*,⁴⁰ '*falcon*,⁴¹ '*blessid bredd*,⁴² '*beu brid*.'⁴³

To turn from Chauntecleer to the Colfox, we find that the careful description of his colors is also added by Chaucer:

His colour was bitwixe yelwe and reed;
And tipped was his tail, and bothe his eres,
With blak, unlyk the remenant of his herea. (82-4)

Now, as we have said, it was not Colfox, but Colfox's master, Mowbray, Earl Marshal of England, who met Henry in the lists. On his appointment as Earl Marshal in 1397, the office had been made hereditary in his family; and he and his heirs male had received permission⁴⁴ from the king in Parliament to 'have, wear, and carry' as a sign and badge of their high station, a *golden truncheon tipped with black at both ends*.

To draw these likenesses together, on the one hand we have Chauntecleer, splendid in gold, azure, red, white, and black; a musical, eloquent, courteous bird, "royal as a prince." Beside him let us put Henry of Bolingbroke, the best knight in England, wearing colors identical with Chauntecleer's; brilliant in music,⁴⁵ learned in logic, referred to as 'hende egle,' 'beu brid,' and the like, in contemporary poems; son to John, King of Castile and Leon, and grandson to Edward III of England.

On the other hand we have a unique type of fox, a *colfox*: as treacherous and bloodthirsty as those who "lie in wait to murder men"; his color is a golden-orange, and he is tipped at each end with black; he is Chauntecleer's adversary. Beside him let us place Thomas Mowbray, whose right-hand man in the dastardly murder at Calais was Colfox; his badge of office is a gold truncheon, tipped at each end with black; he is Henry of Bolingbroke's adversary.

So much for the colors and general description; but the striking likeness between the fable and the duel goes even

³⁸ Wright, *Political Poems*, I, 364, 365.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 368.

⁴⁰ *Richard the Redeless* (ed. Skeat) II, 9, 145, 176, 190; III, 69, 74, 91.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, 157, 160, 166; III, 87, 107.

⁴² *Ibid.*, II, 141.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, III, 1.

⁴⁴ *Rot. Parl.* III, 344b.

⁴⁵ *MS. Chronicle of Kenilworth*, quoted in *Archaeologia* XX, 61n.

further. We remember that the fox was tricked and defeated by talking at the wrong time. The duel found its origin in some wild words⁴⁶ concerning the king's faithlessness, which Mowbray dropped into Henry's ear in confidence when they were riding to London. Henry wrote the indiscreet words down, took them to the King in Parliament, and, accusing Mowbray of treason, challenged him to fight. The duel ended, as we know, in Mowbray's exile for life.

'Nay,' quod the fox, 'but god yeve him meschaunce
That is so undiscreef of governaunce,
That jangleth whan he sholde holde his pees.'

Chauntecleer, on the other hand, fell through vanity and blindness caused by flattery. Now we have no evidence that Henry of Bolingbroke, like Chauntecleer, was more susceptible to flattery than other men; we do know, however, that if ever riches, accomplishments, and good looks made a man a target for flattery, Henry was that man. Chaucer, we must remember, was a beneficiary of the lords of Lancaster: John of Gaunt had shown him great favor, and Henry, his son, was not lacking in generosity to the poet. It is very possible that the apostrophe, which is out of place in the mouth of the priest, may come with real feeling from Chaucer himself:

Allas, ye lordes, many a fals flatour
Is in your courtes, and many a losengeour,
That plesen yow wel more, by my feith,
Than he that soothfastnesse unto yow seith.
Redeth Ecclesiaste of flaterye;
Beth war, ye lordes, of hir trecherye. (505-10)

The striking similarity between the circumstances of the famous duel and those of the fable make certain other of Chaucer's additions to his originals suspect. For example, when the King had stopped the duel, and had proclaimed to the threatening multitude, which idolized Henry, that he was banished for ten years, and had as yet not announced the

⁴⁶ ". . . Henry de Lancastre Duc de Hereford vient devant nostre Seigneur le Roy en le Parlement tenuz a Shrouesbury, . . . portant en sa mayn une Cedula . . . et . . . le Roy lui disoit, Coment il avoit entendu, que Thomas Moumbray, Duc de Norfolc, avoit parles plousours paroles dishonestes en esclandre de sa persone;" etc. *Rot. Parl.*, III, 382a.

punishment of Mowbray, whom they hated,⁴⁷ the crowds made such an outcry and tumult that nothing could be heard.⁴⁸

To the 'pursuit of the fox' motif, which Chaucer found in his originals, he adds a lively account of the deafening noise which was made at the fox:

They yelleden as feendes doon in helle;

.
So hidous was the noyse, al *benedicite!*

Certes, he Jakke Straw, and his meynee

Ne made never shoutes half so shrille,

Whan that they wolden any Fleming kille,

As thilke day was maad upon the fox. (570, 574-8)

Again, Chaucer heightens to heroic proportions the weeping and lamentation which the hens made at the sight of Chauntecleer. When Henry left London to go into exile,

. . . more than forty thousand men and women . . . were crying and weeping after him so piteously that it was pity to see and hear, and kept saying, 'Ah, gentle Earl of Derby! will you leave us, then? There will never be joy nor good in this land until you come back to it; . . . through envy, through tricks, and treason they drive and send you out. And why do you leave us, gentle Earl of Derby?' Then men and women wept so violently that greater grief could not be. The Earl of Derby was not convoyed nor escorted with trumpets, shawms, nor instruments out of the city, but with tears, cries, and lamentations so utterly dolorous that there was no heart so hard that it did not feel pity.⁴⁹

Though we have gone far from our first mention of the Colfox, it will be remembered that later in the tale, Chaucer calls him *daun Russel*. In her investigation, Miss Petersen was puzzled by the use of the name *Russel* instead of the traditional *Renart*. She could see no apparent reason for the change, since the "word *Renart* is just as pliable in iambic meter as the word *Russel*."⁵⁰ An adequate political reason for the use of the word exists. Sir John Russel was one of five hated minions of Richard II. When Henry came back in triumph from exile, he executed three of them at Bristol.⁵¹ Wiltshire, Bushy, and

⁴⁷ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, IX, 458a.

⁴⁸ *Chron. Trais. et Mort*, 22.

⁴⁹ *Froissart*, (ed. Kervyn) XVI, 111; cf. Hall, *Chron.*, 5.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, 69-70.

⁵¹ One erroneous chronicle reports them all killed: "et Bristolliam pervenit, ubi . . . Willelmus Scrope, comes Wiltshire, Bagot, Bussy, Grene, et Russel, capti sunt, et ut falsi proditores decapitati." —*Pol. Poems*, I, 462.

Green, as traitors; Bagot fled, and Sir John Russel got off by feigning madness.⁶²

Such are the similarities between contemporary history and the *Nun's Priest's Tale*. It is immediately evident that much is left unexplained; that some of the passages which I have not dealt with appear to deny the probability of my suggestions. The Coventry duel took place on a Monday; yet the poem says of the sorrows of Chauntecleer that "on a Friday fil al this meschaunce." The duelling date was September 16, 1398; yet the equivocal date given in the tale can be read April 2, if reckoned mathematically, or May 3, on the zodiacal computation, but never as September. Again, Henry at this time had no wife; Mary Bohun was dead. If Chauntecleer represents Henry, who then is Pertelote? Moreover, if this poem is a political satire, why has the author delightfully drawn the character of a skeptical woman, and inserted a learned discussion of the significance of dreams, another on predestination and free will, and an invective against Friday?

To arrive at any tenable conclusion, we must restate our conception of the purpose and main interest of the tale.

As it stands it is a mock-heroic poem, whose richness and strength center in the characters and conversation of Chauntecleer and Pertelote. The satire, in the main, is general and sympathetic. High burlesque lightens the homiletic tone. Terrible *exempla*, when placed in the mouth (or bill) of a barnyard fowl, lose much of their ponderousness.

The main interest, then, is character, and not incident. Yet though this is true, it is no proof that Chaucer conceived the tale from the beginning as a character study of Chauntecleer, the proud, impractical, vain man, and of Pertelote, the skeptical level-headed woman. It is more probable that he began with some *occasion* for writing a version of the beast fable, with amplifications; and that his interest was attracted only later to elaborating the first part into matchless character-drawing and dialogue.

The evidence of Colfox, the colors of the adversaries, and the rest, warrant us in forming a tentative hypothesis at least for the date of composition, if not also for the meaning of the inserted details.

⁶² *Archæologia* XX, 65, n 3. *Traits. et Mort*, 187, n.1.

Granting, for this purpose, that the striking similarities between the actual events and the incidents of the tale were intentional on Chaucer's part, when was the work composed? Long after the duel, or almost at once? Obviously, the latter. In a scrambling and unquiet time, such as Richard's reign, or indeed in any time, topical hits must be prompt. The duel, as we know, occurred on September 16, 1398. On October 3, the two exiles left England.⁵³ The *Nun's Priest's Tale* was composed, let us say, shortly after their departure, in October or November, 1398.

To present the theory in a direct, connected manner, it is desirable to recapitulate the movement of events. Richard's rule had never been good; but, as it drew near the catastrophe, it sank lower and lower into depths of corruption and anarchy. The literature of the period abounds in lamentations on the times, and in censure of evildoing. Richard's misrule is condemned in unmeasured terms. Even Chaucer, whom we have never considered as being a direct critic of contemporary things, joins the chorus with a strong exhortation to King Richard, worthy of one of the minor prophets:

O prince, desyre to be honourable,
Cherish thy folk and hate extorcionioun!
Shew forth thy swerd of castigacioun,
Dred God, do law, love trouthe and worthinesse,
And wed thy folk agein to stedfastnesse.

But censure and lamentation quickly lose their force. Chaucer must have known this as well as any man of the Middle Ages. His common sense must have told him, too, that lamenting only increases woe.

Let us put ourselves as nearly as possible in his place in 1397. The rumor spreads that the Duke of Gloucester has been murdered. People at the Court, and many of the citizens, are sure that Mowbray and Colfox, who took the Duke to Calais, were the vile tools. Henry of Lancaster is now the only leader that the people have left; and, though not above plotting in the dark against the King, and betraying confidences, Henry is popular. He makes up his mind to avenge his murdered uncle, and tricks Mowbray by catching up his rash words and bearing

⁵³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1398, p. 440. *Syll. Foedera*, II, 533.

the tale to the King. A duel is arranged with the greatest of pomp; the popular excitement is extreme, and all England flocks to Coventry.⁵⁴ Richard fears for his safety, and brings a bodyguard of a good twenty thousand archers and plenty of men-at-arms.⁵⁵ The people, to a man, are for Henry and against Mowbray, and feeling runs high. Richard is advised not to risk the duel, with its possible consequences. It goes forward, however; but at the last moment, his courage fails. He gives the signal, and the heralds cry "Ho! Ho!"

O! when the king did throw his warder down,
His own life hung upon the staff he threw:
Then threw he down himself.⁵⁶

Thus all the preparation comes to naught, and the mighty combat ends for both antagonists in wretched banishment. They go; and the people curse Mowbray, and weep for Lancaster.

What an excellent opportunity for John Gower heavily to moralize on the evils of the times; or to write a 'tragedie' picturing the sudden fall of the two nobles from their high estate into misery! As Chaucer says of Chauntecleer:

But sodeinly him fil a sorweful cas;
For ever the latter end of joye is woe.
God woot that worldly joye is sone ago;
And if a rethor coude faire endyte,
He in a cronique saufly mighte it wryte
As for a sovereyn notabilitee. (384-9)

But Chaucer is wise enough to let others endite 'sovereign notabilities.' For his part, he will touch the affair lightly and surely; doing more with his grave smile than could be done with all the long faces in Christendom. For material, he needs not look far; a fable from the Beast Epic is apt to his hand. In creating his mock-heroic masterpiece on this frame, he is not so stupid as to plan a complete allegory of the recent affair. He knows that a few well-chosen strokes, scattered through, are more delightful to the reader than a weary parallelism. He will mask his batteries, too; he will give his episode a fanciful, contradictory date. He will use the favorite Friday, instead of

⁵⁴ *Monk of Evesham*, p. 146.

⁵⁵ *Chron. Traison et Mort*, 19, 153.

⁵⁶ *2 King Henry IV*, IV. 1.

the actual Monday. Yet when he begins to introduce his characters, their artistic possibilities are so fascinating that he studies them with all his mature skill. Deeply interested, as we know from the *Troilus*, in the character of a skeptical woman, Chaucer transfers the skeptical rôle to Pertelote, and develops Chauntecleer into a splendid creature, admirable in beauty, learning, speech, in everything, in short, but his natural fear of the fox, and his unthinking love of flattery.

We are not to think that Chaucer intended Chauntecleer to represent Henry Bolingbroke throughout, nor that there was an original to Pertelote, any more than we are to suppose that Dryden meant the behavior of his fox throughout to be taken for that of the typical Puritan. A hit is a hit, and must never be pressed too far. Mowbray is only shadowed forth in the person of the fox: this fact is thoroughly demonstrated by the use of names. *Colfox*, to be sure, is a fox; but he is also Mowbray's esquire. *Dawn Russel* is a fox, too; at the same time, he is another of Richard's detested officers. Fugitive, deft, these allusions are the kind that tell, without exposing the author to actions for libel! Moreover, the tale, in spite of its serious passages, is so merry that no one could possibly take offense: least of all Henry, with whom Chaucer was on familiar terms.

If the tale was written in 1398, we have a most interesting corroboration of the feeling, which many scholars share, that Chaucer's powers did not wane towards the close of his life. Here is perhaps his most delightful work, done in the maturest style, two years before his death. Why need we suppose that his powers decayed? The *Complaint of Chaucer to his Empty Purse*, written in 1399, shows no loss of power and humor.

This explanation of the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, then, makes an effort at a rational historical explanation of the obscure meanings, the lively apostrophes, and the variations and additions which are found in Chaucer's mock-heroic masterpiece.

This would take nothing from the dramatic interest of the main story, nothing from the grave dignity of the characters, nothing from the rich, humorous treatment. On the contrary, it would add a subtlety of touch-and-go allusion to contemporary events of the first order, and give the matchless tale a new zest.

J. LESLIE HOTSON

XXXV. CHAUCER AND ALCHEMY

It is my intention to demonstrate that Chaucer, far from attacking alchemy in his *Chanouns Yemannes Tale*, was probably not only in sympathy with it, but possibly knew (and if so, respected) the famous secret. The common opinion, of course, is just the reverse: virtually all the critics follow Tyrwhitt in thinking that Chaucer's satire may have been inspired by personal resentment and that it may in its turn have inspired the statutes against "multiplying" passed in 1403. Both these assumptions are possible; yet there seems to be another side to the story, as Professor Kittredge has already hinted.¹

Examination of the evidence shows at once an astonishing state of affairs: that while the Lylys and Jonsons found in Chaucer materials for attacks on charlatans, the alchemists were also finding in Chaucer materials worth quoting in their own treatises! Our first thought is that the alchemists must either have been stark idiots not to recognize a satire against themselves, or else that they were trying disingenuously to turn such a dangerous weapon to their own advantage. But neither was the case. I believe, and hope to prove, that Chaucer intended to attack false alchemists because he saw that they were becoming a public menace (and that they were such a menace is obvious from the laws so soon passed against them), but that under cover of this attack, he deliberately introduced material calculated to stimulate those rare experimenters who knew something of the real secret. And his scheme succeeded just as he wished. The public was warned off, while the adepts hailed him as a fellow initiate. The earliest claim of this sort that I have traced is in Thomas Norton's *Ordinal of Alchemy* (1477);² the latest is on page 154 of General Ethan Allen Hitchcock's anonymous *Remarks upon Alchemy and the Alchemists* (1857). Elias Ashmole in the seventeenth century asserted that Chaucer "is ranked amongst the *Hermetick Philosophers*, and his *Master* in this *Science* was *Sir John Gower*,

¹ G. L. Kittredge, "The Canon's Yeoman's Prologue and Tale," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2nd Series, (1910) XXX, 92.

² *Musacum Hermeticum Reformatum*. Francofurti 1678, p. 473.

whose familiar and neere acquaintance began at the *Inner Temple* upon Chaucer's returne into England. . . . He that Reads the latter part of the *Chanon's Yeoman's Tale*, wil easily perceive him to be a *Iudicious Philosopher*, and one that fully knew the *Mistery*."³

Chaucer's scheme is readily disclosed by an analysis of the Prologue and the Tale. [All but the very end is an attack upon alchemy as it was popularly understood.] The Prologue paints for the public the appearance of the rascally canon and his yeoman; the latter, already disgusted with what he has learned, breaks down under the searching yet natural questions of the worldly-wise Host, and begins to confess, whereupon the canon flees in despair. Then the tale proper begins. Now (there were two sorts of alchemists to beware of: the dupe of his own hopes, and the duper of the hopes of others.) *Pars Prima* describes the ruin of the first; *Pars Secunda* the sleights of the second. There was one desire which kept both these types in existence: the desire for getting rich quickly; therefore the first and also the penultimate sections of the tale dwell at length on the poverty that inevitably follows. Chaucer could not have been more thoroughly systematic in his attack; yet when it is all over, he placed in the most prominent part of his tale—the very end—a last section of fifty-four lines sympathizing with real alchemy. In view of the careful structure of the rest of the tale, we are justified in feeling that he must have had some definite purpose when he added these lines. And, as Ashmole pointed out, it is this last section which gave Chaucer his reputation as initiate.

The first thing about them that strikes us is, that they are wholly out of character for the yeoman who speaks them. Hitherto he has been unsparing in his condemnation of alchemy. He has called it "this cursed craft" and he invoked "sorwe and shame" on the person who started him in it; yet now he says that "un-to Crist it is so leef and dere"!

There was a strong reason for this apparent confusion. Chaucer had efficiently attacked false alchemy; he now wished to defend true alchemy; and he is laboring under the difficulty of being solemnly sworn not to give away the secret—almost all alchemists testify to such an oath.

³ *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, London 1652, p. 470.

The philosophres sworn were everichoon
 That they sholden discovere it un-to noon,
 Ne in no book it wryte in no manere.

Alchemy, in short, is "the secree of secrees" of which "philosophres spoken so mistily" because of this oath. And even the object of the science was an essential part of the secret. (For alchemy was *not really concerned with making gold*.) This has been fairly widely recognized since 1850.

Let no man bisy him this art for to seche
 But-if that he *th'entencious* and speche
 Of philosophres understonde can.

Thus clearly does Chaucer hint that not only was the true alchemist's speech symbolic, but his very purpose was not known to the public. Therefore, if the true alchemist was not trying to make gold, as the public thought, then we can understand the prominence Chaucer has given to his insistent warnings of the bitter disappointment and poverty awaiting every fortune-hunter. And consequently it was essential to the honor of the craft that he expose the charlatans. He was neither the first nor the last alchemical writer to do this. Roger Bacon, Jean de Meun (or whoever wrote *Les Remonstrances, ou la Complainte de Nature à l'Alchymiste Errant*), and Peter Bonus took pains to warn the public as best they could; Cornelius Agrippa, long after Chaucer, pretended to denounce alchemy in his *De Vanitate*, but admitted casually that there was something very important in it which he was on oath to conceal; Elias Ashmole listed the denunciations which had come his way: "Norton describes these *Cheats* exactly, and gives as ful an account of their *Subtilties* as he dare, for feare of encouraging such as bend their *VVitts* that way. Ripley dissects them to the *Bone*, and scourgeth them naked to the view of *all*; the like doth many other *Philosophers*: *Bloomefield* gives us a *Catalogue* of the cheife of this *Tribe* in his time."⁴

Naturally we wonder what this "secree of secrees" was that is "so leef and dere" to Christ himself,

That he wol nat that it discovered be
 But wher it lyketh to his deitee
 Man for t'enspyre

⁴ *Theatr. Chem. Brit.*, p. 468.

One remembers Sir Thomas Browne's comment: "The something I have had of the Philosophers Stone (which is something more then the perfect exaltation of Gold) hath taught me a great deal of Divinity."⁶ Chaucer and Sir Thomas seem to have been at one as to the sacredness of the science, but unfortunately neither betrays the secret.

A closer analysis of the last section of the Tale demonstrates Chaucer's interest in alchemy in a most unintentional way. This section consists almost entirely of two quotations. The first is from Arnaldus de Villanova's *De Lapide Philosophorum*, and follows the original as closely as any versified translation could be expected to do. But Chaucer, though he gets the substance quite correct, quotes it as coming from another book by Arnaldus.⁶ In the second quotation, the essential matter is given equally correctly, but the discrepancies are still more striking. Senior (or Zadith filius Hamuelis) tells an anecdote of "Salomon Rex"—Chaucer retells it about "Plato" (who had been mentioned by Senior just before and just after), and inserts other information which is to be found elsewhere in Senior's tract, though not here.⁷

These inaccuracies of Chaucer prove one thing: that he was quoting from memory. They also prove another: that the substance of his quotations (which he presents quite accurately) was more interesting to him than those very details which would be most likely to catch the fancy of the merely literary person. This is the more striking when we appreciate how difficult it is to be precise about obscure subjects of which we know comparatively little. Ben Jonson, for example, had read a deal of alchemy, and he wrote a comedy to discredit it. Jonson was

⁶ *Religio Medici* I, 39.

⁶ J. L. Lowes, "The Dragon and His Brother," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVIII, 229.

⁷ Senior's tract, as Tyrwhitt noted, is to be found in vol. V of Zetzner's *Theatrum Chemicum* (Argentorati 1660). It is also to be found in vol II of Manget's *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa* (Geneva 1702). Neither Salomon nor Plato say that the water is made of "elementes foure"; but earlier (*Theatr. Chem.*, V, 204) Senior says: "Haec est enim aqua calida, & aer quietus, & terra liquescens, & ignis circumdans." Some commentators refer Chaucer's first quotation to pseudo-Aristotle's *Secreta Secretorum* because Chaucer calls alchemy "the secree of secrees"; this phrase, however, is also to be found in Senior (*Theatr. Chem.* V, 195).

a learned man, and virtually every alchemical statement of his has been traced to a source; but none the less his comedy—from the alchemical point of view—remains a chaos of phrases with no significance whatsoever. Chaucer's quotations, however, could not have been better chosen, for they present in a surprisingly compact form the entire alchemical formula. And this was the purpose of the entire passage.

This formula, as found in the standard alchemists, may be presented as simply as this: "Take sulphur from Sol for the fire; with it roast Luna, from which will issue a water called Mercury. This water is the substance of which the Stone is made."⁸ Alchemists never chose, however, to present their process in such few words; at first sight it may seem difficult to find it in Chaucer; but there it is, none the less.

Chaucer's translation from Arnaldus reads thus:

Ther may no man Mercurie mortifye
 But it be with his brother knowleching.
 The dragoun doutelees
 Ne deyeth nat, but-if that he be slayn
 With his brother; and that is for to sayn,
 By the dragoun, Mercurie and noon other
 He understood; and brimston by his brother,
 That out of sol and luna were y-drawe.⁹

In other words, brimstone (or "sulphur"—the terms were interchangeable) is drawn from Sol; mercury from Luna; and when the two are united (in "death"—a common symbol for change of any sort), mercury "mortifies"—and thus becomes the Stone, though Chaucer leaves this out (a characteristic alchemical omission).

The process is merely repeated, though under a different guise in the quotation from Senior, where the Stone is successively called "Titanos,"¹⁰ "Magnesia," and a water made of the

⁸ This is my own wording of the formula, based on an analysis of some thirty alchemists (excluding Chaucer).

⁹ Michael Maier found this passage from Arnaldus sufficiently important to use it as the Motto for the 25th Emblem of his *Scrutinium Chymicum* (Frankfurt 1687).

¹⁰ "Titanos" is a rare term, defined by Dr. James Campbell Brown, in his authoritative *History of Chemistry from the Earliest Times* (London 1913, pp. 45-46) as a "calx"—the residuum left by the roasting of a metal or mineral. Chaucer's importance among the alchemists can be gauged by the appearance

four elements. Each of these descriptions gives a separate clue to the alchemical process. "Magnesia," a white shining stone, was simply another term for Luna (as Norton and others explain);¹¹ "Titanos" was the calx, or residuum, left by the roasting of a metal (in this case, obviously Luna); and this residuum was a mysterious water containing the four elements (Luna being the earth, and sulphur the fire; air seems to have got mixed in during the process).

Such is the formula as Chaucer gives it, and from his surprising accuracy we may be sure that it seemed fairly important to him. Certainly it seemed important to the alchemists who quoted him. But what it means may be left, for the time being, as the "secre of secrees." It is sufficient to point out that only a serious student of these mysteries—one more serious and

of this word, which was introduced into England by the *Chanouns Yemannes Tale*: every subsequent writer who uses it is quoting either Chaucer or his admirer Norton. Being rare, the word was often misunderstood. Chaucer's paradox has been taken for a definition, not only by the New Oxford Dictionary (which says that "Titanos" is equivalent to "Magnesia"), but by some alchemists as well. It should have been obvious, however, that "Titanos" the powder, "Magnesia" the stone, and the water of four elements would not be synonymous.

I have traced the following examples of the word in English:

Thomas Norton: *Ordinal of Alchemy* (*Theatr. Chem. Brit.*, p. 42), where it is spelled "Titanos." In a note, p. 470, Ashmole misprinted it as "Tytans."

Richard Carpenter (*Theatr. Chem. Brit.*, p. 275) begins his *Work*: "Of Titan Magnasia take the cler light." Carpenter is supposed to have been a friend of Norton's, who quotes Chaucer by name.

Reginald Scot: *Discoverie of Witchcraft* Bk. XIV, ch. ii (ed. 1886, p. 295) quotes Chaucer and spells the word "Titanus," distinguishing it from Magnesia.

The anonymous *Short Enquiry into the Hermetick Art* (London 1714, pp. 23-24) says that Magnesia is "called, by Plato, Titanos." The "lover of Philaletes" who wrote this quotes Norton copiously; but the false reference to Plato would have proved in any case that the ultimate source was Chaucer.

The rarity of the word is further demonstrated by the ease with which it was seriously misspelled. In Zetzner's publication of Senior (*Theatr. Chem.*, V, 224), and also in Manget's (*Bib. Chem. Cur.* II, 228), the word is given as "Thitarios"; and in Maier's translation of Norton (*Mus. Herm. Ref.* p. 473), reprinted by Manget (*Bib. Chem. Cur.* II, 295), it becomes "Dytanos." (Maier's translation was published before the original.)

¹¹ Mercury being a product of Luna, they were sometimes identified. Cf. Kelley's *Work* (*Alchemical Writings of Edward Kelley*, London 1893, p. xlviii): "What will you say if I a wonder tell you And prove the mother is child and mother too?"

perhaps more clever than Ben Jonson—could have chosen two quotations which concealed the entire formula so efficiently, while at the same time being so inaccurate about the inessentials.

There is no reason to think that Chaucer was above such studies. His century believed thoroughly in the possibilities of transmutation, though already protests were being heard. Langland, for example, in *Piers Plowman* had Dame Studie utter a warning against dabbling in the occult, including “experimentis of alconomye of Alberdes makynge.”¹² But Chaucer long since had translated part of the alchemical *Roman de la Rose*; he dedicated *Troilus and Criseyde* to Gower, in whose *Confessio Amantis* is a long alchemical passage. Lydgate and Burgh were soon to translate pseudo-Aristotle’s *Secreta Secretorum*.

Consequently we are obliged to believe that Chaucer knew what he was about when he added the last fifty-four lines to his *Chanounes Yemannes Tale*. He evidently had been a serious student of alchemy, and he thought his studies had taught him something valuable. Otherwise, he never would have gone so far from his way to defend a science which meant nothing to him.

But it must also be observed that Chaucer really contributed nothing towards the development of alchemical theory. His purpose was mainly to warn the public against the insidious lure of the wholly visionary riches and to describe vividly the two types—honest dupe and dishonest duper—who were responsible for the contemporary evils; but in order not to discourage the true seekers, he inserted in a prominent place a passage intended to tip the wink, as it were, to them. Yet, being an amateur, he was content to end pointing straight at the heart of the mystery, without taking a single step along the path he indicated. To be interested in the theory is vastly different from putting it into practice. Chaucer was too much the man of this world to give any considerable energy or time to a science which had brought the world so little. What he thought about it we may easily guess; what he did about it we may never know. All that we can say positively is that he was inquisitive enough to have tried to discover the secret, intelligent and discreet enough to have learned it, but probably too practical to have experimented extensively himself.

S. FOSTER DAMON.

¹² A Passus XI, 157. “Alberde” is Albertus Magnus.

XXXVI. THE PATERNOSTER PLAY AND THE ORIGIN OF THE VICES

The lost morality, the Paternoster Play, has been a subject for speculation among many writers upon early English drama. Although no finding can lay claim to the last word upon the question, each additional bit of evidence helps toward a more accurate definition of the play. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to the possible relation of this play to sermons upon the *Oratio Domini* among the treatises of Hugo of Saint Victor. Before embarking upon this discussion, it seems desirable to summarize briefly the facts and theories concerning the play now current. The material is of two sorts: information in regard to the morality to be derived from documents contemporaneous with it, and speculations as to its origin and nature which have been put forward by various scholars.

I

The earliest reference to the play, as has repeatedly been noted, is one which is found in a sermon by John Wyclif: “& herfore freris han taugt in englond þe paternoster in englizsch tunge, as men seyen in þe pley of ȝork & in many opere countreys.”¹ This definitely places the play at York prior to 1384, the date of Wyclif's death. In 1389, Richard II required the Gilds to make reports concerning their origin, purpose, property, and income. In reply to this command, the Gild of the *Oratio Domini* at York sent in a report declaring:

As to the beginning of the said gild, be it known that, once on a time, a play setting forth the goodness of the Lord's Prayer was played in the city of York; in which play all manner of vices and sins were held up to scorn, and the virtues were held up to praise. This play met with so much favour that many said:— ‘Would that this play could be kept up in this city, for the health of souls and for the comfort of the citizens and neighbours.’ Hence, the keeping up of that play in times to come, for the health and amendment of the souls, as well of the upholders as of the hearers of it, became the whole and sole cause of the beginning and fellowship of the bretheren of this brotherhood. And so the main charge of the gild is to keep up this play to the glory of God, the maker of the said prayer, and for the holding up of sins and vices to scorn.²

¹ *English Works of Wyclif*, E.E.T.S., Or. Ser. 74, p. 429.

² *English Gilds*, ed. J. Toulmin Smith, Or. Ser., 40, p. 137.

From the entry we further learn that the only property of the gild was a chest in which the properties of the play were kept; and that the members were bound to ride through the streets with the performers to keep order.³ At the dissolution of the Gild *Oratio Domini*, the play and its properties passed into the hands of St. Anthony's Gild, and it was produced by this Gild as late as 1572.⁴ Records show that in July of that year, Bishop Grindal, Archbishop of York, sent for the books of the play. The gild furnished him "a trewe copie of all the said books even as they were played this yere." His Grace evidently did not return them, for in 1575 a request was made for their restoration to the gild.⁵ This is the latest record of the play at York.

The York records furnish one further detail about the production of the morality. In the compotus Roll of the Gild of the Lord's Prayer, under date of 1399, an item of 2s. 2d. charged for entrance fee to the gild is cancelled with the explanation: "*sed dictus Johannes dicit se expendisse in diuersis expensis circa Ludum Accidie, ex parte Ric Walker ijs. jd. ideo de predicto petit allocari.*"⁶ Such reference to the *Ludus Accidie* suggests that it was a part of a cycle similar to that of the Corpus Christi Plays, rather than a single play such as the *Castell of Perseverance*.

From the above record it is clear that the play at York dealt with vices and sins in conflict with the virtues; that it was a play to be heard as well as seen (not dumb show); that it consisted of a series of *ludi*, some of which bore the names of the Seven Deadly Sins; and finally that it was a play with some popular appeal since it continued to be performed at intervals for nearly two centuries.

A Paternoster Play was also performed at Beverly in 1469. The *Minute Book* of the town gives an account of the preparation for the play.⁷ It was set for the Sunday following St. Peter ad Vincula. Seven stations, practically the same as those of the Corpus Christi Play in that place, were assigned for the performance. In Beverly, at least, the play consisted of eight pa-

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁴ Lucy Toulmin Smith, *York Plays*, 1885, p. xxix.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. xxix-xxx.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. xxix.

⁷ A. F. Leach, "Some English Plays and Players," in *An English Miscellany*, 1901, p. 221.

geants or *ludi*. These were distributed among the crafts of the town, thirty-nine in number, and an alderman was appointed for the supervision of each pageant. Seven of the pageants bear the names of the Deadly Sins: pride, lust, sloth, gluttony, hatred, avarice, anger; and the first was called the "Viciose." Here again the play seems to have been a cycle after the fashion of the Corpus Christi Plays, and its subject matter was the Seven Deadly Sins and the vices.

Still another reference to the Paternoster play is found at Lincoln.⁸ The Bishop's Registry, a roll apparently written in the reign of Henry VIII, indicates that a Paternoster Play was performed at intervals over a period of almost sixty years, but it affords no other information concerning the play.

Of the theories concerning the lost morality, the one most widely current is that of Creizenach.⁹ This German scholar suggests that the morality was based on a conflict between the vices and sins, and the virtues. As a precedent for the *Kampf-motiv*, he cites the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius. By way of explaining the title, he notes that mediæval homilists listed the several petitions of the Lord's Prayer as possessing special efficacy in resisting the several Deadly Sins, as is exemplified in a late thirteenth century German sermon printed by Schönbach.¹⁰ Creizenach's suggestion is repeated with approval by Mr. E. K. Chambers.¹¹

The latest theory concerning the Paternoster Play is that proposed in 1917 by Professor Hardin Craig,¹² who sets forth the view that the Paternoster Play was a cycle of Saints' Plays. He very ingeniously works out an analogy between the several Deadly Sins and the lives of the saints. Professor Craig's hypothesis has the advantage of supplying material of greater dramatic interest as subjects for the *ludi* in the cycle; however, it is difficult to see how it can be plausibly established. Mediæval records frequently mention the Saints' Plays, but at no point

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 223.

⁹ *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas*, 2nd ed.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 468n.; cf. Schönbach, *Sitzungsberichte Wien. Akad. d. Wissensch. Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, XCIV, p. 191 and Anmerkung, p. 220. In his second edition Creizenach recognizes that the German sermon to which he refers was based on Hugo of St. Victor.

¹¹ Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*.

¹² *The Nation*, N. Y., May 13, 1917, p. 563.

are they identified with *ludi* on the Seven Deadly Sins. Furthermore, the Lincoln record indicates that performances of the Paternoster Play alternated with the Saints' Plays and Corpus Christi Plays.¹³ This seems to be evidence against rather than for Professor Craig's suggestion, since it is hardly likely that a single *ludus* should be substituted for the entire cycle and called by its special name, any more than that *ludi* of the Corpus Christi cycle should be so used. Neither the York nor Beverly records associate the Paternoster Play in any way with Saints' Plays or with saints' lives.

Creizenach's suggestion of a relationship between the seven petitions of the *Oratio Domini* and the overcoming of the Seven Deadly Sins is clearly substantiated in patristic literature. Far more likely, however, as a source for England than the German sermon to which he refers is an allegory of some length, by Hugo of Saint Victor. The editors of Migne's *Patrologia* describe him as one of the most learned teachers of the twelfth century and state that students came from all parts of the continent and England for his instruction.¹⁴ Certainly the treatises of Hugo were familiar to many throughout England.

The nature of Hugo's allegory makes it easy to believe that it directly inspired the conception of a dramatic conflict between the petitions of the Lord's Prayer and the Seven Deadly Sins.¹⁵ All of the material for drama except actual dialogue is present. Each sin is directly opposed to a specific petition. The sins are divided into two groups: the first three, *Superbia*, *Invidia*, and *Ira*, are grouped together as directly offending God; the other four, *Accidia*, *Avaritia*, *Gula*, and *Luxuria*, as affecting man's relation to his fellows—the first two being sins of the mind; the second two, those of the flesh. The rank of the sins is also clearly set forth, and the natural succession of one to the other delineated. Pride is the father of all; and *Invidia*, his eldest

¹³ A. F. Leach, "Some English Plays and Players," *An English Miscellany*, p. 223.

¹⁴ *Patrol. Lat.* CLXXV, xxv. ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, cols. 400-410 and cols. 767-790. The editors of the *Patrologia* place a part of the allegory among the *Exegetica Dubia* and the remainder among the *Exegetica Genuina*. For the present study the authenticity of the first section is not of special moment, as the two parts are very similar and either presents the idea fully. In all probability both were regarded as genuine in earlier times.

daughter. *Ira* follows closely upon her heels and so on through the troop until *Luxuria*, the last, comes upon man.

Furthermore, each sin is characterized at some length, and its conquest through the specific petition is clearly set forth. Pride, the father of sin, fond of his own beauty, disdainful, exultant in his own power, is opposed to the holy name of our Father in Heaven, the origin of all good. Humility, which comes with the first petition, conquers Pride.¹⁶ *Invidia*, eldest daughter of *Superbia*, quarrelsome, perverse, and bitter in speech, is overcome by *Charitas*, which is the kingdom of God.¹⁷ "*Adveniat regnum.*" "*Ibi nos per humilitatem superiori (superbiæ) subjecemus; hic per charitatem proximo sociamus.*" "*Post Invidiam sequitur Ira*" declares Hugo. Anger, which is *perturbatio mentis*, is impatient and intolerant of reproof.¹⁸

Then follows the exposition of the second group. *Accidia* is opposed to the fourth petition, which is a double request, a petition for both *panis corporalis* and *panis spiritualis*; *panis corporalis* that our bodies may live and *panis spiritualis* that our souls may live. "*Tuum verbum refectio animæ est. Quid est verbum tuum? Veritas.*"¹⁹

Here is another definite linking, not only of a vice with a petition, but with the opposing virtue as well. Opposed to *Avaritia* is the fifth petition. "*Dimitte nobis debita sicut nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.*" After *Avaritia* follows *Gula*, deformed in body, huge beyond his natural size, always eating and drinking. The sixth petition, "*Et ne nos inducas in tentationem,*" conquers this sin. The natural successor of *Gula* is the seventh sin, *Luxuria*, which completely enslaves man. "*Libera nos a malo,*" for man cannot now free himself.²⁰

According to the York records, the play dealt with virtues as well as vices. In Hugo's sermon we have a precedent not only for the connection of specific sins with the petitions of the Lord's Prayer, but also for the association of special virtues and gifts as well. "*Sub hoc septenario contra septem principalia vitia opponuntur septem terræ divisiones, septem orationis petitiones, septem*"

¹⁶ *Patrol. Lat.* CLXXV, col. 780.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, col. 781 and col. 400.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, col. 775 and col. 403.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, cols. 783-784 and 406.

²⁰ *Ibid.* cols. 788 and 404.

spiritus sancti dona, septem virtutes illis contrariæ, ad ultimum septem beatitudines."²¹ This definite linking of sin, virtue, and petition, leads us, therefore, to regard Hugo's sermon as an important influence upon the conception underlying the first morality play.

If, in addition to this very fundamental idea, we consider the dramatic power, the concrete characterization of the monk of Saint Victor, it seems probable that the author (or authors) of the Paternoster Play was familiar, either directly or indirectly, with the material of the Hugo sermon. At least this treatise has more to offer as a possible basis for the lost morality than the sermon cited by Creizenach and again referred to by Chambers.

But, though Hugo's treatise offers a possible source for the idea upon which the *ludi* of the Seven Deadly Sins were based, it affords little or no suggestion as to the material of the first pageant in the *Beverly Minute Book*, the "pageant of Viciose." The second portion of this paper will be devoted to the consideration of this problem.

II

The *Beverly Minute Book* informs us that there were eight pageants in the Paternoster Play as performed in that community. Seven of the eight bore the names of the Deadly Sins; the first was called the "pageant of Viciose."²² In the Beverly Cycle, this pageant was assigned to the "gentlemen, merchands, clerks, valets," and two aldermen were appointed to supervise its preparation. Because of the classes of persons to whom the pageant is assigned and because of its name, the *Viciose* offers an interesting problem in regard to its content and function. Chambers²³ suggests that this pageant of the Paternoster Play probably dealt with a typical representative of frail humanity. Ramsay in the introduction to his edition of Skelton's *Magnyfycence*²⁴ adds to Chambers' suggestion the idea that in the morality on the *Oratio Domini* were fused for the first time the two themes which were to characterize the later moralities: namely, the temptation and struggle of mankind, and the con-

²¹ *Ibid.* cols. 400 and 784.

²² Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

²³ *Medieval Stage*, II, 154.

²⁴ Skelton's *Magnyfycence*, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. XCVIII, cliii-cliv.

flict of the Vices and Virtues. Ramsay also calls attention to the fact that the somewhat neglected poem of Prudentius, the *Hamartigenia*, may have furnished the first motif, just as his *Psychomachia* furnished the second.

It is my purpose here to point out that patristic tradition affords material which may have served as the basis of this pageant, and also to indicate that succeeding moralities seem to have used this material.

More closely scrutinized, the title of the pageant affords some hint as to its subject matter. The *Beverly Minute Book* calls it the "pageant of Viciose." That the word here used is the adjective is clear from the similar spellings which appear in the treatises of Wyclif and Richard Rolle.²⁵ Note also the spelling "Vyciowse" in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*. The Beverly pageant, then, cannot be described as a "pageant of vices," but, inasmuch as "viciose" may be a plural as well as a singular form, it would seem justifiable to render the title as "the pageant of vicious ones."²⁶ Granted that this is the correct interpretation, we may conclude that the main interest centered in a group of evil characters rather than in frail humanity, the soul, or any character typifying such a one. Furthermore, since a pageant was assigned to each of the Seven Deadly Sins, it is extremely likely that these "vicious ones" were evil forces distinct from the sins and having a different function. That patristic literature furnished foundation for a conception concerning a group of evil forces or vices apart from the Seven Deadly Sins, and that these forces appear in the moralities following the Paternoster Play would, it seems, justify the

²⁵ The *N.E.D.* (sub "vicious") cites "bi her viciose lijf" in the *Sel. Eng. Works of Wyclif*, III, 430, and "fleschely, vayne, and vecyous" in the *Prose Treatises of Richard of Hampole* (E.E.T.S.).

²⁶ Eckhardt, to be sure, lays it down as an invariable rule: "Der Vice ist in den englischen Moralitäten immer nur eine einzelne Person" (*Die lustige Person im älteren engl. Drama*, Palaestra XVII, p. 112). But this statement, though it may be true of characters designated "the Vice," of which the earliest example is Mery Report in Heywood's *Weather* (1533), surely does not apply to characters which appear in the rôle of vices. For example, Ramsay (*op. cit.*, pp. xcvi ff.) has shown that in *Magnyfycence* both Fancy and Folly definitely present vice rôles. Certainly in the Paternoster Play, when an entire pageant was devoted to "viciose," there would be nothing surprising in a plurality of vices.

acceptance of these forces as the probable theme of the first *Iudas* in the Paternoster Play.

The statement in the *York Gild Book* that the Paternoster Play "held *the vices and sins* up to scorn" seems to imply that there was a distinction in the use of these terms. And this distinction, though it has been ignored by many students of the morality plays, is one which was clearly recognized by the fathers of the church. It is perfectly true, of course, that the terms "*septem vitia*" and "*septem peccata*" are employed by the same writer²⁷ in referring to the Deadly Sins. Nevertheless, the distinction between "vice" and "sin" is definitely drawn, as in the following passage in another treatise by Hugo of Saint Victor:

Hoc autem interesse videtur inter peccata et vitia, quod vitia sunt corruptiones animæ ex quibus si ratione non refrenentur, peccata, idest actus iniustitiæ oriuntur. Quando autem tentanti vitio consensus adhibetur actus iniustitiæ est quod peccatum dicitur. Itaque vitium est infirmitas spiritualis corruptionis, peccatum autem ex corruptione, oriens per consensum actus iniquitatis. Itaque vitium absque consensu infirmitas est, cui in quantum infirmitas est misericordia debetur, præmium autem et corona in quantum ab actu iniquitatis cohibetur Vitium ergo est in corruptione, peccatum autem in actione.²⁸

It appears, then, that *vitium*, strictly speaking, is a weakness or disease of human nature, but that *peccatum* is an act proceeding from the consent of man's will. *Vitium*, in other words, is the appetite or desire for sin which precedes or provokes consent; *peccatum* is the consent to sin which follows that desire.²⁹

In Old and early Middle English, it is interesting to note, whereas *peccatum* is rendered by *syn(n)* or *leahler*, the term *vitium* is regularly translated by *uncyst* or *unþeaw*.³⁰ The following sentence in the *Blickling Homilies* well illustrates the sense in which *uncyst* was used:

²⁷ For example, by Hugo of St. Victor himself (*Patrol Lat.* CLXXV, cols. 683 ff.).

²⁸ *Patrol. Lat.* CLXXVI, col. 525.

²⁹ Cf. also the definition of "vitium" by the editors of Migne's *Patrologia* (CCXX, cols. 849-850) where the same distinction is drawn.

³⁰ Cf. the O. E. text of Bede's *Ecd. Hist.*, ed. E.E.T.S., p. 82, line 19: "uncysta." In the *Old Eng. Homilies*, First Ser., E.E.T.S., at p. 205 we find "fule unþeawes" (foul vices) but at p. 25 "heafsunne" and at p. 103 "heafod-sunnan."

þa fæsclican willan & þa úngeréclican uncysta, þa cumað oft þurh deofles sceonessa ær to manna heortan, ær Drihtnes weorc þær wunian mote.²¹

In patristic literature one discovers a rather large group of evil forces which bear the name of *vitia* but are not ranked among the *peccata mortalia*. Some of this group are of authoritative origin and have an ancient lineage. Indeed, a number of them are taken over from the Pauline epistles. Among these are *stultitia*, *detractio*, *inanis gloria*, *concupiscentia*, or *voluptas*, *malitia*, *impudicitia*, and *inobedientia*.²² From the Pauline epistles, these vices descended in direct line through the treatises of the church fathers. None of them occur among the Seven Deadly Sins as formulated by Gregory and generally accepted thereafter. Among the "*Octo Vitia Principalia*," as the catalogue of sins previous to Gregory's time was called, *inanis gloria* was ordinarily included. After Gregory's time, however, "vain glory" found a place among the *vitia* as distinct from the *Septem Peccata Mortalia*. The Gregorian catalogue of the Seven Deadly Sins seems to have been comparatively late in securing general acceptance among the English homilists. They continued to use the catalogue of the *Octo Vitia Principalia* in which was included *iactantia* or *inanis gloria*, translated by "ydel wuldor" or "idel-gelp."²³ Some of the homilies recognize no difference in rank; the term "vices" is applied to all alike. Among these, besides some of the Seven Deadly Sins, are *lying*, *perjury*, *unfaithfulness*, *cursing*, *backbiting*, and *flattery*.²⁴

The fact that, according to patristic theology, vice was regarded as a weakness in the nature of man which preceded actual sin, and further, that it was this weakness which provoked man's consent to sin, lends support to the suggestion

²¹ *Blickling Homilies*, ed. E.E.T.S., p. 19.

²² Cf. *Galatians* 5:17-26; *I. Cor.* 3:12; *II. Cor.* 12-30; *Eph.* 4-5-8; 5-34.

²³ Thus cf. the list of "*VIII Principalia vitia*" in *Twelfth Cent. Homilies*, ed. A. O. Belfaur, E.E.T.S., Or. Ser. 137, p. 40; in *Early Engl. Homilies* (12th cent.) ed. Rubie D. N. Warner, E.E.T.S., Or. Ser. 152, p. 16; and in *Old Eng. Homilies* First Ser., ed. Rich. Morris, E.E.T.S., p. 100.

²⁴ Cf. *Old Eng. Homilies*, First Ser., E.E.T.S., p. 204: "I have made my five wits for entrance of vices ('fule unþeawase') pride, desire of praise, wrath, leaching, envy, perjury, unfaithfulness, cursing, backbiting, and flattery." In the treatise, *Vices and Virtues* (ed. Holthausen, E.E.T.S., Or. Ser. 89), written about 1200, practically the same vices are listed, some with Latin names attached.

made by Ramsay³⁵ that the "pageant of Viciose" in the Paternoster Play dealt with the temptation of Mankind. In this first pageant, no doubt, Man's resistance was broken, and he was made ready prey for the Seven Deadly Sins. Moreover, as we have seen, in addition to the Seven Deadly Sins, the church fathers list a considerable number of *Vitia*, derived in large part from the Pauline Epistles, and among these were *inanis gloria*, *voluptas*, *stultitia*, and *detractio*. It would be entirely natural, then, that in framing a pageant which should set forth the human weakness of Mankind, such vices as these should be introduced as characters. So far as the Paternoster Play is concerned, we are unfortunately left to conjecture, inasmuch as we have no list of the characters in the "pageant of Viciose." But this hypothesis seems to receive significant confirmation when we turn to the groups of minor vices which appear in the morality plays nearest the Paternoster Play in point of time.

The earliest surviving morality text—the fragmentary *Pride of Life*—does not, it is true, include a group of vices. The only character who could be designated as a vice is the Nuncius, "Mirth" or "Solace," a name corresponding to the *voluptas* of the patristic treatises. But the *Pride of Life*, it should be observed, is not based on the "Conflict of Vices and Virtues" but on the "Coming of Death." This latter theme, as Ramsay remarks, "begins and ends with evil in possession." Accordingly there was no need to introduce vices as tempters of mankind.

In the *Castell of Perseverance*³⁶ there appears a group of four characters: Voluptas, Stultitia, Veynglory (*Inanis gloria*) and Detraccio.³⁷ The term *vices*, it is true, is not actually applied to this group in the play, but they are evil forces distinct from the Seven Deadly Sins and the three evil powers, Belial, Mundus and Caro. These four characters appear early in the play and the action of all except Detraccio is completed before the entrance of the Sins.³⁸ Detraccio, who is the most important of

³⁵ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. cliv.

³⁶ Ed. Furnivall and Pollard, *Macro Plays*, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. XCI, 77ff.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 91. Veynglory is mentioned at v. 467, but has no lines in the extant text of the play. Moreover, he is missing from the "nomina ludorum", but, as the editors have noted, the "summa" calls for 36 actors, whereas the list shows only 35.

³⁸ Stultitia, it is true, is mentioned in a stage direction on p. 134, as accompanying Mundus and Cupiditas, but no lines are given to him in this scene.

the four, instructs Mankind in the Seven Deadly Sins and serves as the messenger or page of the Evil Powers. Voluptas and Stulticia also participate in the temptation of Humanum Genus. The former proceeds to dress Humanum Genus in fine new clothes; the latter undertakes to find him a sweetheart. Veynglory, the fourth, has a non-speaking part. In the *Castell of Perseverance*, then, we find characters bearing the names of the *Vitia*: these characters are sent ahead to win the consent of Mankind to the Seven Deadly Sins; they are predecessors of the Sins and, with the exception of one, they disappear from the action upon the appearance of the *Peccata Capitalia*.

A similar group of four lesser vices is found in *Mankind*,³⁹ a morality of a slightly later period.⁴⁰ Here, again, one of them enjoys a rôle of considerable proportions, but that of the other three is very slight. Moreover, the Latin names have entirely disappeared in this play, but the similarity of functions to those of the characters of the *Castell* play makes it easy to identify them. Mischief, the leader of the four, is like Detraccio in that he is the page of the Devil. He appears to have the three minor vices more or less in his control. Now-a-days, and New-Guise are interested in the latest cut of coats and newest fashions. The rôle of Stulticia in the *Castell* play seems to be divided between these two. Nought has the same function as Voluptas in the earlier morality. Veynglory, who has a non-speaking rôle in the *Castell*, has entirely disappeared.

Still further evidence of the employment of a group of the *Vitia* is found in the morality, *Wisdom*,⁴¹ which belongs to nearly the same period.⁴² In this play there are twenty-four characters which are emissaries of evil. Mind, Will, and Understanding represent the three Might or powers of the soul, through which temptation may come. Lucifer himself undertakes the winning of the three Might, but after their surrender to the Evil One; each appears with six retainers; bearing names corresponding

³⁹ *Macro Plays*, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser. XCI, lff.

⁴⁰ Walter K. Smart ("Some Notes on *Mankind*," *Mod. Philol.* XIV, 45ff. and 293 ff.) dates this play between 1465 and 1474.

⁴¹ *Macro Plays*, E.E.T.S. p. 35 ff.

⁴² Pollard dates it *circa* 1460; Walter K. Smart (*Some English and Latin Sources for the Morality, Wisdom, Menasha*, Wis. 1912, pp. 87 ff.) dates the play 1460-3.

to those of the *Vitia* in the sermons and treatises of the church fathers. As in *Mankind*, the English rather than the Latin names are used. Mind's six retainers are Indignation, Sturdiness, Malice, Hastiness, Vengeance, and Discord. Six false jurors accompany Understanding: they are Perjury, Sleight, Doubtfulness, Falsehood, Rapine, and Deceit. Three Gallants and three Matrons form the group with Will and bear such names as Idleness, Surfeit, Greediness, Adultery, etc. When the three powers of the soul seem fully in subjection to evil, *Anima*, or the Soul, appears, accompanied by small boys in the guise of devils.

As many dedly sunnys as ye haue usyde,
So many deullys in yowur soule be.⁴⁵

The stage direction calls for six boys, but Dr. Smart⁴⁴ is doubtless right in regarding this as a mere scribal error and in correcting the number to seven, to agree with the number of the Deadly Sins, with whom Smart identifies these small devils.

In any case the play makes a clear distinction between the retainers of the three Mightys and the small devils. The former appear in the costumes of various classes of men of the period. They amuse the Mightys by performing dances, and they disappear from the scene before the entrance of *Anima* with the brood of devils.

An examination of still later moralities such as *Youth*,⁴⁶ in which Riot is clearly a vice, *Nature*,⁴⁶ and Wager's *Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene*,⁴⁷ shows quite clearly the conception of an evil power or powers apart from the Seven Deadly Sins and the Devil. In general it is the business of these other powers to break down the morale of mankind, or those figures typifying humanity, and to render him ready prey for the Seven Sins. This task, the powers accomplish by furnishing Mankind with the pleasures of life, money, new clothes, a sweetheart,

⁴⁵ *Macro Plays*, p. 65, vv. 913-914. There follows the stage direction: "Here rennyt owt from wnydr þe horrybyll mantyll of þe Soull, vi small boys in þe lyknes of Dewylls & so retorne ageyn."

⁴⁶ Walter K. Smart, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁴⁶ Dodsley's *Old English Plays*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, Lond. 1874.

⁴⁷ Ed. John S. Farmer, *Recently Recovered 'Lost' Tudor Plays with some Others*, 1907, pp. 43 ff.

⁴⁷ Ed. F. I. Carpenter, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1902.

and the like. Furthermore, once Mankind has yielded to temptation, these characters disappear, and the Seven Deadly Sins come on the scene to complete Man's degradation. All these traits seem to identify this group of evil forces with the *Vitia* of ecclesiastical literature, rather than with the *Peccata Capitalia* or *Vitia Principalia*. Therefore it would seem that the rôle of *Vice* is not, as Cushman⁴⁸ argues, a summation of the Seven Deadly Sins or a derivative from them, but rather a creation evolved from a synthesis of the traits of the *Vitia*.

Indeed, in these early moralities I believe we may see the rôle in the actual process of evolution. In both the *Castell of Perseverance* and *Mankind*, there are four vice rôles. In the former Veyneglory has a non-speaking part. This rôle has entirely disappeared in *Mankind*, but the rôle of another vice, Stulticia, has been divided between two characters. In the course of time the chief of these four vices, Detraccio in the *Castell* and Mischief in *Mankind*, seems to have gradually absorbed the functions of the others, until in the late moralities the vice appears as a single figure under various names, sometimes that of one of the group and sometimes another.⁴⁹ At a later time I hope to be able to consider in detail the relation between this synthetic rôle of the Vice and figures which appear in early comedies and tragedies.

Cushman, on the basis of his derivation of the Vice from the Seven Deadly Sins, was inclined to regard him as originally a sinister rather than a comic figure, having as his principal function the temptation of Mankind.⁵⁰ As we now see it, however, the Vice of the early sixteenth century moralities represents the fusion of a group of minor vices, and as far back as we are able to trace these characters we find them exhibiting distinctly comic elements. In the *Castell* the speeches of Stulticia and Voluptas and their behavior in the presentation of Mankind after he has been dressed up in his new clothes, suggest that

⁴⁸ L. W. Cushman, *The Devil and Vice in English Dramatic Literature before Shakespeare* (Morsbach's Studien zur Engl. Phil. VI), pp. 61-63.

⁴⁹ See Cushman's Tables, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 ff.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 70-72. Cushman's view that the rôle of the Vice was not originally humorous has been rejected by Eckhardt ("doch erscheint er schon gleich von Anfang an mit Komischen Zügen ausgestattet," *op. cit.*, p. 111) as well as by Ramsay (*op. cit.*, pp. civ-cv).

they provided occasion for laughter. A person dressed in the height of fashion, a fop or dandy, has always been a source of fun from Greek Comedy forward to the present day.⁵¹ The nicknames, Lust & Lykyng and Folly, also point to a more or less humorous character.⁵² Detraccio, also addressed as "Flepergebet,"⁵³ certainly has a comedy part. Note how he describes himself:

per I renne up-on a whele
I am feller þanne a fox.
.....
to may not to-gedyr stonde
but I, Bakbyter, be þe thyrd.
.....
þer-fore I am mad massenger
to lepyn ouer londis leye
þorwe all þe world, fer & ner
vnsayd sawys for to seye.
In þis holte I hunte here
for to spye a preuy play.⁵⁴

When he is dispatched with a message, he cries:

I go, I go, on grounde glad,
swyfter þanne schyp with rodyr⁵⁵

When Superbia, Invidia, and Ira have been flogged by Belial, Detraccio chuckles like a gleeful schoolboy:

3a! for God, þis was wel goo,
þus to worke with Bakbytyng⁵⁶

Again he exults after Gula, Accidia, and Luxuria have been beaten:

Now, be God, this is good game⁵⁷

Finally, he carries tales to Mundus concerning Avaritia—the only one of the Deadly Sins who has thus far escaped punish-

⁵¹ E. F. Williams, *Comic Element in Wakefield Mysteries*, Univ. of Cal., 1914.

⁵² *Macro Plays*, E.E.T.S., p. 93, vv. 523-4. Cf. also Folly and Lust-and-Lykyng in *Mundus et Infans* and Delight in the morality fragment from Norfolk (*Mod. Philol.* XIV. 6).

⁵³ *Macro Plays*, p. 100, v. 779; p. 128, vv. 1227, 1236.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 97-98, vv. 671-95.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 129, vv. 1740-1.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 130, vv. 1779-80.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 131, v. 1824.

ment—and urges (with mischievous delight) that he be soundly beaten:

Go pley ȝou with syr Coueytyse
tyl his crowne crake!⁸⁰

In *Wisdom* humor is far less evident, but such comic effect as is attempted in this play is supplied mainly by the retainers of Mind, Understanding, and Will. Each of these three groups appear in grotesque costume and entertain the audience by lively dancing.⁸¹ These retainers of the Might, as I have endeavored to show, are to be identified with the minor vices.

In *Mankind*, New Gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought enter accompanied by their minstrels. Now-a-days says to Nought:

Leppe about lyuely thou are a wyght man;
let us be merry wyll we be here!⁸²

Then the three dance. Next they address Mercy, to whom New Guyse defines the new style. Now-a-days then tells about his wife, Rachel. Nought chaffs him concerning her and in reply they exchange blows of wit⁸³ and depart.

Later New Gyse enters alone and finds Mankind. He makes a joke about his wife.⁸⁴ Soon Now-a-days and Nought return to chaff Mercy. Nought exits saying:

I pleyde so long the foll
That I am ewyn very weary.
Yyt shall I be here ageyn to-morrow.⁸⁵

After a dialogue between Mankind and Mercy, the three enter again and sing an indecent round.⁸⁶ After this they hail Mankind, who is at work with his spade. At first, Mankind repulses them; and they, in turn, stand off and chaff him among themselves. At last, irritated beyond endurance, Mankind drives them off with his spade.⁸⁷ Soon Mischief enters and the three

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 132, vv. 1852-1852.

⁸¹ Note the stage directions on the entrance of these characters (pp. 58, 59 and 60).

⁸² *Macro Plays*, p. 4, vv. 76-77.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 6, vv. 130 ff.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10, vv. 238 ff.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11, vv. 268-9.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13, vv. 328 ff.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

return, bemoaning their blows. Titivillus returns and the comic action of the borrowing of a penny takes place. Titivillus sends them away and himself accosts Mankind. Soon the four, Nought, New Guyse, Now-a-days, and Mischief, are back again. In this scene is accomplished the temptation of Mankind. A humorous letter is introduced; Mankind is fitted with a new coat. Finally they depart, New Guyse demanding a foot-ball. Shortly they return to chaff with Mercy and then depart, leaving Mankind to his own devices.

The fact that in the Paternoster play the "pageant of Viciose," is assigned to the "merchands, clerks, valets, etc."⁶⁶ also suggests that it may have contained a humorous element. It is generally recognized that such was the practice in the mystery cycles.⁶⁷

Furthermore, its position near the beginning of the cycle adds weight to the suggestion.⁶⁸ In both mystery and morality plays the comic element comes early in the action, leaving the latter parts free for the more serious business concerned with man's reconciliation and redemption.

Thus from an examination of patristic definitions of vice and sin, it is evident that the distinction between the two was fairly consistent, and that the functions of each were distinct from those of the other. A study of moralities near to the Paternoster play certainly shows the existence of a group of evil figures other than the Seven Deadly Sins, the function of which corresponded to that of the ecclesiastical *vitia*, namely the temptation of mankind in contrast to the Seven Deadly Sins which usually appear as opponents of the Heavenly Virtues. That these lesser evil figures may have been the source of the comic element seems highly probable because of their nature in the earlier moralities, because of the classes of men to whom the pageant was assigned, and because of its position in the cycle.

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⁶⁶ A. F. Leach, "*Some English Plays and Players*," p. 205 ff.

⁶⁷ Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, II, Appendix W, p. 352.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

XXXVII. DRAYTON'S *ENDIMION AND PHÆBE* AND KEATS'S *ENDYMION*

The Endymion myth, which grew up in the popular traditions of Elis in the Peloponnesus and of the Ionian cities in Caria, received literary treatment in a lyric poem of Sappho which is now lost. It does not exist in full development in extant classical literatures, although allusions to it are found in Theocritus, Apollonius Rhodius, Apollodorus, Pausanias, Lucian, Ovid, and Cicero. After the Renaissance when the study of classical literature was revived, it became a favorite subject for poetical allusion in the literatures of modern Europe.¹ But the only poet before Keats who treated the myth at length was Michael Drayton;² and, therefore, if Keats owed any suggestions for the plot of *Endymion* to his predecessors, he would most likely have derived them from Drayton.

The unique edition of Drayton's *Endimion and Phæbe* is undated, but it was entered for publication in 1595. It is alluded to by Thomas Lodge in his *Fig for Momus*, which was published in 1595, and it is quoted fifteen times in *England's Parnassus* which was published in 1600. Drayton never republished *Endimion and Phæbe*; but he revised the theme in a semi-satirical poem, *The Man in the Moone*, which was published in 1606 in a volume of *Odes and Eglogs*. Copies of the edition of *Endimion and Phæbe* had become exceedingly rare by the nineteenth century; for when Payne Collier³ reprinted the poem in 1856 for the Roxburghe Club he could find only two copies.

Sir Sidney Colvin, in his monumental study,⁴ recognizes several points in which Keats took suggestions from Drayton's *Man*

¹ Keats was doubtless familiar with the allusions to the Endymion myth in the poetry of Spenser, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Marston, Beaumont and Fletcher, and William Browne.

² John Lyly's play, *Endimion*, which is an allegory of the politics of the court of Queen Elizabeth, has no structural feature similar to Keats's *Endymion*.

³ Payne Collier: *Literal Reprint of Drayton's Endimion and Phoebe*. I have used this reprint as the text of my quotations.

⁴ Sir Sidney Colvin: *John Keats, etc.*, New York, 1917, p. 168.

in the *Moone*, but he virtually leaves Drayton's earlier poem out of consideration on account of the difficulty in supposing that Keats could have seen either of the two extant copies known to Payne Collier. Nevertheless, on a later page he calls attention to "a curious parallel" in "rhetorical form" which Keats's poem presents to a passage from *Endimion and Phæbe*:

Be kind (quoth he) sweet Nymph vnto thy louer,
My soules sole essence, and my senses mouer,
Life of my life, pure Image of my hart,
Impressure of Conceit, Inuention, Art,
My vitall spirit receues his spirit from thee,
Thou art that all which ruleth all in me,
Thou art the sap, and life whereby I liue,
Which powerfull vigor doost receiue and giue,
Thou nourishest the flame wherein I burne,
The North whereto my harts true tuch doth turne.

With this passage compare the following lines from *Endymion* (III, 142ff.):

What is there in thee, Moon! that thou shouldst move
My heart so potently?
And as I grew in years, still didst thou blend
With all my ardours: thou wast the deep glen;
Thou wast the mountain-top—the sage's pen—
The poet's harp—the voice of friends—the sun;
Thou wast the river—thou wast glory won;
Thou wast my clarion's blast—thou wast my steed—
My goblet full of wine—my topmost deed:—
Thou wast the charm of women, lovely Moon!
.
On some bright essence could I lean, and lull
Myself to immortality:
. O be kind,
Keep back thine influence, and do not blind
My sovereign vision

After citing this parallel, Sir Sidney asks:

Was Keats, then, after all familiar with the rare volume in which alone Drayton's early poem had been printed, or does the similar turn of the two passages spring from some innate affinity between the two poets,—or perhaps merely from the natural suggestion of the theme?⁶

Before proceeding to examine further the resemblances of the two poems, it is necessary to consider whether Sir Sidney's

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 216.

objection, that it is unlikely that Keats should have seen a copy of *Endimion and Phæbe*, is really decisive. We know that Keats was preoccupied for some time with the Endymion myth as the subject of his first long poem; and we may be sure that he would have investigated every previous treatment of the myth that he could find. It is more than probable that he read the eighteen quotations from *Endimion and Phæbe* in *England's Parnassus*, two copies of which were in the British Museum, and which was reprinted as a part of *Helicon* in 1814—four years before the publication of Keats's *Endymion*. The quotations from *Endimion and Phæbe* in *England's Parnassus* would naturally have incited Keats to search for the complete text. Keats's knowledge of Elizabethan literature, as students of his poetry know, was not only extensive but also recondite. In his search for information about the Endymion myth, he would have been aided by his intimate friends, Charles Cowden Clarke and Leigh Hunt, who were profound scholars and critics of Elizabethan literature. For these reasons I see nothing impossible in supposing that Keats had read Drayton's *Endimion and Phæbe*.

The strongest evidence of the influence of *Endimion and Phæbe* upon Keats's *Endymion* is not that presented by occasional parallels but is found rather in the striking similarity of the two poems in certain matters of structure. In the first place the central action of both poems consists in a most unusual and original device of feigning that Phœbe in the guise of another woman should woo her lover, and succeed in making him renounce her own service, to which he had first dedicated himself, for love of the woman whom she is impersonating.

In Drayton's poem, a young shepherd, who keeps his flocks upon the sides of Mount Latmos in Ionia, has consecrated his life to the service of the chaste goddess, Phœbe, who, though he does not yet know it, returns his love. In the guise of a nymph Phœbe was wont to assist Endymion in his silvan pursuits. Upon one occasion she found him fishing by a river's side near his browsing flocks; and she wooed him with all the arts with which Venus wooed Adonis; but the perverse boy threatened her with the wrath of the chaste goddess, Phœbe, to whom he had dedicated his service. After her departure, however, love undermined his defences and he fain would have recalled her.

That night he lay by the river's side gazing at the starry firmament and pining for the love of the nymph whom he had scorned. At dawn Phœbe deserted the heavens to visit him and the planets debated the propriety of her conduct. She found him asleep, knelt beside him, clipped him in her arms, and kissed him. He awoke, recognized the nymph, and confessed his love for her. She now turned coy and made him woo her. At length she confessed to him that she was not a simple nymph but great Phœbe, forgave his defection, and announced her intention to deify him as her immortal paramour. Drayton did not retain this episode in his revised treatment of the myth in *The Man in the Moone*.

This unusual device of making Phœbe in disguise win her lover away from her own true self is not only the central plot of Keats's *Endymion* but it is also the basis of its allegorical significance. In accordance with the development of his allegory, Keats represents Phœbe's amorous deception of Endymion as twofold. In the First Book, Phœbe, concealing her identity, visits Endymion in his dreams; and his soul is torn between worship of her and love for the unknown celestial goddess whom she is impersonating. Under heavenly guidance he sets out on a long search for his unknown celestial mistress which leads him over the earth, under the earth, and under the sea. During his wanderings he receives divine encouragement that his quest will be successful. At the beginning of the Fourth Book, however, Phœbe assumes a second disguise—that of an Indian maiden who has strayed from the rout of Bacchus—and succeeds in making Endymion renounce his unknown celestial mistress for the Indian maiden whom she is now impersonating. Endymion and Phœbe in the guise of the Indian maiden return through the air to Mount Latmos, where Phœbe throws off her disguise, confesses her twofold deception, forgives Endymion's defection, and announces that she has won the consent of the gods to make him her immortal lover.

The second structural feature common to *Endimion and Phæbe* and Keats's *Endymion* is the aerial flight of Endymion and Phœbe. Drayton's account is given in the following passage:

Thus whilst he layd his head vpon her lap,
Shee in a fiery mantle doth him wrap,
And carries him vp from this lumpish mould,

Into the skies, whereas he might behold,
 The earth in perfect roundnes of a ball.

 And now to him her greatest power she lent,
 To lift him to the starry Firmament,
 Where he beheld that milky stayned place,
 By which the Twinns & heauenly Archers trace,
 The dogge which doth the furious Lyon beate,
 Whose flaming breath increaseth Titans heate,
 The teare-distilling mournfull Pliades—

Strikingly similar in manner is the flight described in the First Book of Keats's poem, when Endymion dreams that he is carried aloft in the arms of his divine mistress:

I felt upmounted in that region
 Where falling stars dart their artillery forth,
 And eagles struggle with the buffeting north,
 That ballances the heavy meteor-stone;—
 Felt too, that I was not fearful, nor alone,
 But lapp'd and lull'd along the dangerous sky . . .
 madly did I kiss
 The wooing arms which held me—(*Endymion*, I, 641ff.).

The flight itself is related in the Fourth Book: Endymion and Phœbe mounted upon jet-black steeds, are met by a "pinion'd multitude," who sing the pre-nuptial song of Phœbe. In this song Keats, like Drayton in the passage quoted above, introduces a description of the signs of the zodiac:

Castor has tamed the planet Lion, see!
 And of the Bear has Pollux mastery:
 A third is in the race! who is the third
 Speeding away swift as the eagle bird?
 The ramping Centaur!
 The Lion's mane's on end: the Bear how fierce!
 The Centaur's arrow ready seems to pierce
 Some enemy: far forth his bow is bent
 Into the blue of heaven. He'll be shent,
 Pale unrelentor! (*Endymion* IV, 591ff.).

From these parallels we see that the episode of Endymion's flight through the air in Keats's poem follows very closely that of Drayton in *Endimion and Phæbe*: first, like Drayton, Keats describes Endymion as borne through the air in the arms of

Phœbe; and secondly, like Drayton, he represents the signs of the zodiac as among the things seen on the flight.⁶

The third structural feature common to Drayton's *Endimion and Phæbe* and Keats's *Endymion* is the nuptial solemnity of Endymion and Phœbe which occurs at the end of both poems. Drayton did not retain this nuptial solemnity in *The Man in the Moone*; but it is one of the most noticeable features in his *Endimion and Phæbe*. This marriage ceremony is described by Drayton in great detail with its processions of the various orders of dieties that were subject to the sway of Phœbe. This nuptial solemnity is also significant in Keats's *Endymion*. A "pinion'd multitude" passes through the air summoning all the deities to the approaching marriage feast of Phœbe:

Who, who from Dian's feast would be away?
For all the golden bowers of the day
Are empty left? Who, who away would be
From Cynthia's wedding and festivity? (*Endymion*, IV, 556-9).

These three structural similarities—the device of making Phœbe in disguise woo and win the love of Endymion away from her own service, the flight of Endymion through the air in the arms of Phœbe in which they saw the signs of the zodiac, and the nuptial feast of Endymion and Phœbe to which all the deities subject to Phœbe are invited—supply the main basis for the argument that Keats was probably indebted to Drayton's poem for suggestions for his construction of the plot of *Endymion*. Since classical literature affords no extant development of the Endymion myth, these structural similarities between Drayton's *Endimion and Phæbe* and Keats's *Endymion* are not found in Lempriere's *Classical Dictionary*, Tooke's *Pantheon*, Spence's *Polymetis*, or any of the sources of Keats's knowledge of classical mythology. It is unlikely that both Drayton and Keats should independently invent these three structural features, especially the unusual and original device of making Phœbe in disguise woo and win her lover, Endymion, away from her own

⁶ Sir Sidney Colvin thinks that Keats derived the suggestion for Endymion's wanderings from *The Man in the Moone*; but in the case of Endymion's flight through the air Keats's account is totally unlike the account in *The Man in the Moone*, in which Drayton discusses astrology instead of describing the stars imaginatively as he had previously done in *Endimion and Phæbe*. But see Sir Sidney's discussion, *op. cit.*, pp. 168ff.

service; and it is probable, therefore, that Keats was indebted to Drayton for these devices.

Still other similarities between *Endimion and Phæbe* and Keats's *Endymion* offer contributory evidence of Keats's indebtedness to Drayton. In *Endimion and Phæbe* Drayton gives the following description of Phoebe's "Azur'd Mantle":

An Azur'd Mantle purfled with a vaile,
Which in the Ayre puft like a swelling saile,
Embosted Rayne-bowes did appeare in silk,
With waue streames as white as mornings Milk:
Which euer as the gentle Ayre did blow,
Still with the motion seem'd to ebb and flow.

With these lines may be compared the description of Phœbe's scarf by Keats:

The wind out-blows
Her scarf into a fluttering pavillion;
'Tis blue, and over-spangled with a million
Of little eyes, as though thou wert to shed,
Handfuls of daisies (*Endymion* I, 627ff.).

In both poems Phœbe's scarf is blue in color and fluttering in the wind.

The description of Phœbe's mantle in *The Man in the Moone*, where it is considerably modified and enlarged, influenced, as Sir Sidney Colvin¹ has pointed out, Keats's description of the mantle of Glaucus in *Endymion*; but the blue color of the mantle, which is not retained by Drayton in *The Man in the Moone*, may have been suggested by Drayton's original description in *Endimion and Phæbe*. Keats's words are:

And, ample as the largest winding-sheet,
A cloak of blue wrapp'd up his aged bones,
O'erwrought with symbols by the deepest groans
Of ambitious magic (*Endymion*. III, 196ff.).

In both Drayton's *Endimion and Phæbe* and Keats's poem *Endymion* lay at night gazing at the starry firmament and pining for love of his divine mistress. In *Endimion and Phæbe* Drayton says:

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 170.

Vpon a banck Endimion sat by night,
 To whom fayre Phoebe lent her frendly light:
 And sith his flocks were layd them downe to rest,
 Thus giues his sorrowes passage from his brest;

And lifting now his sad and heauy eyes
 Vp, towards the beauty of the burnisht skies,
 Bright Lamps (qd. he) the glorious Welkin bears,
 Which clip about the Plannets wandring Sphears,
 And in your circled Maze doe euer role,
 Dauncing about the neuer-moouing Pole:

And bend your cleere eyes from your Thrones about
 Vpon Endimion pyning thus in loue.

According to Keats, Endymion, who is pining for love of his divine mistress, repairs to a nook where he was used to pass his "weary eves:"

Methought I lay
 Watching the zenith, where the milky way
 Among the stars in virgin splendour pours;
 And travelling my eye, until the doors
 Of heaven appear'd to open for my flight,
 I became loth and fearful to alight
 From such high soaring by a downward glance (*Endymion* I, 578. ff.)

Finally, certain details of Keats's description of Mount Latmos, the seat of Endymion's pastoral principality, are similar to those of Drayton's description in *Endymion and Phæbe*. The resemblances, which consist in the details of the descriptions rather than in the phraseology, can be observed in the following parallel passages. Drayton and Keats agree in describing a stately grove whose bushy tops shut out the rays of the sun. This grove serves as a sort of silvan temple.

Endimion and Phæbe:

Vpon this Mount there stood a stately Groue,
 Whose reaching armes, to clip the welkin stroue,
 Of tufted Cedars, and the branching Pine,
 Whose bushy tops themselues doe so intwine,
 As seem'd when Nature first this work begun,
 Shee then conspir'd against the piercing Sun.

Endymion (I, 64ff.):

Upon the sides of Latmos was outspread
 A mighty forest; for the moist earth fed

So plenteously all weed-hidden roots
 Into o'erhanging boughs, and precious fruits.
 And it had gloomy shades, sequestered deep,
 Where no man went
 Who could tell
 The freshness of the space of heaven above,
 Edg'd round with dark tree tops?

In the descriptions of Drayton and Keats there are paths.

Endimion and Phæbe:

And there-withall these goodly walkes inclosed
 As seru'd for hangings and rich Tapestry,
 To beautifie this stately Gallery:
 Imbraudring these in curious trailes along.

Endymion (I, 79ff.):

Paths there were many,
 Winding through palmy fern, and rushes fenny,
 And ivy banks; all leading pleasantly
 To a wide lawn.

And both Drayton and Keats describe "bubling Fountains" that bedew the tender grass.

Endimion and Phæbe:

Out of thys soyle sweet bubling Fountains crept
 As though for ioy the sencelesse stones had wept;
 With straying channels dauncing sundry wayes,
 With often turnes, like to a curious Maze:
 Which breaking forth, the tender grasse bedewed.

Endymion (I, 105ff.):

Cold springs had run
 To warm their chilliest bubbles in the grass.

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XXXVIII. DRAYTON'S SIRENA

The troubled tone and unsettled mood of Drayton's *The Shepherds Sirena* at once calls to the reader's mind Drayton's statement that in his pastoral poems he wrote "of most weightie things."¹ Rarely ever does this statement seem to be applicable to Drayton's pastorals, for though in many of them there is some veiled allusion to contemporaries, it hardly seems to be "weightie," even from Drayton's point of view. In *The Shepherds Sirena*, however, there is the atmosphere of a dark conceit; things of weight, at least to Drayton, seem to be dimly shadowed forth. Dorilus, a shepherd well past his younger days, is cast "in sorrowes deepe" by the necessity of deciding between two courses of action in his relations with a fair shepherdess, the "Bright Sirena":

Hard the Choise I haue to chuse,
To my selfe if friend I be,
I must my *Sirena* loose,
If not so, shee looseth me.

The necessity of choosing in this affair of the heart has so unsettled the mind of Dorilus that he has been neglecting his rightful duties. His fellow-shepherds come to awaken him from his lethargy, and to spur him on to resist the "Roughish Swineherds," who, led by the "Angry Olcon," were invading the fields of Dorilus and his companions. The text leaves no doubt that these swineherds were poets, like the shepherds themselves—just as we should expect, for, in the lyric fields of the pastoral, rhyme is the chief duty of all. This is, indeed, a conventional situation, in some ways resembling the opening of Montemayor's *Diana*;² yet a note of reality in the poem leaves

¹ *Poems: by Michael Drayton Esquire*, 1619, "To the Reader of His Pastorals," at Sig. Iii4 verso.

² Translated into English by Bartholomew Yong, 1598. This likeness was pointed out to me by Mr. T. P. Harrison, whose study of the influence of the *Diana* on English literature is soon to appear. The similarity is not close enough, however, to make it certain that Drayton was indebted to Montemayor. We may note that Montemayor's hero is named Syrenus; but the name *Sirena* was, I believe, suggested by a situation in Drayton's life.

little doubt that Drayton himself was disturbed by the necessity of making some choice which had weighed on his mind until even his natural melancholy was deepened.

In a recent article Mr. Raymond Jenkins¹ suggests an interesting interpretation of this poem. For him, Drayton is speaking of his conception of poetry, and of his attitude toward certain contemporary poets. In support of his interpretation Mr. Jenkins adduces much evidence, and a bare statement of his conclusions hardly does them justice. Dorilus stands for Drayton himself, an identification with which practically all readers of the poem will at once agree. Sirena is "the Muse of Poetry . . . the kind of poetry—and to his [Drayton's] mind the only true kind—which he so strenuously defends in the last lines quoted from the *Polyolbion*" (i.e. the Spenserian conception of poetry). The shepherds who are friendly with Dorilus—Tom, Ralph, Gill, Rock, Rollo, and Collin—and who attempt to rouse him from his "strong melancholy fitt" are those poets, friends of Drayton, who carry on the Spenserian tradition. The "Angry Olcon," who has taken part against this group and competed with them in rhyme, is John Donne. In support of this interpretation, Mr. Jenkins also identifies Donne with the Cerberon of *Eglog viii* in the *Poemes Lyrick and pastorall* of 1606. This hypothesis, Mr. Jenkins thinks, is not the only possible one, though "a few facts and much circumstantial evidence" may be urged in support of it. For such questions, until we find external evidence, there is indeed no conclusive solution, but I wish to suggest another possible interpretation of *The Shepherds Sirena* which makes the poem more meaningful to me. First I wish to discuss the identification of Cerberon and Olcon of *Eglog viii* of the *Poemes Lyrick and pastorall*, 1606, then the identification of the Olcon of *The Shepherds Sirena*, 1627, and lastly the significance of *The Shepherds Sirena* as a whole.

In *Eglog viii* Drayton couples the names of Selena and Cerberon. From the text of the passage it is clear that Selena has been a patroness of Drayton, and has now transferred her favor to some one else, called, for the purposes of the poem, Cerberon. Unfortunately for Drayton's reputation it is evident

¹ P.M.L.A. XXXVIII, 557-87.

that he has in mind as Selena, Lucy, Countess of Bedford.⁴ It is not so evident, however, to whom he is referring under the name of Cerberon, though obviously some specific person is meant. To the identification of Cerberon with Donne I cannot agree.

It has usually been accepted, and I believe rightly, that the intimacy between Lady Bedford and Donne did not begin until 1607 or 1608,⁵ which is, of course, too late for an identification of Cerberon with Donne. There are only two pieces of evidence which might be taken to indicate an earlier date for the beginning of their intimacy. In a letter of February 23, 1602, to Sir Henry Goodere the younger,⁶ Donne speaks of the death of "the young Bedford." But the death of an heir to the Earl and Countess of Bedford would be known to all in touch with Court life, and mentioned in many letters; so such a reference does not necessarily indicate even acquaintanceship. The second piece of evidence is that on August 8, 1608, Lady Bedford stood godmother for Donne's daughter Lucy; upon this Mr. Jenkins comments: "The close intimacy which this relationship implies makes it improbable that their acquaintance was merely a matter of a few months." On the contrary, this is just such a compliment as Donne might well pay to Lady Bedford at the beginning of their closer acquaintance. In any event, acting as godmother can hardly be taken to indicate great intimacy, for the Countess of Bedford, possibly by reason of her known generosity and of the favor in which she was held by Queen Anne, was the godmother of an astonishingly large number of children.⁷

It is only after 1608 that Donne begins to address poems to Lady Bedford, and to refer to her frequently in his letters.

⁴ Lucy, Countess of Bedford, was not the daughter of Sir John Harington, the translator of Ariosto, as Mr. Jenkins states (p. 571). She was the daughter of Sir John Harington, from 1603 Lord Harington, of Exton. See Camden, *The Visitation of the County of Rutland*, p. 39.

⁵ Grierson, *Donne's Poetical Works*, ii. xxii, 132; Gosse, *Life and Letters of Donne*, i. 210.

⁶ Sir Henry Goodere the younger was not the son of Sir Henry Goodere the elder, as Mr. Jenkins states (p. 570). He was the nephew and son-in-law of the elder Sir Henry. See Camden, *The Visitation of the County of Warwick*, p. 67.

⁷ I cannot here take space to quote the many references in contemporary letters to Lady Bedford in the rôle of godmother.

He evidently did not become a member of her circle until she gathered around herself at Twickenham her coterie of interesting people. This makes it improbable that in 1606 Drayton had Donne in mind as Cerberon.

With our search for the identity of Cerberon confined to the circle of those who had conspicuously shared in Lady Bedford's patronage before 1606, the most likely candidate is John Florio, teacher of languages, maker of dictionaries and conversation-books, and above all translator of Montaigne. Lady Bedford's patronage of Florio began at the moment when it would touch Drayton to the quick, and Florio was by descent and nature just the man who would most readily arouse Drayton's ire. To make this clear I wish to re-tell, though it involves some repetition of Mr. Jenkins's able account, the history of the relations between Lady Bedford and Drayton.

Drayton had been recommended to the attention of young Mistress Lucy Harington, not yet Countess of Bedford, by Sir Henry Goodere the elder, possibly during the Christmas season of 1593-4.⁸ Drayton was beginning to make his way into popularity in the world of letters at London, and Sir Henry, whom Drayton calls "the first cherisher of my Muse," was now growing old in retirement on his Warwickshire estates. He was out of touch with affairs in London, and could not be of much further aid to this promising young poet, who had been brought up as a page in his home. Already Drayton had dedicated volumes to three different persons, but the dedications do not seem to have borne fruit in literary or financial encouragement. The young poet needed a patron who would take some special interest in him, and who could advance his cause in London. And here as his neighbor in the country, Sir Henry found just the right person in the brilliant young Lucy Harington, of an influential family, ambitious, intelligent, and interested in literature. She had already tasted the joy of a flattering dedication, for as early as 1583 her teacher of languages, Claudius Holyband, had dedicated to her, in witness of her linguistic ability, his *Campo di Fior, or else The Flourie Field of Foore Languages*, designed to attract and aid "the learners of

⁸ *Englands Heroicall Epistles*, 1597, dedication of the epistle of "Queene Isabell to Richard the second."

the Latine, French, English, but chieffie of the Italian Tongue." She probably wished for a poet to patronize as much as Drayton wished for a patron. Indeed the phrasing of Drayton's first dedication to her, "that honor which both they [the Gooderes] and I are willing to doe you, to dedicate my Poeme to your protection," seems to imply that Mistress Lucy may have sought for the introduction.

Under these favorable auspices, Drayton in 1594 dedicated to Mistress Lucy Harington his legend, *Matilda*. This won for him the sympathetic encouragement and the financial aid of his young patroness, whose ability to help him was materially increased by her marriage, on December 12, 1594, to the Earl of Bedford. In the next year, Drayton offered her his *Endimion and Phæbe*, a charming poem of the type made popular by *Venus and Adonis*. In the dedicatory sonnet he devotes his Muse to the service of Lady Bedford, the "essence of my cheefest good," and expresses his gratitude for the "sweet golden showers" which she rains upon him. Lady Bedford must have rewarded Drayton bountifully, for in his next dedication to her, *Mortimeriados*, 1596, he becomes almost maudlin in his effort to express his thanks and to sing the praises of his patroness. The sincerity of his gratitude has called forth extravagant compliments, which come but awkwardly from his pen. The poem itself, a labored effort to make clear the danger of rebellion, makes no amends for the bad taste of the dedication.

Lady Bedford, a good judge of poetry, evidently was not pleased with this effort, and Drayton's dedication to her of *The Tragicall Legend of Robert*, late in the same year, shows that he is aware of some change in her attitude toward him. He is now a little uncertain of her future favors, and speaks of "your . . . former graces to my vnworthy selfe," adding "What nature and industry began, your honour and bountie hath thus farre continued." Unfortunately, this volume of 1596, containing the new legend of *Robert* and the revised legends of *Gaueston* and *Matilda*, represented Drayton at his worst. The poems are so over-rhetorical and euphuistic that the stories are completely lost in a maze of words. In comparison with his earlier poems, *Idea The Shepheards Garland* and *Endimion and*

Phæbe, the quality of Drayton's poetry had noticeably deteriorated.

Again Lady Bedford evidently was not pleased, and her bounty was so scant that in the next year Drayton determined not to trust entirely in the continuance of her patronage, but to attempt to obtain the patronage of others. Of his *Englands Heroicall Epistles*, 1597, he dedicated to Lady Bedford only the first epistle.⁹ The others have separate dedications, two of them to members of Lady Bedford's family—her mother, Lady Anne Harington, and her husband, the Earl of Bedford. The tone of the dedication to Lady Bedford is completely changed. No longer does Drayton extravagantly thank her for bounty extended; there is only a bare statement of the nature of the epistle dedicated. The dedication to the Earl of Bedford, in which Drayton tells the circumstances of his introduction to Lady Bedford, seems somewhat like a reproach: "To whose service [Lady Bedford's] I was first bequeathed, by that learned and accomplished Gentleman, Sir Henry Goodere (not long since deceased,) whose I was whilst he was: whose patience, pleased to beare with the imperfections of my heedlesse and unstaied youth. That excellent and matchlesse Gentleman, was the first cherisher of my Muse, which had been by his death left a poore Orphane to the worlde, had hee not before bequeathed it to that Lady whom he so deerly loued." Sir Henry's patience with Drayton's faults, his care to provide Drayton with another patron before his own death, might well present to Lady Bedford a striking contrast with her own changed attitude toward him.

This was Drayton's last dedication to Lady Bedford.¹⁰ His attempt at reproach had failed of any sufficient reward; nor was he successful in his efforts to enlist other patrons. Before the end of the year it was necessary for him to become

⁹ It is frequently stated that the volume was dedicated to Lady Bedford, but the phrasing of the dedication makes it quite evident that the first epistle only was intended.

¹⁰ Since there was no cause for an open quarrel, Drayton did continue the dedications in the subsequent editions of *Englands Heroicall Epistles* until 1619, and he included the dedicatory sonnet from *Endimion and Phæbe* among his sonnets. When, however, he rewrote *Mortimeriados* as the *Barrons Warres*, 1603, he gave it a new dedication to "Ma. Walter Aston," and omitted all the lines of compliment to Lady Bedford in the poem itself.

one of Henslowe's literary hacks, writing and revising plays to order for the popular stage.¹¹ By nature Drayton was unfitted to be a playwright, and in his opinion stage-plays held a low rank in the poetical hierarchy;¹² hence this was for him, hitherto fortunate in a patronage which gave him freedom to follow his own poetic ideals, a time of distress. It was probably this experience that in great part inspired the complaint, so frequently made by Drayton in later years, of the low esteem in which poetry was held. Drayton ceased to write for the stage as soon as he found a new patron in Walter Aston, Esquire, to whom he began to dedicate his poems in 1602. In May of that year is the last entry in Henslowe's *Diary* of moneys paid to Drayton.¹³

In explanation of the break between Lady Bedford and Drayton we have only the account he gives in *Eglog viii*, printed in 1606:

Women be weake, and subiect most to change,
Nor long to any can they stedfast be,
and as their eyes their minds do euer range,
with euery object varying that they see:
 thinkst thou in them that possibly can liue,
 which nature most denyeth them to give?

So once *Selena* seemed to regard,
that faithfull *Rowland* her so highly praysed,
and did his trauell for a while reward,
As his estate she purpos'd to haue raysed,
 But soone she fled him and the swaine defyes,
 Ill is he sted that on such faith relies.

¹¹ The first entry of moneys paid to Drayton in Henslowe's *Diary* (ed. Greg, i. 70) was made on December 22, 1597.

¹² See the epistle to Reynolds *Of Poets and Poesie*, and note that Drayton did not include any of his plays in his collected editions. Daniel held the same opinion of writing for the popular stage, and only permitted the performance of *Philotas* because of financial necessity; see his letters printed in Grosart's edition, i. xxiii and iv. liii.

¹³ I have here tried to interpret again Drayton's relations with the stage in order to offer what seems to me a more probable explanation than that of Mr. Lemuel Whittaker in his *Michael Drayton as a Dramatist*, *PMLA*. XVIII. 378-411. Mr. Whittaker, misunderstanding Drayton's relations with his patrons, does not believe that Drayton turned dramatist through financial pressure, but "first by the influences around him, and secondly, by the constitution of his mind."

It is the frailty and the fickleness of women, then, that for Drayton explains the change in Lady Bedford. This explanation is implied in the name which he has chosen for her, evidently adapted from Selene, the changing moon. In the next stanza, where Cerberon is introduced, Drayton makes a more personal charge against Lady Bedford:

And falsly al her promises hath broken.

This charge needs to be discounted, for in her relations with other friends Lady Bedford's steadfastness is noteworthy.¹⁴ Drayton may not have had in mind any definite promises, but rather intentions implied by the circumstances of their introduction and by her earlier generous aid. So at least the lines already quoted would indicate:

And did his trauell for a while reward,
As his estate she purpos'd to haue raysed.

Drayton probably failed to see that from Lady Bedford's point of view his tedious legends and historical narratives, almost without a touch of poetry, hardly fulfilled his side of the implied contract.

After having spoken of Cerberon, Drayton's anger rises, and he indulges in three stanzas of abuse of Lady Bedford, two lines of which will sufficiently illustrate its vindictive spirit:

Let age sit soone and vgly on her brow,
no shepheards praises liuing let her haue.

This is, of course, unforgivable. With this abuse, it is interesting to compare Drayton's angry invective against those who have objected to his *Poly-Olbion*:

For these, since they delight in their folly, I wish it may be hereditary from them to their posteritie, that their children may bee beg'd for Fooles to the fift Generation, vntill it may be beyond the memory of man to know that there was euer any other of their Families.¹⁵

Clearly Drayton was the kind of idealist who believes himself to be always in the right, and who, in consequence, is prone to

¹⁴ See *The Private Correspondence of Jane, Lady Cornwallis*, ed. by Lord Braybrooke, 1842.

¹⁵ "To any that will read it," prefixed to the second part of the *Poly-Olbion*, 1622.

excessive indignation, which he at the time thinks righteous. Further, we must note that in 1619, when the eclogue was republished, Drayton withdrew the entire passage.

It was doubtless in the company of the Earl of Southampton, one of her friends, that Lady Bedford met John Florio, who had been in the "paie and patronage" of the Earl for "some yeeres."¹⁶ Florio must have been attracted to Lady Bedford by her reputation for generosity, her fluency in languages, and her interest in Continental as well as English literature. And she probably was amused by his courtly Italian manners, his fantastic vagaries, and his extravagant, exuberant speech. He was quite different in his eccentricities from the conventional Drayton, who was often prosy and dull. Florio was not long in taking advantage of this acquaintanceship, and in 1598 he dedicated to her, and to the Earl of Southampton and the Earl of Rutland, his *Worlde of Wordes*. Here he confines his compliments on Lady Bedford to her facility in languages:

Naie, if I offer service but to them that need it, with what face seeke I a place with your excellent Ladiship (my most-most honored, because best-best adorned Madame) who by conceited industrie, or industrious conceite, in Italian as in French, in French as in Spanish, in all as in English, understand what you reade, write as you reade, and speake as you write; yet rather charge your minde with matter, then your memorie with words?

A little later Sir Edward Wotton suggested to Florio that he translate the essays of Montaigne. When Florio, acting on this suggestion, had finished the first chapter, he was on the point of giving it up because of the "tedious difficultie, my selfe-knowne insufficiencie, and others more leisurefull abilitie." Then fortunately Lady Bedford read his manuscript and encouraged him to continue. "And who would resty rest, when *Shee* bids rise?" writes Matthew Gwinne, Professor of Physic at Gresham College and the friend of both Lady Bedford and Florio, in a sonnet "upon Maister Florio's answere to the Lady of Bedfords invitation to this worke . . . Anno 1599."¹⁷

¹⁶ *Worlde of Wordes*, 1598, Dedication.

¹⁷ The sonnet, prefixed to the 1603 edition of Florio's translation, is signed Il Candido. Hazlitt (*Coll. and Notes*, 1st Series, 162) saw a copy of the *Worlde of Wordes*, 1598, with the following note, in a contemporary hand, written opposite to a sonnet also signed Il Candido: "Gwin his name was, which in wellsh signifieth white, and therefore calleth him selfe il Candido, which is white in

With such encouragement Florio could not "resty rest," and continued the work with the aid of Lady Bedford. She furnished him with the necessary leisure, taking him to live in her house, a refuge probably all the more welcome to Florio because early in the next year his patron, the Earl of Southampton, was imprisoned for complicity in the Essex conspiracy. To the aid of Florio's "selfe-knowne insufficiencie," she rallied "the forces of two deare friends," Theodore Diodati,¹⁸ the tutor of Lady Bedford's young brother, and Doctor Matthew Gwinne. With this stimulation, the work progressed so that in 1600 Sir William Cornwallis, who saw the manuscript, commented: "Montaigne speaks now good English." By 1603 the work was published, with a dedication of the first book to the Countess of Bedford and her mother, Lady Anne Harrington. The second and third books each had separate dedications, also to pairs of noble ladies: the Countess of Rutland and Lady Penelope Rich, and Lady Elizabeth Grey and Lady Marie Neville. The picturesque phrasing makes at least a part of the dedication worth quoting:

TO THE RIGHT HONorable my best-best Benefactors, and most-most honored Ladies, *Lucie Countesse of Bedford*; and hir best-most loved-loving Mother, *Ladie Anne Harrington* For (that I may discharge me of all this, and charge you with your owne; pardon Madame my plainnesse) when I with one Chapter found my selfe over-charged, whereto the charge or choise of an Honorable person, and by me not-to-be denied Benefactor (Noble and vertuous Sir *Edward Wotton*) had engaged me, (which I finished in your owne house) your Honor having dayned to read it, without pittie of my failing, my fainting, my labouring, my languishing, my gasping for some breath (O could so Honorable, be so pittie-lesse? Madame, now doe I flatter you?) Yet commaunded me on: (and let me die outright, ere I doe not that commaund.) I say not you tooke pleasure at shore (as those in this Author) to see me sea-tosst, wether-beaten, shippe-wrackt, almost drowned (*Mon. lib. iii. c.1.*). Nor say I like this mans Indian King, you checkt with a sower-sterne countenance the yerneful complaint of your drooping, neere-dying subject (*Lib. iii. c.6.*). Nor say I (as he alleadgeth out of others) like an ironically modest Virgin, you enduced, yea commaunded, yea delighted to see mee strive for life, yet fall out of breath (*Lib. ii. c.23.*). Unmercifull you were, but not so cruell. (Madame, now do I flatter you?)

Italian." This identification is made more certain by the friendship between Gwinne and Florio, which is known to have existed for many years. As early as 1584, Giordano Bruno coupled their names together in *La cena de le Ceneri*.

¹⁸ Theodore Diodati was the father of Milton's friend, Charles Diodati.

Florio's repetition of "Madame, now do I flatter you?" gives us a momentary glimpse of Lady Bedford cautioning the exuberant Florio against excessive and absurd flattery.

In this year, 1603, by the accession of James I to the throne of England, the Countess of Bedford's ability to aid her literary favorites was again increased, for she quickly became the chief favorite of the new queen, Anne. For Florio she obtained the position of reader in Italian to the Queen, and in the next year, on August 5, Florio was made gentleman-extraordinary and groom of the Queen's privy chamber.

It was most probably this patronage of Florio which so excited the anger of Drayton that he broke forth in his attack on Lady Bedford. Drayton, English to the core, shared the popular prejudice against foreigners, and Florio, an Italian by birth and manner, was enjoying the patronage which Drayton probably considered to be rightfully his. Four miserable years Drayton had spent in writing for the popular stage, when he wished to be working on his great hymn of praise to England, the *Poly-Olbion*; and now in the reign of James he, who by his poems had helped to make the accession to the throne peaceable, found no preferment at Court. Florio, who might in his heart have not one jot of true love for dear Albion, had meanwhile basked in the favor of Lady Bedford, and was now preferred to favor at Court. No wonder Drayton burst forth in what he considered righteous indignation:

And to deceitefull *Cerberon* she cleaues
that beastly clowne to vile of to be spoken,
and that good shepheard wilfully she leaues
and falsly al her promises hath broken,
and al those beautyes whilom that her graced,
with vulgar breath perpetually defaced.

Drayton probably exulted when he hit upon the name *Cerberon*, seemingly an adaptation of *Cerberus*, for that characterized exactly Florio's three-headed dedications of the *World of Words* and *The Essayes of Montaigne*. And "beastly clowne" seemed to describe Florio's antics and foreign manner, while "vulgar breath" fitted his ridiculous, florid language.

Of the *Olcon* of *Eglog viii*, Mr. Jenkins does not attempt any definite identification, but suggests that "*Olcon* may have

shadowed" Jonson. Fleay¹⁹ suggests that the Olcon of both *Eglog viii* and *The Shepheards Sirena* stands for Sir John Davies; he produces no evidence for this belief, but probably was led to this conclusion by the epigram of Sir John Davies, *In Decium*. 25, in which he satirizes Drayton for

Making his mistris march with men of warre,
With title of "Tenth Worthy."

This Drayton had been guilty of in "Amour 8" of *Ideas Mirrovr*. At least there is no other apparent evidence for the identification. Of Olcon, Drayton says:

So did greate *Olcon* which a *Phoebus* seem'd
whome al good shepheards gladly flockd about
and as a god of *Rowland* was esteem'd
which to his prayse drue al the rurall rout
For after *Rowland* as it had been *Pan*,
Onely to *Olcon* euery shepheard ran.

But he forsakes the heardgroom and his flocks,
Nor of his bagpipes takes at all no keep,
But to the sterne wolfe and deceitfull fox,
Leaues the poor shepheard and his harmless sheep
And all those rymes that he of *Olcon* sung,
The swayn disgrac'd, participate his wrong.

It is clear that Drayton has been friendly with Olcon, has been in sympathy with his poetic ideals, and has written verses to him. This would seem to exclude Jonson and Davies, for they were not friends of Drayton, nor had Drayton ever complimented them in his poetry.

This description, however, does fit Samuel Daniel, whom Drayton had highly esteemed. In early years, these two poets were friends, sharing the same convictions about the nature of true poetry, and striving to make the same principles prevail. In his *Matilda*, 1594, Drayton devoted a stanza to the praise of Daniel's *The Complaint of Rosamond*, speaking of "all the world bewitched with his ryme"; and in *Endimion and Phæbe*, 1595, he again compliments Daniel, under the name of *Museus*, on his *Delia*. Olcon, however, is reproved by Drayton because he has later forsaken the shepherd's calling; and in the history of the relations of Daniel and Lady Bedford there seems to be a

¹⁹ *Biographical Chronicle*, i, 145.

reason why Drayton, about 1606, should wish thus to reprove Daniel.

At the beginning of his career as poet, Daniel was a protégé of Mary, Countess of Pembroke, and the tutor of her son, William Herbert. Later, at some time before 1599, he became the tutor of the young Lady Anne Clifford, daughter of the Earl of Cumberland. This brought him into the family circle of Lady Bedford, for the Countess of Cumberland was by birth a Russell, and because of the quarrelsome nature of her husband was thrown much with her own family. Daniel, who seems to have been remarkably good at judging the varying merits of the great ladies at Court, soon came to value Lady Bedford, and wrote for her one of his best epistles in verse. The good sense and comely English of this poem must have pleased Lady Bedford. It is a dignified compliment to an intelligent woman, commending her virtue, so becoming to one in high position, and her wisdom in choosing the "faire course of knowledge" which

Is th' only certaine way that you can go
Vnto true glory, to true happiness.

The lines on the value of books, which Hartley Coleridge thought to be the best "modest answer" to Milton's stricture on books in *Paradise Regained* (iv. 321 ff.), deserve quotation:

And though books, Madam, cannot make this minde
Which we must bring apt to be set aright,
Yet doe they rectifie it in that kinde,
And touch it so, as that it turnes that way
Where iudgement lies.

The gallantry and courtesy of Daniel's manner also attracted Lady Bedford, so that when she came into favor on the accession of James, she made Daniel her poet, and gave him the opportunity to show his worth at Court.²⁰ Lady Bedford's choice

²⁰ Mr. Jenkins gives a wrong impression of Daniel's attitude toward the Court during the reign of James I, when he says that Daniel "turned his back on the court" (p. 566). That is exactly what Daniel did not do, though at times he does indulge in melancholy complaint of the passing of the good old days of Queen Elizabeth, a complaint so frequently uttered that it became conventional. Save for several periods of difficulty, he was in high favor at court until June 15, 1618, when we hear in a letter of the Rev. Thomas Lorkin that "Daniel and Sir George Reynolds were discharged the queen's service, and banished the

was wise, for no other living Elizabethan poet could turn a courtly compliment so well as Daniel. Drayton, who obtained no favor for his "gratulatorie Poem" written to welcome King James, must have felt chagrined when he heard that Daniel's *A Panegyrike Congratulatory* was read before the King during his progress into England, when he was entertained at Burley-on-the-Hill, one of the country-places of Lady Bedford's father. This poem pleased the King, and Lady Bedford next secured for Daniel the task of writing the first Court masque, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, produced by the Queen on January 8, 1604.²¹ Now that Daniel had received his opportunity through the influence of Lady Bedford, his preferment began. By a patent of February 4, 1604, he was appointed licenser of plays for the Children of the Queen's Revels. A little later, but before 1607, he was made, like Florio, a gentleman-extraordinary and groom of Her Majesty's privy chamber.²²

Daniel was not stimulated to increased poetic activity by this preferment at Court. Earlier he had written poems which won the applause of all who were fired by enthusiasm for Spenser's poetry and poetic principles; indeed, Spenser himself praised Daniel as

A new shepheard late vp sprong,
The which doth all afore him far surpasse,

and advised him to attempt to excell

In Tragick paints and passionate mischance.²³

He was the hope of the Spenserians, the "greate Olcon" to whom "euery shepheard ran." But after he had obtained the leisure which patronage provides, he had in three years produced only a trifling masque for the amusement of the Queen and her ladies,

court, only for having visited Sir Robert Floud in this his disgrace, or else for having formerly entertained amity with him." (Birch, *James*, ii. 77). Thus it was only about a year before his death that Daniel finally retired to Beckington.

²¹ See the dedication to Lady Bedford in which Daniel gracefully acknowledges her favor to him.

²² Lady Bedford's patronage of Daniel is commented on by Jonson in an epistle to the Countess of Rutland (*The Forest*, xii).

²³ *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, 416-27.

and a classical drama, three acts of which had been written as early as 1600. Such work was scarcely even in the Spenserian tradition. To the industrious Drayton, a little jealous that Daniel should be enjoying the favor of Lady Bedford and the Court while he felt himself to be in disgrace, this must have seemed a desertion of the Spenserian cause. Naturally then in *Eglog viii*, with his severer criticism of Florio and Lady Bedford, he introduces Daniel as Olcon, reproving him for deserting his flocks.²⁴ Twenty-one years later, in his epistle to Henry Reynolds, *Of Poets and Poesie*, Drayton still speaks with coldness of Daniel's poetry.

There still remains the identification of the "Angry Olcon," of *The Shepherds Sirena*, who

sets them on,
And against vs part doth take
Euer since he was out-gone,
Offering Rymes with vs to make.

This Olcon, Mr. Jenkins would identify with Donne, who, as "the leader of the opposite school of poetry," "stirs the swine-herds on." Against this identification, several objections may be urged. Truly enough, Donne had his imitators, but he was at no time the conscious leader of a school of poets. If we desire to use at all the misleading label "school of Donne," we should remember that Donne in person had nothing to do with the school. The only sense in which such a phrase can be used, with any correctness, is to describe a number of individuals who had been impressed by the striking features of Donne's thought and style, and had, as individuals, imitated these features. "Sets them on, And against vs part doth take" scarcely describes the attitude which Donne, even in earlier years, took toward English poets and poetry. He held himself aloof from the course of English poetry. From the time of his ordination in 1615, he apparently lost all interest in secular poetry, even disowning his own earlier poetical works; and in the years

²⁴ Were it not for this connection in *Eglog viii* between Olcon and Cerberon and Selena, possibly it might seem that Drayton had Thomas Lodge in mind as Olcon. Drayton several times complimented Lodge under the name of Goldey, and Lodge in his turn complimented Drayton. About 1596, Lodge deserted the pursuit of literature for the practice of medicine. But, so far as is known, Lady Bedford never was the patroness of Lodge.

just preceding 1627 he was absorbed in his duties as Dean of St. Paul's. If Drayton chose his words with any care, it seems hardly possible that he had Donne in mind.

Nor would Daniel, who had died in 1619, fit the Olcon of *The Shepheards Sirena*. Even had he been living at the time, his well-known affability would not have suggested the epithet "angry." In the description of Olcon, Drayton might have had in mind Ben Jonson. The very epithet "angry" calls up the picture of quarrelsome Ben. In his interpretation, Mr. Jenkins has failed to give weight to the known antipathy of Jonson for the Spenserian manner, his hostility toward Drayton, and his friendship with Donne. Jonson told Drummond that "Spencers stanzaes pleased him not, nor his matter," and wrote in his *Discoveries* that "*Spencer*, in affecting the Ancients, writ no Language."²⁵ Of Drayton, Drummond's friend, he has nothing good to say: "Drayton feared him, and he esteemed not of him"; and "Sir W. Alexander was not half kinde unto him [Jonson], and neglected him, because a friend to Drayton." As for Donne, Jonson called him "the first poet in the World, in some things."²⁶ Furthermore, Jonson, unlike Donne, was active in preaching his literary ideals in writing and in conversation, though the direct influence of his poetry was less than that of Donne's. Earlier Jonson had been the leading spirit in the group which met at the Mermaid Tavern, and now he had gathered around him, in the Apollo Room of the "Devil and St. Dunstan" Tavern, many of the young poetical aspirants of the day who desired to be sealed of the Tribe of Ben. His talk to the young men, if we may judge from his conversations with Drummond, is well characterized by Drayton in

Angry Olcon sets them on,
And against vs part doth take.

Mr. Jenkins's assumption, as he states without any evidence, that Drayton was a member of the Mermaid group is very unsafe. The statement in *The Return from Parnassus*²⁷ that Drayton "wants one true note of a poet of our times, and that

²⁵ Ed. by Castelain, p. 90.

²⁶ The quotations are from the edition of the *Conversations* by R. F. Patterson, 1923.

²⁷ I. ii. 139.

is this, he cannot swagger it well in a tavern," is directly against such an assumption. Further, in the face of Jonson's hostility, it is improbable that Drayton would have gathered with them frequently. Both Jonson and Drayton were too outspoken in their likes and dislikes to have made meetings comfortable. Several members of the group were, indeed, on friendly terms with Drayton; but the organization of such a group, if there was any organization at all, would hardly prohibit other friendships. Donne himself in all probability would have frequented the Mermaid oftener than Drayton. There is the direct evidence of *Mr. Hoskins, his Convivium Philosophicum* that some time before September 2, 1611, Donne was present on at least one of the merry evenings which the group spent at the Mitre Tavern.²⁸ Certainly his ready wit would have made him welcome.

Jonson's conversations with Drummond, which give us direct evidence of a quarrel with Drayton, took place in December, 1618, or in January, 1619. In 1627, Drayton referred to Jonson in his *Of Poets and Poesie*, and Jonson wrote a prefatory poem to the volume in which this epistle and *The Shepheards Sirena* were published. On careful reading, neither Drayton's reference nor Jonson's poem evinces any friendship. The passage on Jonson in *Of Poets and Poesie* entirely lacks the warmth of affection with which Drayton speaks of many other poets. It is a cold comment born of Drayton's sense of justice. The phrase, "in this List I bring," possibly indicates Drayton's reluctance:

Next these, learn'd *Iohnson*, in this List I bring,
Who had drunke deepe of the Pierian spring,
Whose knowledge did him worthily prefer,
And long was Lord here of the Theater,
Who in opinion made our learn't to sticke,
Whether in Poems rightly dramatique,
Strong *Seneca* or *Plautus*, he or they,
Should beare the Buskin, or the Socke away.

Jonson's prefatory verses to the volume of 1627 are sly satire rather than compliment:

²⁸ *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1611-1618, p. 72.

Aubrey: *Brief Lives*, ed. by Clark, ii. 50-3.

Gayley: *Beaumont*, p. 146.

It hath beene question'd, *Michael*, if I bee
 A Friend at all; or, if at all, to thee:
 Because, who make the question, haue not seene
 Those ambling visits, passe in verse, betweene
 Thy *Muse*, and mine, as they expect. 'Tis true:
 You haue not writ to me, nor I to you;
 And, though I now begin, 'tis not to rub
 Hanch against Hanch, or raise a riming *Club*
 About the towne: this reck'ning I will pay,
 Without conferring symboles. This's my day.

It was no Dreame! I was awake, and saw!
 Lend me thy voyce, O *Fame*, that I may draw
 Wonder to truth! and haue my Vision hoorld,
 Hot from thy trumpet, round, about the world.

The last four lines in their exaggerated bombast intend not praise but condemnation, and set the tone for the whole poem. There is no mistaking what is really meant in these lines on *The Owle*:

And looking vp, I saw *Mineruas* fowle,
 Pearch'd ouer head, the wise *Athenian* Owle:
 I thought thee then our *Orpheus*, that wouldst try
 Like him, to make the ayre, one volary.

The Battaile of Agincourt, not the stirring ode of 1606 but the long, tedious poem of 1627, fares even worse:

There, thou art *Homer*! Pray thee, vse the stile
 Thou hast deseru'd: And let me reade the while
 Thy Catalogue of Ships, exceeding his,
 Thy list of aydes, and force, for so it is:

This booke! it is a *Catechisme* to fight,
 And will be bought of euery Lord, and Knight,
 That can but reade; who cannot, may in prose
 Get broken peeces, and fight well by those.

The only sincere compliment—and it is an evidence of Jonson's good judgment—is on the *Nymphidia*, *The Quest of Cynthia*, and *The Shepheards Sirena*:

But then refreshed, with thy *Fayerie Court*,
 I looke on *Cynthia*, and *Sirenas* sport,
 As, on two flow'ry Carpets, that did rise,
 And with their grassie greene restor'd mine eyes.

Jonson clearly states that he was not in the number of Drayton's friends:

I gratulate it to thee, and thy *Ends*,
 To all thy vertuous, and well chosen Friends,
 Onely my losse is, that I am not there;

and in the closing lines of the poem, he points the joke he is playing:

I call the world, that enuies mee, to see
 If I can be a Friend, and Friend to thee.

If Drayton read this poem before it was prefixed to his volume, and, then, blinded by a sense of his own importance and a lack of the saving grace of humor, permitted it to appear, he like Coryate might well be regarded as a legitimate butt for jokes.²⁹

In *The Shepheards Sirena*, then, Olcon seems, with some probability, to represent Jonson, and the "Roughish Swine-heards" those young poets who gather in the Apollo Room of the Devil Tavern, and whose light, frivolous lyrics, to Drayton's mind, "wroote [= root] up our Downes" of true poesy. Rollo, and the other friends of Dorilus, are those poets who sympathize with Drayton's ideals of poetry. This, it seems to me, is as far as we can interpret *The Shepheards Sirena* as a commentary on contemporary problems in poetry.

But Mr. Jenkins, who identifies Sirena with the Muse of Poetry representing Spenserian ideals, makes the entire poem a commentary on schools of poetry. The poem itself, however, refutes this interpretation. The young shepherds, friends of Dorilus, are not urging him to pursue the quest of Sirena, but to rouse himself from the melancholia and inactivity brought on by his love for Sirena, and to take up again the true duties of a shepherd. If Sirena represents the Spenserian conception of poetry, then Drayton's friends are urging him to forsake it. Such an interpretation can only result in inconsistencies. Likewise, when we consider Drayton's enmity for Jonson, the contention that there is in the word Sirena an implied allusion to the Mermaid Club, called by Coryate the "Sirenaicks," involves us in a similar inconsistency.

If Sirena is anything more than a creature of Drayton's imagination, she certainly is not a school of poetry, but a

²⁹ The epitaph on Drayton, printed in the Gifford-Cunningham editions of Jonson as *Underwoods* xvii, is sometimes ascribed to Jonson. This ascription, as W. D. Briggs points out in *Anglia*, xxxix, 211, is based only on tradition and not on manuscript evidence. The epitaph is most probably by Quarles.

woman. A personal note in the tone of the poem has made it seem to some commentators, and to other readers, that Sirena was a reality in Drayton's life. Fleay has suggested that Sirena and the Sylvia of *Eglog viii* are both members of the family of Sir Walter Aston, whose family seat, Tixall, was on the Trent.³⁰ This identification of Sylvia seems plausible, for the several details given fit the Aston family, and it is very probable that in 1606 Drayton would wish to compliment one of the ladies of the family of his new patron. There is nothing, however, in the relations of Drayton with the Aston family that would suggest the mysterious choice with which Dorilus is confronted in his relations with Sirena; and if we read carefully we see that the location of the homes of Sylvia and Sirena was not the same: Sylvia lives "by the Siluer Trent," while Sirena only lives "Near to the Siluer Trent."

A number of geographical details indicating Sirena's home are given, and though they are a little confusing at first, they will yield up the secret:

Fayre *Doue* and *Darwine* cleere
boast yee your beauties,
To *Trent* your Mistres here
yet pay your duties,
My Loue was higher borne
tow'rds the full Fountaines,
Yet she doth *Moorland* scorne,
and the *Peake* Mountaines;
Nor would she none should dreame,
where she abideth,
Humble as is the streame,
Which by her slydeth.

This is a description of the location of Polesworth, the home of Anne Goodere before her marriage to Sir Henry Rainsford. Polesworth is on the small River Ancor, the humble "streame, Which by her slydeth," near its confluence with the Tame, which in several miles flows into the Trent. The Dove and Darwine (Derwent), which rise in the region of the Peak and flow through the Moorland, are also tributaries of the Trent, flowing into it below the confluence of the Trent and Tame; hence, his love actually

³⁰ *Biog. Chron.* i. 147.

was higher borne
 tow'rds the full Fountaines,
 Yet she doth *Moorland* acorne,
 and the *Peake* Mountaines.

Drayton has respected the desire of Sirena,

Nor would she none should dreame,
 where she abideth,

for he has omitted all mention of the Ancor, which would at once have suggested Polesworth.

The identification of Sirena with Anne Goodere is further suggested by some similarities between *The Shepheards Sirena* and *Of his Ladies not Comming to London*, both published in the volume of 1627. In *The Shepheards Sirena*, Dorilus reads a letter from Sirena asking him to visit her, and speaking of the obstacles in the way:

Thou shouldst come to visite me,
 But the Winter is so cold,
 That I feare to hazard thee:
 The wilde waters are waxt hie,
 So they are both deafe and dumbe,
 Lou'd they thee so well as I,
 They would ebbe when thou shouldst come.

In *Of his Ladies not Comming to London*, Drayton speaks of the letters he has received:

I haue endur'd
 Your want this long, whilst I haue starued bine
 For your short Letters, as you helde it sinne
 To write to me, that to appease my woe,
 I reade ore those, you writ a yeare agoe.

He speaks also of the waters which separate him from his mistress:

The winter windes still Easterly doe keepe,
 And with keene Frosts haue chained vp the deepe.

The similarity at once suggests that the two poems may be concerned with the same person; and there can hardly be a doubt in the mind of any reader of Drayton's poetry that the lady who does not come to London is Anne Goodere. She is the "Idea" to whom Drayton throughout life paid his poetical homage. The identity of Idea is so conclusively proved by

Professor Oliver Elton in his *Michael Drayton*, 1905, that there is no need to restate the evidence here.

There still remains to be explained why Anne Goodere, who has always been Drayton's Idea, suddenly becomes his Sirena.²¹ As the daughter of his earliest patron, far above him in social position, Anne was for Drayton the unattainable to be worshipped from afar—his Idea. So she remained as Lady Rainsford, still worshipped as the poetical mistress of his bachelor life. On January 27, 1622, her husband, Sir Henry Rainsford, had died. This changed the situation completely. In his old age Drayton's Idea became his Sirena. The difference in social station between Drayton, a well-known poet, and Lady Rainsford, a widow with a sufficient competence, was not so great that all thought of marriage was necessarily precluded. In Drayton's speculations, at least, a choice presents itself. Shall he now, so late in life, attempt to make the ideal only a reality? Through marriage the ideal which he has cherished so long would be lost.

It was a difficult problem for the old bachelor, and the emotional intensity of the poem shows how deeply he was disturbed. From Sirena's letter, which Dorilus rereads, it seems that the situation may be further complicated. Sirena is depressed, and wishes to recount her woes to her friend so that she may receive his advice. Her letter is written in the spirit of warmest friendship, but not of love; thus Dorilus is "By her kindenesse strangely slaine." But exactly what the situation is, is not evident, for Drayton, all too often awkward and obscure in his expression, becomes almost completely unintelligible when he does not wish his meaning to be obvious. Of the choice he has to make he writes in a mystifying way:

Hard the Choise I haue to chuse,
To my selfe if friend I be,
I must my *Sirena* loose,
If not so, shee looseth me.

Whether the question of the possible marriage also presented itself to Lady Rainsford, or was presented to her by Drayton,

²¹ It is interesting to notice that in *The Shepheards Sirena* Drayton also abandons the name Rowland, which he had earlier used to designate himself, for the name Dorilus, possibly because he does not wish the real situation in the poem to be too evident.

we can only guess. All we know is that Drayton kept his Idea, though for a time she had been his Sirena.

The difficulty in making the decision kept Drayton for a time from his usual poetic industry, and his friends come to rouse him out of his inactivity, lest the fields of poetry be captured by the younger men stirred on by Jonson:

Fits this season loue to make
Take the Sheephooke in thy hand,
Clap thy Curre and set him on,
For our fields ti's time to stand,
Or they quickly will be gon.

Possibly we are now too far away from *The Shepheards Sirena*, and have too little information, to arrive at a completely satisfactory interpretation of the dark conceit of the poem. After all, it is not a matter of the highest import, for the poetry of *The Shepheards Sirena*, especially of the song to Sirena, which has been found worthy of a place in *The Oxford Book of English Verse*, is pleasing quite apart from any esoteric significance.

J. WILLIAM HEBEL

XXXIX. THE DRINKING ACADEMY, OR THE CHEATERS' HOLIDAY

The manuscript of *The Drinking Academy, or The Cheaters' Holiday*, the playlet that is reprinted below, is owned by Mr. W. A. White, of Brooklyn, and is briefly mentioned in the *Handlist* of his splendid Elizabethan collection. Mr. White bought the manuscript in February, 1901, from the London book-dealer Pearson, in whose catalogue it was thus described:

Quarto

[Page] 111

1079 Old Play. The Drinking Academy, or Cheater's Holiday,
ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT PLAY of 38 pages (*circa* 1620)

- * * A totally unknown and unprinted play. No doubt composed
- * in the early years of the seventeenth century. Two of the characters are "Simple" and "Nimmer," the later [*sic*] a cutpurse

The manuscript is a quarto of twenty leaves, about $6\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in size, and was probably once part of a note-book. The first leaf has the "Epigramma," printed below, on its recto with its verso blank. The title and *dramatis personae* are written on the recto of leaf 2, with the Prologue on the verso. The play begins on leaf 3 (p. 5) and runs through leaf 20* (p. 40).

The scribe, who was evidently well-educated, wrote in a good early seventeenth-century hand. One handwriting runs throughout. Stage directions and proper names are, as was the general custom, usually written in Italian script, though in my reprint I have not considered it necessary to make any distinction (except in the typography of *Actus* and *Scaena*) between this and the English script in which the speakers' lines are written. Majuscule and minuscule forms are, on the whole, fairly well distinguished, as are also *u* and *v*. But there are a few scribal errors, as *user* (l. 5), *Harmus* (l. 42), *chantiar* (l. 236); while in two or three cases,—as *stirreuerence* (l. 188) and *skewy* (l. 694),—I have been unable to make out the correct reading. The punctuation, which is coeval with the actual transcription, is remarkably full and accurate. The abundant use of exclamation

points¹—which seldom occur so early as 1620 in either manuscripts or print—and the consistent appearance of capitals at the beginning and periods at the end of sentences are particularly worthy of note. But while the punctuation is exceptionally full, the syllabication at the end of lines is managed in a fashion peculiar even for Jacobean writers. Such a division of syllables as *be-fo-re*, *dri-ning*, *boso-me*, *ha-th*, *ve-ry*, always without a hyphen, is followed throughout the play, and constitutes a notable mannerism. In my reprint this peculiarity is retained.

That the manuscript is in the autograph of the playwright, not in that of a copyist, is clear. There are numerous cases (all of which are indicated in the foot-notes) where words or letters have been erased and replaced by interlined letters or words or phrases, and in every case the changes are for the better. On the whole, they seem to be changes that only the author would have thought of making. The thoroughness, too, with which many of the erasures were made,—several words or lines being so heavily scratched out that they can not now be deciphered,—points rather to the author than to a copyist. Such of the erasures as are still legible are printed in the text below between square brackets; and a study of them and of the interlineations makes it practically certain that the manuscript is written in the autograph of the author. It was no doubt the care of the author that accounts for the unusually full punctuation and for the surprising consistency of the spelling. Such forms, for example, as *shold*, *wold*, *fiend* (for *find*), *Maddam* (*Madam* once), and *Cupit* (*Cupid* once) occur without the variations that are customary in printed works.

The author was a man of some learning and of considerable theatrical skill. Throughout the play there is evidence of his familiarity with the classics and with the Elizabethan drama—to say nothing of street ballads! Allusions to classic mythology are especially plentiful; in Act V, Sc. 3, a very good love song is sung; while in the final scene the cheaters speak in tolerable heroic verse. At the same time, however, many words and phrases are repeated so often and so monotonously as to suggest that the author was more limited in his vocabulary than fertile in creating 'humors.' *As I live*, for example, is used at least five times; *He*

¹ Some of them appear to have been added by a later hand.

besworne, five times; *by this light*, seven times; *by my troth*, twice; *presently*, eleven times; and *S'lid*, too many times to count.

Though written in the conventional five acts with various scenes, the play is too short to have been produced on the professional stage, and may never have been acted at all. Resembling the drolls of the Commonwealth period rather than a full-length play, it was perhaps written for performance by amateurs. Timothy Shirk's remark (l. 263), "Had I my nets in Reading, I would show you some sport," possibly refers to the actual place of performance. It should be observed that the *dramatis personae* include only eight speaking parts, of which one—the Boy's—is limited to two lines. There are also a few 'supers,' who on one occasion figure as a crowd and on another as a group of fiddlers. Of the eight characters all are masculine rôles, and this fact itself has some significance, for it seems to indicate that the play was prepared for school-boys or 'home-talent.' During most of the action Lady Pecunia, "a person only mentioned," is almost as important as if she were actually on the stage, but in the fifth act she loses her personality and becomes merely a symbol for money. The speaking parts are varied so cleverly as to give the effect of a much larger cast than eight people. Thus the cheaters appear not only in their own persons but in two disguises. Stage directions are fairly numerous, but throw little light on the matter of staging. One of them—"Enter at one door Shirk; at the other, Nimmer, Bidstand" (l. 87)—is unusual enough to deserve mention here.

The plot, though thin, is fairly well constructed. I know of no definite source for it, though in general the dependence of the playwright on Middleton and Jonson is obvious. Act I may well have been suggested by the Roaring School that is described in Rowley and Middleton's *A Fair Quarrel* (1617). In that play (Act II, Sc. 2) Chough goes to the Roaring School after his servant Tristram has told him, "You must learn to roar here in London; you'll never proceed in the reputation of gallantry else"; and in Act IV, Sc. 1, where the school is shown in operation, Chough—like Knowlitt in *The Drinking Academy*—often calls on his "tutor" for advice. Act II, Sc. 1, Act III, Sc. 1, and part of Act IV, Sc. 2, are apparently much indebted to the "courtesy books." Scenes similar to them, by the way, are also in Shirley's *Love Tricks, or The School of Complement*, 1625 (especially Act III, Sc. 5). Act III, Sc. 2, is unquestionably indebted to Jonson's *Bartholomew*

Fair (III, 1), where, as Nightingale sings his ballad of "A Caveat Against Cutpurses," his confederate succeeds in stealing Mr. Cokes's purse. Just as Nightingale says to Cokes, "I hope you suspect me not, sir?" and receives a reassuring reply, so in this play Bidstand asks, "I hope you think me honest?" while Simple replies, "Aye, Mopus, thou art honest. Would all were like thee." Parallels to this ballad-singing scene,—which is managed very well indeed,—are fairly common. There is a long prose account of cutpurse-ballad-singers in Robert Greene's *Third Part of Conny-Catching*, 1592 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, X, 161-164), and another in Henry Chettle's *Kind-Harts Dreame*, ca. 1593 (*Shakspeare Allusion-Books*, ed. C. M. Ingleby, I, 50). A scene is devoted to them in Fletcher's *Night-Walker*, 1633 (III, 3). For the actions of the people when the ballad-singer begins to sing in the street the author no doubt drew on personal observation. But probably, too, he was to some extent indebted to Autolycus and Mopsa and Dorcas in the *Winter's Tale* and to the ballad-singers of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* and *Monsieur Thomas*. Descriptions of a ballad-singer and his audience that somewhat resemble the Bidstand-Simple scene are given also in Henry Glapthorne's *Albertus Wallenstein*, 1640 (*Plays*, ed. Pearson, II, 34), in *The London Chanticleers*, 1659 (Dodsley-Hazlitt's *Old Plays*, XII, 329), in *A Garland for the New Royal Exchange*, 1669 (1845 reprint, p. 44), and in Newcastle's *Triumphant Widow*, 1677 (p. 6). Slight parallels to the last scene of the play are found in the conclusion to *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and in *The Honest Lawyer*, 1619 (sigs. G 2^v—G 3), where rogues disguised as fairies rob Gripe.

The date of the manuscript is probably, as Pearson's catalogue suggested, about 1620. The references to the Three Cranes in the Vintry, to St. Clement Danes, or to "the Temple" do not help; but James I is evidently in mind when, in l. 392, "his majesty's subjects, the bears of the Paris Garden" are spoken of. The indebtedness of the plot to Middleton and Jonson and the constant talk about tobacco and the difficulty of learning to smoke point to a date not later than the end of James I's reign; and a date of 1620 is made almost certain by the epigram (p. 1) on the famous Synod of Dort (1618-19).

My reprint of the play aims to be exact. It follows the manuscript line for line, page for page, and reproduces the spelling,

capitalization, and punctuation (but not the occasional ornamental flourishes that precede and follow stage directions) of the original. Bracketed words or phrases are those that the scribe deleted; the foot-notes call attention to interlineations. Explanatory notes would seem to be more or less superfluous, and accordingly they are but sparingly provided. That the play itself has interest enough to merit a reprint perhaps nobody will deny; and to Mr. White for permission to make this reprint a cordial acknowledgment must be made. I am indebted also to Professor C. F. Tucker Brooke for several suggestions on the text.

[Page 1]

EPIGRAMMA

In Dordraii synodum.

Dordraii synodus? nodus. chorus integer? eger

Conuentus? ventus. sessio? stramen. Amen

INSGLISHED

5

What is Dort's synod? Eccho speake. ah what?

Eccho—A knot

Tis then of knaues. what in them shall we find?

Eccho—Wind

How call you then their session say?

10

Eccho—Stray.

Thus doth the eccho Dorts graue synod find

A knot of knaues a straey session, wind.

[Page 3]

THE DRINKING ACADEMY

or.

CHEATERS HOLY DAY.

The Persons.

Worldly an old doting vser

5

Knowlitttle his prodigall sone

1 With the "Epigramma" cf. the letter by James Howell, dated April 16, 1622, in *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaŋæ*, ed. Joseph Jacobs, I (1892), 149:

I shall have shortly the transaction of the Synod. The *Jesuits* have put out a jeering Libel against it, and these two Verses I remember in't:—

Dordrecti Synodus? nodus; chorus integer? æger;

Conuentus? ventus; Sessio stramen? Amen.

5 *InsglISHED*] sic.

11 *Stray*] perhaps *stray*.

13 The verso of this leaf (i.e. page 2) is blank.

5 *vser*] sic for *vserer*.

Chaulero Whiffe master of the drinking Academy
 Simple Knowlittles man
 Timothy Sheirke a cheater
 Tom Nimmer a cut purce 10
 Jack Bidstand a heigh-way man
 Pluto the God of riches, madam Pecunias ghost, Alecto,
 a ballat singer, persons assum'd by the 3 cheaters to cos
 sen Worldly Knowlitttle and Caulero Whiffe.
 Maddam Pecunia my lady Inconstantia fortunes 15
 eldest daughter a person only mentioned.

[Page 4]

THE PROLOGUE.

Ile warrant you expect a Prologue? but by my troath ther
 is no such matter y^e are nether like to haue Prologue or
 or Epelogue head or foot in this play. our Poet to excuse
 it says Melpomine hath taken cold of late. but the trouth 5
 is articles of treason haue bin brought to Apollo against him.
 the least of wch his accusers count capital. the cheifest
 crime and for wch Apollo hath for euer banish'd him the
 company of the thrice three learned sisters (so that he
 can neuer hope againe to mount Pegasus and make him 10
 curuet Caprials of nonsense) is that since the honoure
 done him to be listed in the sacred tribe of Apollo he hath
 bin more a coniurer then a poet and conuersed more with
 the furies then the muses for wch dishonour done to the
 loue of Daphne—But he harkens. as I liue Ile in least 15
 in a rage he teares his booke and lets us haue no play. fa
 rewell. but I had forgot.

The prologue returnes and makes

A conge.

7 *Chaulero*] i.e. Cavaliero, a common title in Elizabethan plays and stories.
 "Cauallero Cutpurse" and "Caulero Rake-hell" are characters in Samuel
 Rowlands's *Greenes Ghost* (1602), sig. E, and *The Letting of Humours Blood* (1600),
 B 4.

3 y^e] or perhaps y^o.

3-4 *or or*] sic.

11 *Caprials*] obs. form of *caprioles* ('capers').

[Page 5]

ACTUS PRIMUS.

20

*Scaena 1**

Enter Simple out of the drinking Academy
With a pipe in on hand and a candle
In the other Spewing.

Simp: Aowe, aow, aow. neuer (aow) did poore man cast 25
vp so much that had so little skill in arethmaticke befo
re. O this tobaccho I shall neuer learne the gentile qua
lity while I liue. let me trie again. Aow, Aowe. my
young master Knowlitttle hath past his accidence of dri
nking and is now in his quarreling grammer whilst I like 30
a blocke head stay yet in the A B C of tobacco. wel Ile
to it againe a man can do more then he can do. Awe, aow,
awe.

*Scaena 2**

Enter Wordly the vserer. 35
World: Why how now Simple what is the matter with thee?
Simp: Hard at my booke an it please your Worship I feare I shal
neer be able to learne my tobacco lesson.
World: Be of good courage man wher is my sone Knowlitttle?
Simp: My young master is at his quarling dementions you'l se him 40

[Page 6]

here by and by with Caulero Whif his tutor.
Worl: Well old Worldly tho Harmus and Pactolus rowle ther
golden wandes into thy cofers tho plenty hath placed her
[sp] sea
te vnder thy roofe and vnto the vnfoulds her welthy boso
me stor'd with riches may out ere both the Indies yet art 45
thou happy only in a sone a boy whos rare indowments

32 *do more*] sic. *Awe*] sic.

35 *Wordly*] sic.

42 *Harmus*] Mr. White's suggestion of *Hormus* is undoubtedly correct. Hor-
muz (or Ormuz) is an island in the Gulf of Persia, a rich emporium of trade in the
seventeenth century.

42 *Pactolus*] the Lydian river in which King Midas bathed.

43 *wandes*] read *sandes*?

45 *ere*] sic. Perhaps the word should be *last*.

will make ample satisfaction for all thy sacred hunger hath deuoured for all the teares of orphants and poore wi dowes wch by thy cheating Chimistrie turned to gold now stuffe thy cofers. but here he comes Ile step aside and take a prospect of my happines. rare! what state the perolous wag takes vpon him! 50

*Scaena 3**

Enter Knolittle and Caulero

Whiffe with a brace of fidlers. 55

Kno Come tutor let vs haue repetitions in our drinking lesson. for feare [I haue] I forget my gentle-man like quality

Whif: Amach. Simple!

Simp: Aowe, awe, aowe.

Whif. What spewing? 60

Simp: Hard at at my studies.

Whif: Bring vs a pottle of wine presently.

Know: Apolle! its but a snuffe bring tow gallans

Simp: Tis a question whether I can bring my selfe in againe when I am once out this tobacho hath made such a 65

[Page 7]

vertigo in my head.

Kno: In the meane time tutor Ile repeat ouer againe my quarling lecturer.

Whif: Do so.

Kno: What? I lie? daggers and pistols! the word shall make thee nothing. this sword shall send thee of an imbasage to Plu to neuer to returne. I lie? the very sound hath shot 70

reuenge through all my vaines and in my forehead sits grim death

shouting deaths at thee. lie? my eyes (I feele them) darts flames more killing then Ioues thunder. [what] take the wall to? 75

tis an affront not to be suffer'd. thou hadst better haue taken food

58 *Amach*] i.e. *a match*!

61 *at at*] sic.

73-74 *shouting*] i.e. *shooting*. Cf. 88.

frō out the iaws of hungry lions or toren snaks frō of the
 heads
 of furies not all the blood wch flowes within thy veines tho
 it were an ocean able to make the world deluge can quench
 the flame of reuenge iust angre hath kindl'd in this brest. 80
 my rage shall persue thee to the depest hell and ther foreuer
 be thy tormentor.

Worl: O Worldly Worldly what a sone hast thou! a treasure able
 to
 make the rich tho the full tide of gold wch flows within thy
 chests shold ebbe and fiend cranies to get out. tho plenty
 shold 85
 forsake thee, and euery tallent thou possesses had wings to
 fol
 low her.

Kno: The wall? death lend me thy bow Ile shout distruction
 at him.

Whif: Enouffe deare pupil your all ready a master of art in quar 90
 reling. your very words are thunder and looks so like
 Medusa's
 they are able to fright your enemies to stone.

Kno: Nay-I know I shall come to it in time. I take after my
 mother

[Page 8]

and she had a natural guift that way.

World Marry had she Ile besworne her tung wold drown'd the
 noys 95
 of an iron mill and neuer so little angre she wold giue an ala
 rum to the whole towne.

Enter Simple with wine.

Whif: Come Simple fill thy master a cup of read nectar

Kno: What a thimble full? tis a drought for a flie. giue me the 100
 whole pot. a bucket is not enuffe to quench my thirst.

World: Rare he is amost refin'd gallant alredy. O the power of art.

Kno: Simple giue an other pot to my tutor strike vp squeakes
 Et rauco strepuerunt cornua cantu. hats of tutor

79 *ocean*] may perhaps be spelled *ocaen*.

88 *shout*] sic for *shoot*.

102 *amost*] sic.

- here is a health to the lady of the moone to be drunke on
or knees. 105
- World: Sure this Lady [of the] moone is my sones mistres Ile of
with my hat to if she be
richer then maddam Pecunia the wagge shall haue her
- Kno: Tutor do me right
- Whif: Tis all of. 110
- Kno : S'lid ther is enuffe to drown'd an elephant the bottome of
with or thou visits Pluto.
- Then call drinke vp all
The drawer stans ready to fill
A pox of care why shold we dispare 115
My father hath made his will.
- more wine boy.
- Worl: I can hold no longer my

[Page 9]

- ioys are to oreflowing thy father hath made his will
indeade and his will is to raine downe showers of gold 120
on thee my boy. take this and this. my whole estate is
thine.
- Ile be thy ward. O my deare Knowlittles! come kisse me
boy.
- Kno: What? no thing else but plane kisse as I am gentle man
father
thou wants manners. hadst thou my breeding thou woldst
haue
first taken me by the snowy [rist] hand then gazing on my
rubie 125
nose (eyes I wold say) in flowery language haue desier to
tast the nectar of my [ruby] azure lippe. O the want of a
tutor!
- World: Be not angry boy. Ile get me one and follow the gallants
Academy with thee.
- Kno: How! that is a good one faith. do you thinke Ile alow tow 130

107 *Ile of with my hat to*] interlined.111 *of with*] for *off with 't*.118 *longer*] there is a long erasure here that cannot be made out.130 *faith*] possibly *afaitth*.

spenders in the same house? go get you home you haue
got enuffe in getting me. go brode ouer your mouldy
bags and hark more mony. tis not your alouance of
800 pounds a yeare will fiend me with salats.

World: Thou shalt haue more my deare Knowlitttle. the only 135
care wch hath fild thy fathers head with so many siluer
hairs

hath bin least thou shold not fiend ways to spend what
I haue all ready got.

Kno: And beshrow me if I rid you not of that care.

World: My coffers are so cramb'd with gold the very ground 140
bends to hould them. my mines are like the Indies vnex
houstable.

Kno: By this light and Ile trie the deepth of them and that ve
ry [some] soone. condem 2 bags of a 1000 pounds a peace
to meet

vs at the temple we are forgameing to night. 145

[Page 10]

World: Tis done my boy. but I had allmost for got. my ioy are so
swel
ling they had robd me of my memory: maddam Pecunia
my Lady Inconstantia ffortune's eldest dauther is in loue
with thee.

Kno: Harke tutor here is newes indeade. 150

Worl: She is thine my wagge if thou wilt haue her.

Know: Haue her tis discreed all readdy Ile haue her.

Whif: Sir y^e se the effects of my skil that in a moments space
was able by my chimistrie to extract so compleat a gentle
man out (as I may say almost) of a dung hill. he is now 155
the Phenix of the age who was latly alumpe of Pesantry
the gallants adore him and happy is he who can pay ho
mage to his potent toe. wher ere he goes honor waits
vpon him and fortune follows him with propetious wings

Wold: Chaulero-Whife I must acknowledg my sone is happy 160
| he gives him mony

133 *not*] the *t* is altered from an *r*.

141 *mines*] inserted above an erased word that appears to be *minds*.

156 *alumpe*] sic.

160 *Wold*:] sic. *gives him mony*] a later addition to *he*.

- only in a tutor and am sory I can thanke you only with thes.
- Whif: And thes Ile assure y^e speaks good Rhetoricke.
- Know: Tutor come away let vs in and haue a courting lesson I
afire to be a woing.
- Wiffe: I follow you. 165
- Worl: May all the gods conspire to make my boy hapy.
Ile home and spring a mine of gold to furnish the with
fresh supplies.

ACTUS SECUNDUS

Scaena prima.

170

[Page 11]

Enter Simple with a letter

To Maddam Pecunia.

- Sim: A pox of this woing for me. it will make me a
dunce for euer I shall neuer be a gentle
man if it hold. no soner was the tobacho qualme of my 175
stomacke and I sat scholer like with all the pots about
me at my drinking lesson in wch I doubt'd not but in
short time to make as good a progres as my master. but
I am cald forsooth (the world is come to a fine passe ffai
the) and what to do? but to learne to make congies, to 180
draw my legges thus, then whele about thus and walke thus
as if my feete were in a frame, and all this stinking stir
to be Cupits messenger. to tel maddam Pecunia (for so my
master cals her) her eyes (I wold they were out) haue
wounded his hart sauing your presence and stucke it ful 185
of flaming arrows wch a 100 little Cupits (a murren ta
ke them kindld in the radiant mooneshine of her
beauty stirreuerence) sure loue is a dangerous thing it

163 *I*] read *I'm*.165 *Wiffe*:] sic and written over *World*:

166 This entire line is a later insertion.

167 *mine*] changed from *mind*.174 *euer*] a word is scratched out here.181 *walke thus*] *thus* is a later insertion.182 *stinking*] the *s* is a later insertion.188 *stirreuerence*] the *sti* is doubtful. Perhaps the reading should be *her beauty's sirreuerence*.

hath made my master stark mad allready. he walks with
his armes a crosse his eyes staring vpwards and cals 190
vpon Jupiter. the muses haue but an ill time of it
and if the fit hold he'le quite and cleane tire Pegasus
with making madregals and sonits on my lady Pecunia's
munkey. for he intends thus to begin his acquaintance
with her. now Chaualero Whiffe our worshipfull 195

[Page 12]

hath put all his braines in a presse to squees out new frases
and Poeticall annagrams wch my master cons with out
booke
and most [poetically] pathetically speaks them ouer againe
to the bed post
whom he cals maddam at euery word and disiers to kis the
shadow of her rosy [fingers] shoe strings. both he and his
tutor haue had 200
scarse any thing but Venus and Cupit in ther mouths
this 3 howers. he intends first to acost his mistres in cop
lets then to persue his suit in Poetical prose. Ile war
rant here lies a [good] great deale of good stufte in this
paper if the truth were knowen. for he hath [bout] bought
vp 205
all the loue ballats about the towne and cul'd out of them
the choisest conceits all to make this letter I cold fiend
in my hart for your erudition and my one satisfaction
to read it. for who knows but I may chance to be in
loue to and then—[well] well Ile begin in order. into 210
the lily hands of Cupids faire daughter (nay I told
you before it was poetical) the paragon of perfecti
on a bleeding loue sacrifis'd to her buty presents
his wounded hart (heiho!) fa la la la fa la fa lanini
downd dillie. tis iust ballat way I can put a tune to 215

189 *allready*] the second *l* is a later insertion.

190 *crosse*] perhaps a comma here.

194 *for he*] perhaps *forke*.

196 *hath*] read *tutor hath*.

214 *lanini*] possibly *lanihi*.

it if you pleas.

Maddam and why

Shold thy beauty (harke how it chimes)

Thus wound my brest? (now marke the rime)

firō thy each part

220

In to my hart

[Page 13]

By Cupit is an arrow prest (O rare)

Then be not cruel

ffaire nature's iuwel

But make me blest.

225

Me me I say

Who sweet for aie

Will loue thee best

To my thougs thou are priue

Wherfore I pree thee

230

Be not vnkind

Now iudge ye whether my master be not an asse

or not, whether he or I haue more wit. is priue a

fit title to giue a gentlewoman to my thoughts thou

art priue priue! a stinking word a cosen Jones is ch

235

antiar by halfe. O wit wit where art thou? but had I bin

to write I shold haue stile her close stoole it is a more

cortly terme and more familiar with ladies besides the

verse wold haue borne it. as for example

To my thoughts thou art a close stole

240

Wherfore I wold

Thou be not vnkind.

Least that I than

Myselfe for to hang

Do take it in minde

245

With what an ominous close he shuts vp his letter well

229 *thougs*] sic for *thoughts*.

235-236 *a cosen Jones is chantiar by halfe*] I can make nothing of this remark.

237 *stile*] read *stiled*.

238 *more*] interlined.

[Page 14]

He away with it least my delay make him do execution
on him selfe. ffare-well. exit

Scaena Secunda.

Enter Timothe Shirke.

250

Shir: It is time for me to be fowling when so many wood
cocks are abroad. wel simple I shall wait your retur
ne in the meane time I will contriue a noose for your
master. Pecunia is not a lady to be thus lost. I haue cour
ted her any time this 7 yeares and was neer to like to thri
ue in my suet as now hauing Knowlitttle my riuall. you
may gues my profession I am on that liues by my wits and

255

yet

no poet. my place of trading is euery wher wher ther is
mony stirring, wch vnsensibly like hocus Pocus I can
conuay out of one pocket in to another. by a mettaphor
I am a fouler and my game is gold finches or fine whi
te siluer birds wch for the most part I cacth among
throng of doterels and woodcocks had I my nets in rea
ding I wold show y^e some sport, but haue a litle patience
and you shall se what I can do by my wit. (he whistles)
Tom Nimmer Jacke Bidstand heare presently.

260

265

Scaena Tertia.

Enter Nimmer, Bidstand.

Nim: S'lid what made you whistle? I thought the cunstable

[Page 15]

had bin at my heeles. ther was a pray I had in persuet
and had got my gamster vp in a croud and my hand very
neer plumb'd the depth of his pocket wher the trea
sure lay when (a murren take you) your whistling ma
de me draw backe without the booty.

270

Shir: Tis no matter Tom we haue greater game in purshute. Ja
cke Bidstand wellcome my rogue I haue a desine wants

275

255 *time*] perhaps an *i* has been inserted after this word, meaning *i'* (= *in*).
For *to like* read *so like*.

262 *cacth*] sic for *catch*.

263 *ihrong*] sic for *throngs*.

271 *got*] interlined.

- the an actor in it wch if it thriue will make thee caper.
- Bid: Not in a halter I hope.
- Shir: No my pretious villin ther is no feare of that.
- Bid: ffeith I am for none of your day worke my hand is not 280
subtile enuffe to penetrate a pocket. nether did I euer
venter to cut a purse but once and then the fellow disco
uerd me, whom had I not presently threatn'd with my whin
yard to cut his throat if he cried out I had bin taken. if
it be
any night exploit or heighway busines you haue in hand let 285
me and this alone to performe it.
- Shir: We may chance to vse the that way here after. all that
you haue to do at the present is to inuent some tricke to
draw
a crowd a bout y^e as Simple Knowlittles man returnes frō
Maddam Pecunias who I am sure will be one in the throng 290
and then Tom Nimmer thou shalt examine his pockets for
intelligences letters my rogue of his masters by wch we will
informe our selues how to spread our netts.
- Bid: Ile warrant you for drawing a crow'd as Simple passes
- Nim: Let me alone for picking his pockets if he be in it. 295
- Shir: Be confident of that if ther be 3 together he'l make the
forth. a
bout it then my raskals. in the meane while Ile to the drin

[Page 16]

king academy to trie what I can fish out of Chaulero
Whiffe and his learned Pupil Knowlittles that may aduance
our plot. fare wel my deare brace of Marcuries. 300
Exeunt.

ACTUS TERTIUS.

Scaena prima

Enter Worldly, Knolittle, Chaulero Wiffe.

- Kno: Maddam your eyes shoot Cupits at me I feale them fla 305
ming in my hart.

288 *do*] interlined.

292 *of*] inserted later over another word.

293 *netts*] or perhaps *nets*. The MS. is blurred.

296 *be 3*] *be* is interlined.

304 *Wiffe*] sic.

World: Now Cauhalero White what must I say?

Whif: Nothing nothing you'll put him out if you talke.

Kno: Ten thousan fiery arrows kindled in the radiant moone
shine
of your beauty haue pierc'd my breast.

World: Heauen forbid deare child is it so indead?

Kno: Noe, no. what a blockhead is my father he dus not vnderstand

Poetry!

Whif: Good sir be silent you hender him in his lesson.

World: Oh! is it so. I haue done I haue done [I haue done]. go 315
forward deare hart and hold vp thy head when thou spea
kes chucke.

Kno: Ten thousan flameing arrows kindled in the radiant moonshine of your beuty haue perc'd my brest.

Worl: Hei ho! **320**

[Page 17]

Kno: And wholly broake downe the weake fence nature had
made to keepe in my poore [soule] hart wch wounded in a 1000
places and scorch'd with the hottest flames of loue burnes
a liuing sacrifice to your beauty. O let me coole it on
that bed of violets wch couers your azure lip. let it fiend 325
shelter among thos blushing roses your ruby noses
discouers or in the Elizian valies of your goosbery
cheakes for euer fix its habitation.

World: Now I know not what to say. but I am a rogue if
I can hold from crieing. shee were hard hart'd that af 330
ter thes fine words cold say thee nay.

Whif: And be shrow me if I can hold frō laughing at the
ridiculous doings betwene a doting father and his
humorous sone. sir you are perfect enuffe
in courting let vs in and practise ouer the song with
the fidlers you are to sing vnder maddam Pecunia's win
dow.

313 Poetry| The exclamation point is inserted over a question-mark.

332 be] interlined over an erasure.

333 *betwene*] originally *betweene* with the third *e* erased. *doting*] interlined over an erasure.

334 *numerous*] a word before this is scratched out.

- Kno: Content. Maddam honoure me with your lilly hand and
let me approch so neer happines as to ioyne aside with
you. permit me to trvge the path your feete makes flo 340
wery with ther scared tuch.
- World: Chaulero Whiffe what must I do?
- Whif: Giue him your lilly hand do you not heare him call for it
- World: Here take it bird I did not know it was a lilly one before.
- Kno: No? can thos two radiant stars your eyes wch giues 345

[Page 18]

- a better day then Phoebus to the world be so blind as not to
se the beuty of the orbe they shine in.
- World And are my eyes stars to? then Ile were no longer
spectacles
by this light. what a miser was I that knew not this before.
- Kno: Stars lady? they are 2 glorious [sones] sunnes that makes
thes thos pur 350
ple roses and siluer lillies spring in your beutious cheake a
bed
for Cupit, they are sunnes I say that giues burth to that
bright
groue of gould your haire far surpassing in lustre and riches
the Hesperian orchards.
- Worl: How! a groue of gould in my heire? O wrech wrech that 355
I was that for sauing the expences of looking glace shold
be thus ignorant of such a treasure.
- Kno: Maddam I tell you your eyes are sunnes sunnes that put
your beautious body in [a] a richer dresse then euer yet
fflora Mantled the spring in. sunnes that makes thes ro 360
sy fingers such as Aurora wold be proud of swet sud
des of ambre [greese] grece I meane.
- Whif: How the rogue abuses him with his grece fists.
- Kno: And pretious gummes worth prouinces. O what oders ex
hale your fragrant breath! tis hence that Zephirvs sucks 365

341 *scared*] for *sacred*.342 *World*:] written over *Whif*:350 *thos*] apparently changed from *thes* or *ros* and should be omitted.362 *grece I meane*] added later.365 *Zephirus*] the *v* is doubtful.

the perfumes he breath about the world. beleue me I
thinke you feede on Phenixes or the ambrosian diet
of the Gods that maks you breath so sweet an odor

Whif: He rather feeds on carring that makes his breath stinke
so profoundly Ile be sworne I can smel if furthar then 370
my grannams.

[Page 19]

World: O that I shold haue sunnes in my eyes and roses and lilies
growing in my cheeks and reuer til now know of it. deare
bird lets in I am afier till I se a looking glase and vew all 375
thes wounders thou speakest of.

Kno: Lead the way. my empres and I will trace the flowry
stage after thee.

Whif: ffollow Ile marshall you in with a brome staffe.

Enter Tim Shirke.

Shir: Ha ha he was euer such a brace of fooles sene wel Ile 380
follow to to gaine further intelligence lest Simple proues
wiser then his master and [desceaes] deceaues my engines I
haue set to
intrap him.

Scaena Secunda.

Enter Simple Nimmer Bidstand &c. 385

Nim: Jack stand to thy tacklings Simple aproches. he is is not
aboue 20 strids of.

Bid: I am for him when so euer he comes here is a remora wold
stay him tho he saild neuer so fast.

Nim: Begin presently or hele be vpon thee man. 390

Bid: Come sirs pence a peece here is a new ballat a dainty new
ballat newly printed and newly come forth concerning his

369 *carring*] i.e. *carrian*. Cf. 665.

373 *reuer*] sic for *neuer*.

381 *to to*] sic.

385 *Simple*] omit. Cf. 402. Perhaps read *Boy* (cf. 396).

386 *is is*] sic.

388 *remora*] a barnacle (cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXII, i, and the *N.E.D.*).
In Middleton and Rowley's *Fair Quarrel*, I, i, a sergeant says: "You know the
remora that stays our ship always."

390 *thee*] the second *e* was added later.

Simp: By this light he shall teach my master then for he must
 learne to dance as well as to drinke and querel. 415
 I prethee sing Ile heare some of it before I bey.

[Page 21]

Bid: Then to put you out
 Of feare or of doubt
 Wee came from S^t Katherins-a
 Thes danceing three 420
 By the helpe of me
 That am the post of the singne-a

Simp: By my troth a prety ballat Ile learne the tune of it.

Bid: We sel good ware
 And we need not care 425
 The cort and countrie know it.
 Our ale is the best
 And each good guest
 Prays for ther soules that bout it.

Simp: Rare a faith. 430

Bid: ffor any ale house
 We care not a lowse
 Nor tauerne in the twne-a
 Nor vintery cranes
 Nor S^t. Clements Daines 435
 Nor the diuil can put vs downe-a.

Sim: Excellent. by my troth a prety ballat Ile bey 3 of them.
 for my master
 out tutor and my selfe we'le sing it in parts vnder Mad

422 *singne*] sic for *signe*. Ben Jonson, in his *Staple of News*, 1625, Act III,
 Sc. i, says:

The perpetual motion
 Is here found out by an ale-wife in Saint Katherine's,
 At the sign of the Dancing Bears.

433 *tune*] sic for *towne*.

434 *vintery cranes*] the tavern called "Three Cranes in the Vintry," which is
 mentioned in William Elderton's *New Merry News*, 1606 (Hazlitt's *Fugitive
 Tracts, 1600-1700*, No. 9), in Richard West's *News from Bartholomew
 Fair*, 1606 (Bodleian), and in many other places (e.g. Dodsley-Hazlitt, *Old
 Plays*, IV, 87; VII, 357).

437 *a prety ballat*] interlined.

dam Pecunia's window. it will be ten times better then a
 of Cupit. I prethe go on. song
440

[Page 22]

Bid: Who has there once bin
 Comes thether againe
 The liquor is so mighty.
 Beare strong and stale
 And so is our ale 445
 And it burnes like aqua-vitae.

Sim: Now I thinke of it I am resolu'd to tast of your ale if it be so
 good. Ile come my selfe and bring my master, tutor, and
 my lady Pecunia with me.

Bid: ffrom morning til night 450
 And about day light
 They'l sit and neuer grudg it.
 Til the fishwiues ioyne
 Ther single coine
 And the tinker pownes his bug it. 455

What nobody bey yet?

Boy: Yes here is a penny giue me one.

Sim: Sirrah stand by and let your betters be serued before you.
 Mopus prethee giue me 3 pence in ballats picke me out thos
 with the best pictures. 460

Bid: I shall sir.

Sim: S'lid! my purse! villanes rogues theues my purse.

Nim: Who call you sir?

Simp: The cunstable Ile call the counstable.

Nim: Not rogue or thefe vnlesse you intend to be booted in the
 stons. 465

[Page 23]

Simp: My purse my purse rayes the streat presently I haue
 lost my purse.

Nim: Alas sir! what markes has it? Ile go looke for it.

Sim: S'ld my masters letters to. cutpurse villins Ile fech my mas 470

4 5 bug it] sic for budget.

ter to you. he shall quarel you to nothing vnlesse you
restore.

Nim: Make haste and wee'l stay till he comes.

Bid: Take a ballat with you to repaire your losses.

Sim: Thanke [thee] good Mopus.

Bid: I hope you thinke me honest? 475

Sim: I mopus thou art honest. wold all were like thee.

Boys Lets follow him boys lets follow him. his pocket is pick'd
ha ha he!

Bid: Now my rasckall I perceau thou hast sped.

Nim: Sped? why I cold haue stolen his briches of man if I wold.
he has no more feling then a post. 480

Bid: What booty hast thou besids the letters?

Nim: ffaith here it is most of it is brasse. let vs away with the
letters

to Tim Shirke wee'l part this as we go.

Bid: Content.

ACTUS QUARTUS. 485

Scaena prima.

Enter at one dore Shirke at the other
Nimmer Bidstand.

Shir: Well met my pretious villans, what news?

[Page 24]

Nim: Health to our noble captane the great Marcury and so 490
le patron of our profession by whos influence we trace
the streats in silke and satten and haue red mettle to
fill the vnnatural vacuum of our pockets.

Shir: You shall haue more my rogues if y^e haue prosperd in the
desine I sent you about. 495

Bidst: Tis done my Rogerlero.

Nim: Ecce signum.

Shirk: Why then my brace of babones the world is ours wee'l spri
ng a mine of gold in Worldlies house shall bind pleasure
to vs and for euer banish pouerty our company. ye shall 500
feed no longer on radishes nor venter a whipping or your
eares my rogues for cutting a purse with 3 pence in it. my

482 of it, vs] it and vs are interlined.

497 *Ecce signum*] In Henry Porter's *Two Angry Women of Abington*, 1599,
sig. D3^r, Nicholas Proverbs likewise says of a letter: "*Ecce signum*, heere it is."

- valiant Hector Jacke Bidstand thou shalt no [log] longer ha
 zard thy woollicke carcasse to wounds nor put thy necke
 in Jeperdy for cutting at midnight. we'l feare no longer 505
 cunstables nor the takeing vp of our quarters in newgate
 bride-well or the counter. nether shall that visable beast
 the hangman or his 3 leg'd mare the gallow be any lon
 ger a terror to vs. thes letters shall make vs merry with
 muscadine clarot and rich sherry. 510
- Bidst: But you forget this while to read the letters.
- Shirk: Tis no matter for reading that letter this is it one of my one
 coining boys wch must do the dead that being supprest
 thou shalt carry it as frō Maddam Pecunia to Knowlitttle
 and inuite him to mete her with Caulero Whiffe and 515

[Page 25]

- the vserer his father at ten acloocke at night a mounge the
 ruinous buildings in the suburbs. wher we will fleece them
 rogues and open our selues a way to all the vserers trespure
 I am sure they'l haue the wit to come at the time appointed
 and our ambushe shall be ready to receaue them? 520
- Nim: I apprehend you I am gone.
- Sher: Let your returne be suddane for we shall want you an ac
 tor in the busines.
- Nim: Ile be with you immediatly.
- Bidst: Now Captaine what imployment haue you for me? 525
- Shir: Jacke thou and I must go and prouide vs diuils habits Ile
 tell thee with in what vse they are to be put to.
- Bid: Lets in then. exeunt.
- Scaena 2^a Enter Whiffe Knowlitttle
 Worldly Simple with fidlers.* 530
- Kno: March forward my raskals if I thriue in my suet to my
 lady Pecunia (as I hope I shall) by this light Ile sheabt ye

503 *longer*] the *n* is a later insertion.504 *woolicke*] perhaps *worlicke*. Does it mean *woolly*?508 *gallow*] sic.512 *one*²] = own, as often.513 *supprest*] a word erased here.516 *acloocke*] perhaps *acloake*.525 *Bidst*] written over: *Shir*.532 *sheabt*] sic for *sheath*. Cf. 576.

all in satten. but I fele a terrible ague crawling vp
my great toe wch I feare will shake all my courting les
son out of my memory. as I liue I begin to be horrible af
fraid already. I dare not speake first my lady Pec
nia must begin first or as I am a gentle-man all is
spoil'd. 535

Whif: Be of good courage man Ile stand at thy backe and
tel the what to say. 540

Simp: Effeight effeight master thou wants thy good mother
to speake for thee.

[Page 26]

Worl: I Ile besworne dus he she wold haue spoken and spoa
ken to the purpose she wanted no tung nor bouldnesse to
spea
ke to my lord maior. 545

Kno: But tutor I haue scrach'd out a vre a diuice I wold say
what
thinke you if I shold send her a catalogue of all my good
parts
and giue her to vnderstand in writing that my eyes are suns
that makes my cheakes bud roses and my other parts shoot
forth lillies, wch makes my vaines spring violets and my
haire rise vp in to a groue of gould or what if I send her
my picture she can not chose but fall in loue presently. 550

Whif: Tut vnlesse you goe your selfe tis all to no purpose. besi
des all the paines and swet I haue spent in reading loues
Tacticks to you in teaching you how to muster vp your
troopes of complements and all the rest that belongs to the
millitary art of courting. will be in vaine. the song to
that cost me 4 howers the penning and you 8 howers
the coning without booke is lost. besides I am confident
she will begin first when she sees you. vnles shee be affra
ide. as he has a face Ile besworne wold frighten any
body. 555

Kno: Nay if she begin let me alone to go on. but who
comes here? 560

541 *Effeight*] possibly this means *i' faith*.

546 *a vre*] a ure, a practice or use.

Scaena 3^a Enter Nimmer.

565

Nim: Health to the illustrious Knowlittle frō my lady
Pecunia who kissing your hands presents this letter hoping
to be so much honour'd by you as to se y^e to nigh at ten a

[Page 27]

cloake [at night] in suburbs wherfor more priuicy she
will expect you amoung the ruinous buildings.

570

Kno: As I liue she is inamor'd of me all ready.

Simp: Why how can she chose since I haue giuen her a discrip
tion of all your good parts and that in such excellant lan
guage that all the picture drawers in the towne cold not ha
painted you out better then you florishd in my discourse.

575

Kno: God 'a marcy Simple for this Ile sheath thee on our ma
rige day in scarlet.

Sim: I thanke your Worship.

Nim: Sir will it please you to read the letters they'l informe
you further concerning my ladies intention.

580

Kno: I can scarce se to read for ioy.

World: Canst thou not se, chucked, Ile lend thee my spectacles.

here

take them.

Kno: O heauens all the Gods conspire to shower downe blessings
on me. Ile defer my ioyes no longer come let vs to the place
presently that I may seaze vpon my happines.

585

Nim: S'lid how shall we do to staue him of we are not yet
ready for him—sir you know the time is not til ten
a cloake she will not be ther before.

Kno: Ten a cloake is to long for me to expect, besides tis fiting
we shold wait for her. come let vs away.

590

Nim: S'lid we are vndone if he goes. the plot is quitt spoil'd
sir I had all most forgot my lady heares y^e haue a fa
ther.

Kno: A man of gold boy.

595

[Page 28]

Nim: She desires you by Cupit and Hymen to bring him with
you.

567 *hands*] the *s* is a later addition.

568 *nigh*] sic for *night*.

571 *is*] interlined.

Kno: 'Tis done. Dad thou must a long to.

World: With all my hart (deare mouce) Ile go without my stafe
and lead the way to. this goodnews has made me 40 years
younger. I feele liuely bloud dancing a sprightly mea
sure throw all my vaines as if it were to celebrat thy
marriage today.

Kno: Tis well yo are so lusty.

Nim: Sir who speake you to? 605

Kno To my father.

Nim **Wher is he?**

Kno: Why there. did'st not say he must a long with vs?

Nim What that begger? giue me my letters againe I haue mis
taken the house. you are not m^r Knowlittles the gentle
man I was sent to. I was drected to M^r Knolittle whos
father is a man worth 1000l yours ther is not worth 2
pence being a cantor or a dunghill raker at most.

Kno: S'lid father thou hast vndone me with thy welthy beggary. 615

Nim: Giue me backe my letters I must begon presently my
mistake hath abused my lady.

Kno: Good sir haue a little patience with in a quarter of an
houre Ile bring you 12 sufficient vserers all Jewes
of his one tribe, that shall sweare this is my legitimat
father a man richer then any three on the exchange.
besides looke on his eares they haue bin 3 cropt for forging

- such an enemy to beggers she wold flye backe presently. 637
- Kno: S'lid we'l leaue him behind vs then.
- Nim: That must not be done [nether]. for my lady hath giuen ex
presse order that he shall come along with you.
- Kno: Why I am vndone then he has no other clothes then thes
and thes he hath wornen any time this 40 yeare. 635
- Nim: Supposing he has not y^e may quickly furnish him with a
sute at the broakers.
- Kno By this light and thou sayest right, wee'l do it presently
Dad march of with thy welthy beggary. we'l skin the
a newe. 640
- World: In what deare mouce?
- Kno: In satten my Rosaclero I will make thee a gentleman
and the first except my selfe of all our family.
- Word: Why that will be rare, shall I weare a sword to?
- Kno: I and hat and feather I will teach the to drinke and
quarrel. 645
- World: O my deare hart! [why] thou wilt make thy father to happy
- Kno: Come let vs to the broakers presently.
- World O how I shall vapor on the exchange with a sworde, [and]
a hat and feather. Ile fling away my sticke I feale my sel 650

[Page 30]

fe young againe.

- Nim: Tis well I haue got them of thus. Ile post to Bidstand and
shirke for feare they want me.

ACTUS QUINTUS

Scaena prima

655

Enter Bidstand and Shirke with mas
king clothes in ther hands.

- Shir Jack lets hast and dresse for feare we be to late.
- Bids I prethe helpe me on with my diuils habit.
- Shir. I pray y^e stay I haue more need of dressing then you
you looke like a diuil without that coat. your face
wold scare any body. it is a pretty natural vizard you haue
on. 660

636 *quickly*] badly blurred.642 *Rosaclero*] cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Philaster*, V, 4, "My Royal
Rosiclear, We are thy Mirmidons."644 *Word*] sic.

Shir And y° for sooth with out y° winding sheat may passe
for a ghost. you are caring all ready, one wold 665
thinke by your looks y° had fed the wormes this 7 yeares.

Scaen 2^a enter Nimmer.

Nim: S'lid ye Raskals no further yet. Knowlitttle will
be vpon vs immediatly. I had much ado to stand him 670
of frō comeing along with me.

Shir It is not yet neer the hower we appointed him to come
at.

Nim: That's no metter he is so affire to court maddam
Pecunia that he will preuent the time. I had much ado to

[Page 31]

fiend a tricke to delay him til I got hether to bring you 675
news of his comeing.

Bid: Slid lets make ready presently.

Nim: What must I do

Shir: You must put on Plutus his habit, y° art Plutus (Rogue) Plu
tus the God of riches and I my lady Pecunia's ghost that 680
comes to you for iustice against Worldly the vserer who
I complaine to haue murther'd me in his trunks, to haue
stiff'd me for want of air and desier my body may beremo
u'd out of such an vnsanctified place as his house and ho
norably interd in your kingdome. you then after a 1000 685
threats and vows to be reueng'd on the vserer for mur
thering your child. for so you must call me, cōmande
Jacke Bidstand here your rare demon presently to take
frō Worldly the keies of his house and coffers and then to
post

thether and fech thence my body wch we will honourable 690
burie in euery tauerne about the towne and most religeous
ly morne at the funerals in sacke and clarot.

665 caring] i.e. carrion. Cf. 369.

667 *Scaen*] sic.

681 *for*] a word is scratched out here.

683-4 *beremo u'd*] i.e. *be remov'd*.

688 *rare*] blurred; very doubtful reading.

692 *the*] interlined.

- Nim: I apprehend the lets about the worke presently.
 Bid: Slid must I haue nothing but this skewy coat [on]? no bo
 dy will thinke me a diuill with only this on. 695
 Shir: Why they wold thinke thee a diuill without it if they knew
 the as well as I do. thou keeps such a stir.
 Nim: What must I haue now?
 Shir: A crowne and scepter Bidstand go helpe to dresse him.
 Bid: You are so imperious, pray come you and helpe to. I am 700
 sure you'll be reddy enuffe to put for the biggest sheare in
 the booty.

[Page 32]

- Shir: Reason good y^o mungril am not I the inuentor of the
 plot and are y^o any thing but my instruments?
 Nim: What? querling ye babouns. S'lid I heare musicke by 705
 this light here is Knowlitttle and his tribe all ready. lets
 in or we are betray'd.
 Bid: Stay I haue left my visard. behind. exunt.

Scaena Tertia.

Enter Knolittle Caulero Whiffe 710
 Worldly Simple ffdlers.

- Kno: Why now thou art my noble stinker, now I will
 adopt thee my legittimat father. didst thinke I
 wold be any longer disgrac'd with thy wealthy begga
 ry? come let go roare. 715
 World: I feare I feare I shall neuer learne.
 Whif: Learne Sir? Ile teach you in a fortnight with a matma
 tical instrument I haue, to drinke, quarrel roare and
 dice it as neatly as any gallant a bout the towne, you
 know how long your sone was a proficient vnder me 720
 and how raw he came to me and now I am sure of it for
 a compleat gentle man the kingdome affords not his
 æquall.
 Kno: No Ile besworne dus it not.
 Simp: Master master if you will take tobacho let me teach you. 725

694 *skewy*] doubtful word; perhaps it is *skemy* or *skewry*.699 *Bidstand*] written over some other word.708 *exunt*] sic.715 *let*] sic.721 *am, it*] interlined.

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Worl: I simple I must learne Tobaccho but I wold faine learne to roare first. O that I had some body to quarel with for the wall. by this light I cold fiend in my hart to chalings some tall fellow for my credit and then get some friend to take vp the busines in priuat betwixt vs. ha! it wold be rare. 730

Kno: The time draws nie let vs approach nearer the place appointed.

Sim: Sir here is the house as I liue I heare a noyse she is all ready come. 735

Kno: Why then let vs place our selues about the dore Ile begin the song immediatly

A song.

Breake from thy east my brighter day
And chase thes sable clouds a way 740

That keepe frō vs thy light.

Let beauties sunne thy face apeare

Or elce we shall sit always heare

Inueloped in night.

Dus she not apeare yet Simple. 745

Sim: No no sing againe.

Kno: In to your eyes the sunne is gon

Wherfore the world hath now put on

Thes sables to deplore.

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The losse of day wch you do keepe 750

With in your beautilous eyes a sleepe

ffor pittie it restore.

What dust discouer yet?

Sim: No thing no thing for ought I can se you may sing long enough. 755

Kno: By this light I haue but one verse to sing more and if she come not then I know not what to do vnlesse I shold begin the song ouer againe.

Simp: Why take my ballat that Mopus gaue me when my poc

732 vs] interlined.

- ket was pick'd of 3 dancing beares and vrsen. it is an excel 760
 lent one Ile sing it along with you
- Kno Peace peace
 Come bright Aurora bring againe
 The day that you haue from vs taine
 And let the sunnes your eyes 765
 Display ther goulden beames vpon
 This our obscured Horison
 Sweet at your bright vp rise.
- Simp: S'lid (whist) I discouer.
 Kno: What Simple what? 770
 Sim: The day I thinke you call for here is a light comeing
 neare vs.

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- Kno: As I liue tis shee prethe come se whether my band sits
 right and all things be neat about me. tutor if I be out 775
 in courting you must help me in.
- Whif: I'll warrant you be of good courage.

Scaena Quarta.

Enter Shirke like a ghost with a
 Torch in his hand.

- All: Ha! a spirit a spirit lets runne! 780
 Shir: Not stir or by the Stygian lacke Ile teare
 Your soule frō out your bodies and then beare
 To flameing Phlegiton wher they shall be
 ffor euer tortur'd by Tesiphone.
- All: Oh O O O! 785
 Shir: frō out thy cauernes wealthy Plutus come,
 And leaue a while great Sire your goulden throne,
 To do thy daughter iustice. here is he,
 Who first from out thy kingdome rauish'd me
 Then in to mouldy coffers me confin'd, 790
 Wher I expir'd alasse! for want of wind.

Scaena Quinta.

[Page 36]

Enter Bidstand attired
 Like Plutus.

786 *wealthy*] the *l* is a later insertion.

- Bid:** What dismal voice cal's Plutus frō his throne 795
Arm'd with hel's plagues and quicke destruction?
- Simp:** S'lid master the diuill is come O o o!
- Bid:** Ha! tis my dauther.
- Shirk:** ffather here I stand
To [be] beg your iustice. let your vengeful hand 800
Shower torments on his head, who me hath taine
frō out your kingdome and in prisone slaine
- Bid:** Come come ye furies with your whips of steele
And all hel's torments let the monster feele
Guilty of this blacke crime our angry Power 805
Lets one his guilty head iust vengeance shower
Vntie Ixion from the torturing whele
No longer let tir'd Tythius bosome fele
The greedy vulturs beake, set fre frō paine
All guilty soules that we may turne the same 810

[Page 37]

- Vpon this dire offender, who hath kild
My dauther and with greife my bosome fild.
- Shirk:** O father let my body not remaine
Imprison'd by the murtherer but taine
frō out his cofers let it thence be car'd 815
Into your kingdome and be ther inter'd.
- Bid:** Its done my child. frō out the sulphury lacke
Of fiery Phlegiton Alecto take
Hether thy flight.
- Nim:** At thy command I come, 820
Speake mighty Plutus what is to be done.
- Simp:** As I liue an other diuill O oo!
- Bid:** Go to yon cursed murther and bring
frō him his keys by which wee'l enter in
To the dire prison wher my daughter lies 825
To whos dead corps wee'l pay iust obsequies
- World:** O o o! Chaulero Wife, Simple O o o! I beseech your
diuillship deale fauorably with me I neer kild any
body in my life.
- Nim:** No? that you shall be made confesse vpon 830
The flumeing racke of fiery Phlegiton.

808 *Tythius*] i.e. Tityus'.

823 *murther*] read *murtherer*.

- Kno: Chaulero-Whiffe what will the diuil do with my father.
 Whif: Cary him to hell I thinke.
 Kno: Tis no matter so he wold let vs alone. 835
- [Page 38]
- Simp: Now my turne comes. O o o! good diuil I beseech your worship spare me and take my master he hath better clothes then I.
 Kno: S'lid you rogue send him not to me. let him take thee rather. 840
 Nim: Take prince the keyes of that vnholowed place Which doth detaine your daughters sacred hearse
 Bid: Tis well come thether forth with let vs hie Thence back againe swifter then the winde wee'l flie To our reuenge, and to the infernal lacke 845
 for e'er to burne the murtherer wee'l take.
 World: O o o!
 Bid: Goe daughter lead the way
 Kno: I am glad they are going pray God they leaue vs behind. 850
 Shir: frō of ther backe first take ther cloaks my body into lape. Then search them least a bout them they retaine My sacr'd relicks and do them profane.
 Bid: Tis done. Alecto this command performe 855
 Then to attend vs with all speed returne
 Nim: I come to fecth
 Kno: O o o! good diuil not me I beseech you take my father he hath liu'd long enuffe.
 Nim: frō of thy backe thy cloake 860
 Kno: O ho is it no more you shall haue my dublet to and hat
- [Page 39]
- if you please
 Nim: To wrape Pecunia you in prison choake
 Kno: Wold you haue my briches to?
 Nim: frō out them I wold haue. 865
 Kno: Not me I [hope] beseech you.

844 *the*] interlined.849 *Kno*] written over *Bid*.857 *fecth*] sic for *fetch*.

- Nim:** What they retaine [of my dead lady]
Of my dead lady by your father slaine
- Kno:** O my mony take it take it my father hath more
- Worl:** Yes yes here is my dublet cloake hat and mony, only 870
I beseech I beseech your diuils ship for your dams sake
To be petiful to me.
- Kno:** Tutor y^o must vncase to
- Whif:** I I.
- Simp:** And I to here are my clothes I haue no mony my pockets 875
were pick'd.
- Shir:** I am moued to pity father pray inflict
A slighter punishment on ther delict.
- Bid:** Daughter in your one cause you iudge shall be
Ether to condeme or set the offenders fre 880
- Shir:** Why then this punishment I do impose
They shall thus walke the woods without ther clothes
- World:** Marciful spirit I thanke thee
- Shir:** Thre dayes thre nights during wich time if they
To any house or village take ther way. 885
Ther bodies into peces we will teare
And vnto hel with vs ther soules wee'l beare.

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- Kno:** As we liue worshipful diuils and you maddam ghost
of my lady Pecunia: if any of vs sees a house this three days
wee'l giue you leaue to hang vs vp for vermin on the singne 890
post.
- Shir:** Away then sone when this time is forth runne
Ye backe vnto your houses may returne.
- Kno:** Come father Tutor let vs streight begon
In to the woods our pennance to performe. exeunt 895
- Shir:** And now my (Rogues) lets of with this disguise
That to the coffers wher Pecunia lies
We may with nimble feet our iurnie take
And thence vnto the tauerne where wee'l make
Her graue and all here present ther inuite 900
To morne with vs in wine both red and white.

FINIS.

Valeat res ludicra

HYDER E. ROLLINS

878 *delict*] an offence.

890 *singne*] sic.

895 *exeunt*] added later.

XL. CHAPELAIN DÉCOIFFÉ: A BATTLE OF PARODIES

When, at the end of 1664, the second list of donations to authors and wits appeared—awarded by Colbert upon the recommendation of Chapelain,—it presented again, like the one of the preceding year, a mixture of feeble and profuse poetasters and of writers of outstanding value. Corneille, Racine and Molière contrasted oddly with Benserade, Cassagne, or Cotin. As in 1663, some of the most quarrelsome watchdogs of contemporary literature—La Serre, Furetière, and the brothers Boileau,—had been forgotten, intentionally or not. Chapelain, always over-anxious to please everybody and the minister, had committed a tactical mistake in excluding these satiric wits.¹ That they would attack him at once was quite consistent with the literary customs of the time and with the habits of the *Genus irritabile* of all centuries. Moreover, his name was a symbol of a passing generation in literature, against which the New School was arrayed in battle. The first epigrams against *Pucelain* were coined, no doubt, during the gay after-dinner hours in one of the renowned Cabarets, or during an animated discussion in one of the literary drawing-rooms. When their authors or the listeners took the pains of noting them down, they were circulated in more or less reliable manuscripts and generally attributed to several among the *litterati*. There can be no doubt that the greater number of these ephemeral satires, parodies, vaudevilles, and the like, have perished;

¹ The first list of donations was made up in the early months of 1663. Cf. G. Collas, *J. Chapelain*, pp. 390-95. They were generally known about the beginning of June of that year. A list of the beneficiaries of 1663 has been given by Clément in the *Histoire de Colbert*, 1846, p. 187, where he follows Peignot's *Documents authentiques et détails curieux sur les dépenses de Louis XIV.* It is also found in La Place, *Pièces intéressantes et peu connues*, 1, p. 197. These lists are incomplete for the Frenchmen and omit the names of the foreign savants. The *Comptes des Bâtimens du Roi*, publ. by M. Guiffrey (1881-1901, 5 vol.) begin only with 1664, but give the complete list of the beneficiaries of that year.

others have remained unpublished. The best known among these satires is the celebrated *Cid* parody, *Chapelain décoiffé*, which, composed glass in hand at a riotous feast, was soon recited everywhere and handed around in numerous copies—to the lasting dishonor of Chapelain's venerable wig and of the mediocrities he steadfastly protected.

Its success and the political circumstances of the time were responsible for another parody of the *Stances* of the *Cid*,—entitled *Colbert Enragé*,—which appeared soon after, by the very end of 1664. It aimed at nobody less than at the minister Colbert himself and at the judges who, on December 20, 1664, had condemned the former Intendant Fouquet to perpetual banishment, a sentence changed by the King to life-long imprisonment in the fortress of Pignerol. There can be no doubt that it aroused general comment. The condemnation of Fouquet loomed before the eyes of the contemporaries in far greater bulk and importance than the omission of La Serre and the Boileaus from the list of awards for authors. The issue of the long law suit against Fouquet came after three years of obstinate battles for his endangered life, in which the public took a passionate interest. Moreover, Fouquet's liberality had gained him a number of ardent defenders among the men of letters—for instance, La Fontaine and Pellisson,—and when economical Colbert decided to send a rain of official *manna* over their thirsty lands, he may not have been spurred on solely by motives of generosity, but also by a desire of securing partisans within their ranks. Chapelain's rôle would thus be easily understood: he was an enemy of Fouquet.²

In the mind of contemporaries the parodies of the *Cid*—the *Chapelain décoiffé* and the *Colbert Enragé*,—were related. As I shall point out further, they were ascribed to the satirical Boileau brothers, Gilles and Nicolas. To castigate them for their caustic aggression, a third parody, entitled *Boisneau ou la Clémence de Colbert*, was soon circulated. This reply parodied the famous scene in Corneille's *Cinna*, in which Augustus reveals to Cinna his knowledge of the conspiracy against him. The connection between these three parodies has been entirely

² Cf. A. Fabre—*Les Ennemis de Chapelain*, p. 174; *Lettres de Chap.*, year 1661, and Lair,—*Nicolas Fouquet*, II, p. 87.

overlooked so far as the *Colbert Enragé* is concerned, and this parody has remained in manuscript. The information yielded by the third parody, *Bois-leau ou la Clémence de Colbert*, has been misinterpreted. It likewise remains practically unpublished, since only forty-four disconnected lines out of 196 have been printed.

By publishing these parodies and identifying their allusions, I intend to reconstitute a neglected aspect of the Boileau-Chapelain quarrel and to call attention to a parody of the *Cid*—the *Colbert Enragé*—which, rightly or wrongly, was ascribed, at the moment of its appearance, to the brothers Boileau. Incidentally, one of them, the *Bois-leau ou la Clémence de Colbert*, throws light on the primitive text and the authorship of the *Chapelain décoiffé*. They are also of some importance for the rise of theatrical parody in France. When, by the end of the century, the Comédiens Italiens made it their custom to parody every successful play, they must have catered in a measure to an existing public demand. No doubt, parody was everywhere in existence long before the time of the *Chapelain décoiffé*. It is of hoary antiquity and in seventeenth-century France it had triumphed on the streets in the innumerable vaudeville songs of the day and in the novel with the *Berger Extravagant*. Yet, these parodies indicate the gradual growth of stage parody, which, comparatively rare in the seventeenth, was to make such an extraordinary extension in the eighteenth century.

* * *

There exist several manuscript copies of the *Colbert Enragé* and their number itself is a testimony to its wide diffusion. It is found in *Ms. 3307*, fol. 87, and in *Ms. 3329*, fol. 82 of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.³ Another manuscript copy has been bound with the *Imprim. F. 2953* of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The *Catalogue Soleinne* lists: "3746 *Ms. Fragmens d'une comédie, Colbert Enragé*. . . . Copié par M. de Soleinne sur le *Ms. appartenant à M. de Pixérécourt*. Voy. le N° 1613 du catalogue de cet amateur." I publish it here from a *Ms.* of the early eighteenth century, in my possession: *Recueil de plusieurs*

³ The first of these *Mss.* is dated 1664.

Piesse (p. 6 sq.).⁴ Since the *Colbert Enragé* is a political satire on the condemnation of Fouquet, it is easily dated. Although arrested in 1661, he was not sentenced until on December 20, 1664.⁵ The parody, then, must have been composed and circulated during the last days of that year.

It represents Colbert at the verge of despair at the news that his enemy Fouquet has not been condemned to death but solely to perpetual imprisonment. He laments that all his power was not sufficient to bring about the execution of a single innocent opponent, but finds consolation in the thought that, after all, it will prove easy to poison Fouquet in the dungeon of Pignerol.

Furthermore, it stigmatizes the well-known partiality of some of Fouquet's judges. Others, notwithstanding their devotion to Colbert, refused to condemn him to death on the strength of the evidence presented. Although the King himself, Colbert, and the Chancellor Seguier had solicited them to pronounce the death sentence, the majority could not be beguiled into voting for any other punishment than perpetual banishment. Louis XIV interfered and changed this to imprisonment for life in the Chateau of Pignerol, where Fouquet died on March 23, 1680. Only nine judges pronounced for capital punishment. Four of them, Séguier, Pussort, Voisin and Poncet, were less impartial administrators of justice than interested accusers. Two more, Sainte Hélène and Gisaucourt had declared themselves openly as enemies of Fouquet even before consulting the documents in the case. After all only three of the judges, Ferriol, Nogués and Ayrault, gave in to the solicitations of the most powerful triumvirate of the Kingdom. Colbert's rage, over which the parodists made merry, was then, if not excused, at least readily understood.

⁴ Chatelain, *Le Surintendant Nicolas Fouquet*, p. 523, indicates some other similar pieces in defense of Fouquet. He reads the title of the *Colbert Enragé* as *Cid Enragé*. This error is explained by the fact that some copies bear the title *C Enragé*. This *C . . .* has been interpreted as *Cid*, instead of *Colbert*, because it is a parody of Corneille's *Cid*.

⁵ E. Lair, *Fouquet*, 2 vols.; A. Fabre, *Les Ennemis de Chapelain*.

FRAGMENT D'UNE COMÉDIE INTITULÉE *COLBERT ENRAGÉ*. PARODIE DU *CD*

La scène est dans la Rue Neuve des Petits Champs, à l'issue de la Chambre de Justice.

Colbert, seul.

Percé jusques au fond du cœur
D'une atteinte imprévue aussi bien que mortelle,
Auteur d'une entreprise importante et cruelle,
Dont le honteux succès irrite ma fureur,
Je deviens immobile et mon ame abattue
Cède au coup qui me tue.
Si près de voir Fouquet sur l'échafaud,
Après avoir payé l'arrest plus qu'il ne vaut
Pour rendre sa mort plus certaine,
Je n'en remporte rien que la haine!

Que je sens de rudes combats,
Que ma raison est opprimée!
J'ay perdu mon argent, je perds ma renommée,
Pour n'avoir pu mettre une teste à bas!
O grand Doyen des scélérats,
Dont l'injustice consommée
Regardoit déjà son trépas
Comme une proie accoutumée,
Séguier, ecueil des innocens *
Qui, pour complaire au ministère
Par de honteux abaissemens,
Ne trouve rien de trop indigne à faire,
Faut-il que tes arrests,
Qui tant de fois ont fait périr des misérables
Et pour de bien moindres sujets,
Sur la fin de tes jours, malgré tant de projets
Et tant d'intrigues détestables,
Malgré toy, malgré moy, deviennent équitables,
Après tous les maux qu'ils ont faits?

Procureurs dont toute la France
Admiroit les conclusions,
Et dont la haute intelligence
Avait seule trouvé de valables raisons
Pour conduire à la potence

* The chancellor Séguier was president of the "Chambre de Justice" before which Fouquet appeared. He voted for the death penalty and was violently disturbed about his condemnation to imprisonment: "Séguier, bien qu'il eut fait de son mieux, ne pouvoit se consoler . . . Dans un accès de colère, il jeta au feu tout un paquet de cent soixante douze arrêts qu'on eut grand'peine à réexpédier." J. Lair, *Nic. Fouquet*, p. 406; Cf. Ormesson,—*Journal*, II, 290.

Un homme de son rang et de son importance,
 Vous voilà bien sevrés de vos prétentions,
 Et vos belles visions
 Ont bien manqué de puissance!

Talon, ⁷ le Ciel a donc permis
 Que pour toute la récompense
 De ta mortelle haine et de ton arrogance
 Tu n'ayes remporté que honte, que mépris;
 Et qu'un pédant que j'avois pris ⁸
 Pour réparer ta négligence
 M'ait fait tomber de mal en pis
 Par l'exces de son ignorance!

Ce rapporteur que j'ay dupé si gallament ⁹
 Sous la pompeuse espérance
 D'estre le chef d'un parlement,
 Et qui croyoit sauver sa conscience
 S'il pouvoit vendre chèrement
 Une si lasche complaisance,
 Aura donc prôné vainement,
 Et pour tout fruit de son ouvrage
 Je n'en remporteray que le seul avantage
 D'avoir pu tromper un Normand!

Quoy! Poncet, ¹⁰ ce personnage
 Si savant en patelinage,
 Qui nous avoit promis sans se faire prier
 De suivre à clos yeux le suffrage
 De son cousin, le Chancellier,
 N'a pu nous le sacrifier!
 Quoy! Je perdray sans aucun avantage
 Une dispense d'âge,

⁷ Denis Talon, son of Omer Talon, "Procureur général de la Chambre de Justice."

⁸ Chamillart, "maître des requêtes," who, in December 1663, replaced Denis Talon, who had become less active since he fell in love with Mme de l'Hôpital, it is said. Chamillart was entirely submissive to Berryer, a suspect agent of Colbert.

⁹ Olivier Lefèvre d'Ormesson, rapporteur, favorable to Fouquet. He asked that he would be banished, but not condemned to death or imprisonment. He left important *Memoirs* on the affair Fouquet.

¹⁰ Pierre Poncet, "maître des requêtes," member of the Chambre de Justice, conducted with J. Renard the interrogations of the accused Surintendant. At first he seemed favorable to Fouquet, but later on turned against him, seduced by promises, and voted for death. He was a distant relative of Fouquet and is depicted as a *dénot*. Cf. Ormesson, *Journal* II, 11.

Dont je me suis fait fort de le gratifier,
 Et son diable de message
 Pour corrompre un prisonnier ¹¹
 N'aura servi qu'à noircir notre ouvrage?

Quoy! Notre emphatique Pussort, ¹²
 Après avoir fait un effort
 De son éloquence bourgeoise,
 Et prouvé clairement qu'il méritoit la mort
 Pour n'avoir pas couvert tout Saint Mandé d'ardoise, ¹³
 Après avoir tronqué tant de diverses lois,
 Plutôt pour mon service
 Que pour celui du plus humain des rois,
 N'a pu forcer la Chambre à faire une injustice,
 Ni gagner une seule voix!

Ces vermines provinciales, ¹⁴
 Ces petites âmes vénales,
 Dont j'avois fait un si beau choix,
 Hérault, Noguets et Ferriole, ¹⁵
 Dont j'avois corrompu les voix
 Aux dépens de quelques pistoles,
 N'auront donc esté d'aucun poids!
 Quand le Ciel à nos vœux est contraire une fois,
 Hélas, tous nos soins sont frivoles!

Voisin, ce scélérat, ce consciencieux, ¹⁶
 Ce traître protecteur de la cause publique,
 Sur qui j'avois jeté les yeux
 Pour empêcher par son intrigue
 Des dévots la sourde pratique
 Et le zèle séditieux,
 S'en est acquitté de son mieux:
 Mais que me sert toute ma politique
 Si je n'en suis pas plus heureux?

¹¹ To report his possible avowals another prisoner was lodged in Fouquet's cell and instructed to win his confidence.

¹² Pussort, "conseiller à la Cour des Comptes," one of the most passionate enemies of Fouquet, was an uncle of Colbert. He tried to find proofs of Fouquet's guilt in the *Registers* of his expenses.

¹³ A chateau belonging to Fouquet.

¹⁴ The majority of the Chambre de Justice was composed of Provincial Commissaries, open enemies of Fouquet.

¹⁵ These names are generally spelled: Ayrault, Nogués and Ferriol. They voted for the death penalty.

¹⁶ Voisin, counsellor at the Parlement, influential with the party of the *dévots*.

Voisin, Poncet, Pussort, et vous, St Hélène,¹⁷
 Qui ne serez point Président,
 Venez, mes chers bourreaux, venez, troupe inhumaine!
 Je suis bien convaincu de votre zèle ardent
 A condamner un innocent;
 Mais puisqu'enfin votre fureur est vaine,
 Entrez du moins dans mon ressentiment!
 Et si vous avez pris tant de part à ma haine,
 Partagez maintenant la peine
 Que je sens de le voir vivre encor un moment!

Et toy, cher confident de ma secrète rage,
 Qui dans les concussions¹⁸
 A fait ton apprentissage,
 Et qui sais te jouer comme d'un badinage
 Des plus noires actions,
 Mon cher Berryer sur qui je fondois davantage¹⁹
 Le succès de mes passions,
 —Car je sais tes intentions,
 Tes détours et ta fourberie,—
 Que dois-je te dire aujourd'hui
 Puisqu'enfin, malgré ton appuy,
 Ton mensonge et ta calomnie,
 Le peuple voit la vérité
 Au meme gîte d'où tu l'avois bannie,
 Triompher de ta fausseté?

¹⁷ Le Cormier de Sainte Hélène, Commissary of the Chambre de Justice, voted for death. “C'était un homme en grande réputation au Parlement de Normandie, se croyant désigné pour les premières places à Paris. On eut soin de le confirmer dans cette bonne opinion comme dans cette espérance.” J. Lair, *op. cit.*, II, 380.—*Le Livre abominable*, II, 110.

¹⁸ Concussions = détournement des deniers publics.

¹⁹ Berryer, ex-agent of Mazarin and factotum of Colbert, prepared the interrogatory of Fouquet. He was convicted of having falsified certain testimonials. Cf. Lair, *op. cit.* and Gourville, *Memoires*, p. 536. The *Défenses de Fouquet*, XV, 138-39 say about his relations with Colbert: “Mais il est arrivé, tout au contraire, que de Berryer est le premier averti, même avant la Chambré; c'est luy de qui on prend les ordres; et ceux qui devoient garder un grand secret à son egard ont esté les premiers à le violer en sa faveur et à prévoriquer à leur charge, par une basse complaisance, pour l'accez que cet homme a auprès du sieur Colbert, que luy, Berryer, se vante de gouverner, par le besoin et la nécessité que ledit sieur Colbert a de son industrie.” Berryer was nominated ordinary Counsellor of state, received an abbaye of 6000 livres. Moreover, Colbert promised to ask for special dispensation for the children of this honest man, to enable them to draw before the legal age the income from these churchly possessions.

Dans le premier abord d'une faveur naissante
 D'où le moindre revers peut me précipiter,
 Je vois mes desseins avorter
 Par ma conduite imprudente!
 Je vois l'Afrique triomphante
 D'un roy que jusqu'icy rien n'avoit pu dompter;
 Je vois, pour comble de misère,
 Mon rival échappé des traits de ma colère;
 Et ces deux projects si fameux,
 Qui me faisoient déjà prétendre
 Au premier rang après nos Dieux,
 Sont autant de degrés honteux
 Par où je suis prest de descendre.

Mais pourquoy m'allarmer si fort
 Si cette rigueur non commune
 Qu'exerce contre moy le sort,
 Ne change rien à ma fortune?
 Je suis toujours Colbert, je suis toujours puissant;
 J'ay toujours la meme avarice,
 Je fais toujours meme injustice!
 Sy j'ay manqué de perdre un innocent,
 N'ay-je pas retranché les rentes? ²⁰
 Avoir par ce moyen réduit au désespoir
 Mille familles languissantes,
 Est-ce là manquer de pouvoir?

Le Roy m'aime toujours et j'ay sa confidence;
 Que faut-il davantage à mon ambition?
 Sortez de mon esprit, vains désirs de vengeance!
 Je veux me délivrer de votre impatience
 Et goûter le bonheur de ma condition!
 Oui, je veux vivre heureux quoyque Fouquet respire,
 Puisqu'une éternelle prison
 Luy va ravir les moyens de me nuire!

Il sort et revient sur ses pas.

Vivre sans en tirer raison?
 Observer un arrest si fatal à ma gloire?
 Endurer que la France impute à ma mémoire
 De ne m'être vengé que par une prison?
 Conserver une vie où mon âme égarée
 Voit sa perte assurée?

²⁰ By decree of May, 17, 1664, the rent-shares of Paris were repaid "sur le pied de leur valeur depuis vingt cinq ans." This was a half bankruptcy. "La consternation et le désespoir estoient dans le coeur de tout le monde" *Ormeson, Journal*, II, 149.

N'écoutez plus ce penser trop humain,
Qui ne peut assouvir ma haine!
Allons, Berryer, par un coup de ta main
Delivre-moy de cette peine!

Oui, c'est le plus grand de mes maux,
Et, pourvu que Fouquet périsse,
Qu'il meure par poison ou qu'il meure en justice,
C'est là le seul moyen de me mettre en repos!
Je m'accuse déjà de trop de négligence,
Courons à la vengeance!
Je suis avare et dur, n'importe, cher Berryer,
Je veux y consommer trois ou quatre pistoles
Pour acheter un cuisinier
Qui l'empoisonne à Pignerolles!

As in the case of most political events, the end of Fouquet's trial was greeted by a number of pamphlets and satires in verse or prose formulating similar accusations against Colbert or defending his rôle. Gilles Boileau, who always had an eye to practical advantages, grasped the welcome occasion to pay his court to the triumphing minister. He composed a sonnet of congratulation in which he glorified him for upholding at Court the rights of austere virtue and for repressing the insolence of pomp and display. The allusion to Fouquet, who had offended Louis XIV by his magnificence, was transparent enough. Gilles Boileau went on eulogizing Colbert for making his power felt "sans répandre du sang," and this was, of course, easily understood as a reference to the fact that Fouquet had not been condemned to be beheaded, but only to life imprisonment. The sonnet, in a word, took exactly the opposite side in the debate on Colbert's responsibility for Fouquet's trial. Whereas the *Colbert Enragé* represents him as desiring Fouquet's death, Gilles Boileau claims that it was through his influence that the death sentence was avoided.²¹

Par quel art merveilleux sais-tu dans l'opulence,
Et jusque dans la cour du plus puissant des rois,

²¹ This sonnet has been printed, but the allusions to Fouquet's trial have not heretofore been identified. Cf. *Oeuvres de Boileau*, Ed. Gidel, III, 106, note 1. It is said that it was shown to Boileau-Despréaux, who replied that he would compose without any meditation a better sonnet on the same subject. This last sonnet is found among the poems attributed to Boileau-Despréaux. Cf. *Oeuvres de Boileau*, loc. cit. and Tallemant des Réaux, *Historiettes*, ed. P. Paris and Monmerqué, X, 241.

De l'austère vertu soutenir tous les droits,
Et du faste insolent réprimer l'insolence?

Mais par quel coup heureux, par quel trait de prudence,
As-tu pu sans effort forcer tout à la fois
Et la robe et l'épée à fléchir sous tes lois,
Et chercher leur salut dans leur obéissance?

Ah! qu'il est beau, Colbert, quand on est en ton rang,
De graver dans les cœurs, sans répandre de sang,
Du pouvoir les redoutables marques,

Et que l'unique fruit d'un si noble projet
Soit de rendre Louis le plus grand des monarques,
Et toi de ses sujets le plus humble sujet!

Was Gilles Boileau sincere in his poetic approval of Colbert's politics? According to one of his enemies—who may be the Abbé de Pure,—it was only a shameless deceit, used to cover up a secret perfidy. Gilles Boileau would have written it to reassure the all-powerful minister about his loyalty, and, at the same time, he would have secretly composed and distributed the *Colbert Enragé*. These accusations are formulated in the *Cinna*-parody, *Bois-leau ou la Clémence de Colbert*, in which Colbert convicts both Gilles and Nicolas Boileau as the authors of the *Chapelain décoiffé* and of the *Colbert Enragé*. But, sincere or not, the sonnet must have pleased the minister, for in the *Cinna*-parody he is represented as saying:

Bien plus, depuis huit jours, ce grand panégyrique,
Ce sonnet où tu m'as traité de politique,
J'ay pris à l'exalter de si pénibles soins,
Qu'en te payant comptant, je t'aurais donné moins.
Le subject t'a faict lire encor plus que l'ouvrage . . .

These lines enable us to fix a date for the *Bois-leau ou la Clémence de Colbert*. It was composed about a week after the sonnet of Gilles Boileau, praising Colbert's conduct in the Fouquet affair. Since Fouquet was condemned on Dec. 20, 1664, this brings us to the last days of that year. P. Paris and Monmerqué have printed a few extracts of it;²² it has been referred to by several historians.²³ I publish it here entire according to *Ms. F. F. 15012* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, f. 83 sq.:

²² *Hist. de Tallemant des Réaux*, IX, 38, note.

²³ F. I. Revillout, *La Légende de Boileau*; Lachèvre, *Bibl. des Recueils collectifs*; A. Bernhard, *Die Parodie Chap. dec.*, etc.

BOISLEAU OU LA CLÉMENCE DE COLBERT.

Colbert.

Prens un siège, Boisleau, prens et sur toute chose
Observe exactement la loy que je t'impose;
Preste sans me troubler l'oreille à mon discours,
D'aucun mot, d'aucun cry n'en interromps le cours,
Tiens ta langue captive et, si ce long silence
A ton émotion fait trop de violence,
Tu pourras par après me répondre à loisir;
Sur ce point seulement contente mon désir.

Boisleau.

Je vous obéiray, monsieur.

Colbert.

Qu'il te souvienn
De garder ta parole et je tiendray la mienne.
Tu vois le jour, Boisleau, mais ceux dont tu le tiens
Furent gens de néant, sans honneur et sans biens.
Ton ayeul,—car enfin, malgré ta vaine gloire,
Tu ne sçaurois pousser plus avant ton histoire,—²⁴
Ton ayeul, dis-je, fut un misérable huissier
Qui pour tout bien avoit sa plume et son papier.²⁵
Et c'est en quoy déjà tu manques de cervelle
D'avoir traicté d'Archer l'auteur de la Pucelle.²⁶
Dans le monde on confond sans nul discernement
L'huissier et le recors, l'archer et le sergent:
L'un prend l'homme au colet et l'autre par derrière.
Ces deux employs, enfin, ne s'entrecèdent guère,
Et lorsque tu pensois attaquer Chapelain,
Tu t'es frappé toy mesme avec ta propre main.²⁷

²⁴ The Boileaus descended from Jean Boileau, secretary of the King, ennobled in 1371, but their claim was contested at the time and occasioned law suits in 1697 and 1699.

²⁵ Jean Boileau, "trésorier provincial de l'extraordinaire des guerres," in Burgundy, grandfather of Gilles and Nicolas Boileau.

²⁶ This line aims at a passage of the early version of the *Chapelain décoiffé*
D'Archer tu te rendis un Rymeur, et rien plus.

Chapelain..

Tout beau. J'estois Archer, la chose n'est point feinte;
Mais j'estois un Archer à la casaque peinte, etc.

Since the author of the *Cinna* parody knew undoubtedly the early version of the *Chap. déc.*, this passage constitutes additional proof that the Ms. printed in A. Bernhard, *Die Parodie Chapelain déc.* 1910, p. 12 sq. is the early draft of this *Cid* parody. It indicates, moreover, that at the time, Gilles Boileau was considered its author.

²⁷ These two lines repeat the attribution of the *Chap. déc.* to G. Boileau.

Dans un autre mestier mais non pas moins corsaire
 On a veu consommer tous les ans de ton père:
 D'abord on le vit clerc du greffe de la cour
 Où certain président prit pour luy de l'amour,
 Le fit en peu de temps commis à la première;
 Il avoit pour voler une belle lumière,
 Il pilloït noblement et le tiers et le quart,
 Et fit tant qu'en mettant quelque argent à l'escart
 Le titre de greffier entra dans sa famille²⁸
 Et que d'un procureur il espousa la fille.²⁹
 Un lustre ou deux après de ce couple vilain
 Tu naquis, ennemy de tout le genre humain.
 Ouy, tu fus malfaisant mesme avant que de naistre,
 Et tu le fus encor quand tu te pus cognoistre,
 Et le sang t'ayant faict de race de sergent,
 Ton inclination te rend desobligeant.
 Comme elle t'a suivy, les effets t'ont suivys;
 Et toutesfois, parmy ta misantropomie
 Je t'ay comblé d'honneurs, je t'ay promis du bien,
 Et t'ay permis deux fois d'avoir mon entretien.
 Lorsque tu fus inscrit dedans l'Academie³⁰
 On se plaignit à moy d'une telle infamie:
 Les sçavants à l'envy m'excitoient à bannir
 Un orgueilleux d'un rang qu'il ne pouvoit tenir.
 Ton ignorant savoir et ton humeur trop vaine
 Des modernes auteurs te suscitoient la haine;
 Ils vouloient empescher qu'audèshonneur du temps
 Montmort ne te donnât place entre les sçavants³¹
 Et qu'un nom si célèbre et de tout temps illustre
 Par un indigne choix ne perdit de son lustre.
 D'Estrée, importuné de tes Avant-propos,
 Te vouloit y placer pour le mettre en repos.³²
 On me vint contre toy demander assistance:

²⁸ Giles and Nicolas Boileau were children of Gilles Boileau, "Greffier de Grand 'Chambre" at Paris.

²⁹ Anne de Nielle, second wife of Gilles Boileau, the father, belonged to a family of law officials.

³⁰ Refers to the quarrel among the Academicians, which burst out on the occasion of the election of Gilles Boileau to the Academy in 1659. See A. Fabre, *Les Ennemis de Chapelain*, 1888, p. 414, sq.

³¹ Henri-Louis Habert de Montmort († 1679) defended Gilles Boileau in his struggle with Pellisson and Ménage, when he was elected to the French Acad.

³² César d'Estrées, bishop of Laon, Cardinal in 1671, member of the Academy. (1628-1714) He took Gilles Boileau's side in the fight around his election. Cf. d'Alembert, *Hist. des membres de l'Ac. Fr.* III, 317—*Lettres de Chapelain* 11, p. 25, Pellisson et d'Olivet, *Hist. de l'Ac. Fr.* etc.

Je pouvois, tu le sçais, faire agir l'Eminence²²
 Et de ta vanité renverser le succès;
 J'avois, quoyque valet, chez elle assez d'accès,
 Elle eut souvent pour moy d'indignes complaisances
 Et dedans ma personne honoroit ses finances.
 Un mot que j'eusse dit t'auroit précipité
 Et tu ne serois pas où je te vois monté!
 Mais, bien loing d'appuyer leur trop juste poursuite
 Et de t'abandonner à ton peu de mérite,
 Je calmay leurs esprits par méchantes raisons:
 Je dis que tu faisois assez bien des chansons,
 Qu'à Thoré tu devois bientost faire un voyage²³
 Et qu'enfin un Boisleau valoit bien un Mesnage.
 Depuis, en tous momens, en toute occasion,
 Je suis tombé pour toy dans la profusion.
 Ma louange, en un mot, qoyque beaucoup stérile,
 T'a faict considérer pour autheur par la ville;
 Tant de tes méchans vers que tu m'as présentés,
 Je les ay tous sans peine et sur l'heure acceptés,²⁴
 Je t'en ay tesmoigné de la recognoissance
 Et j'ay toujours caché ton extrême ignorance;
 Enfin pour tant d'honneurs qu'en tous lieux je te rens,

²² Mazarin.

²³ Gilles Boileau's and Boisrobert's visit to Thoré, the Chateau of the Président de Thoré, son of M. d'Esmery, occasioned no little satire at the time. The President Thoré, according to Tallemant des Réaux, was periodically mentally deranged (*Hist.* IV, 34) His wife was said to bestow favors upon Gilles Boileau. "A Paris il est encore plus fou qu'à la campagne (le Président Thoré) L'autre jour il pensa attraper le petit Boileau dont il a quelque jalousie." (Tall. des Reaux, *loc. cit.*) Somaize in his *Dict. des Précieuses*, ed. Livet, art. *Timarède*, gives information about Mme de Thoré and says that Barsamon (Boisrobert) and Bracamou (Gilles Boileau) are her preferred "alcovistes." Scarron in his *Lettre au Surintendant Fouquet*, asks Gilles Boileau:

"Avez-vous l'esprit égaré,
 De vous estimer du beau monde,
 Pour un seul voyage à Thoré?"

In a letter to Séguier, Gilles Boileau defended himself against these accusations: "Je n'ay point esté à Thoré avec M. l'Abbé de Boisrobert, comme dit Scarron; J'ay esté à Taulay avec Mme la Présidente de Thoré. Je suis persuadé que vous connaissez assez le President de Thoré pour savoir que ce ne fut pas sans me faire bien prier auparavant que je m'embarquay à ce voyage." *Mss. de Conrart*, X, f. 993, Bibl. de l'Arsenal. Tall. des Reaux, *op. cit.*, IX, 38. Note.

²⁴ In the *Recueil de Pièces galantes*, 1667, II, is found a sonnet to Colbert by Gilles Boileau: "On a beau murmurer contre le ministère." Another has already been referred to.

Chapelain changeroit ses trois fois mille francs!²⁶
 Bien plus, depuis huit jours, ce grand panégyrique,
 Ce sonnet où tu m'as traité de politique,²⁷
 J'ay pris à l'exalter de si pénibles soins
 Qu'en te payant comptant je t'aurois donné moins.
 Le subject t'a fait lire encor plus que l'ouvrage,
 Et tu me dois toujours cet insigne avantage
 Qu'à ma seule faveur on ayt fait quelque cas
 D'un sonnet dont sans moy l'on ne parleroit pas.
 Tu t'en souviens, Boisleau, tants d'heurs et tants de gloires,
 Ne peuvent pas sitost sortir de ta mémoire,
 Mais ce qui n'est party que d'un homme sans cœur,
 Boisleau, tu t'en souviens, et tu me perds d'honneur!

Boisleau.

Moy, Monsieur, moy, que j'eusse une ame si traistresse,
 Qu'un si lache dessein

Colbert.

'Tu tiens mal ta promesse.

Sieds-toy. Je n'ay pas dit encor ce que je veux;
 Tu te justifieras après, si tu le peux.
 Souviens-toy seulement de garder ta parole.
 Au mespris du public ta satire m'immoie!
 Ces vers qui font paroistre aux yeux de tout l'estat
 D'une injuste fureur l'impuissant attentat,
 Ce *Percé* qui me peint d'une couleur si noire,²⁸
 Que toute ma faveur n'en peut sauver ma gloire,
 Et qui m'a trop acquis le tiltre d'inhumain
 Pour m'en pouvoir desdire,—est un coup de ta main!
 Despreaux qu'après toy j'estimois davantage,²⁹
 T'a servy de complice en ce méchant ouvrage!
 Ce frère médissant autant ou plus que toy,
 N'a pas craint de vomir son venin contre moy,

²⁶ Alludes to the amount which Chapelain drew from the list of awards. It is reported in the *Chapelain décoiffé* as "les trois fois mille francs."

²⁷ This sonnet "Par quel art merveilleux sais-tu dans l'opulence" is the one reprinted in this article.

²⁸ This *Percé* is not the *Chapel. déc.*, in which is found a parody of the *Stances* of the *Cid* "Percé jusques au fond du cœur," as has hitherto been held. It refers to the *Colbert Enragé*. It is on this misunderstanding that Monmerqué, Revillout and Bernhard, *op. cit.* agreed or disagreed. The context here makes it clear that there is no question of the *Chap. déc.*, since Colbert complains that the *Percé* depicts him and Berryer as inhuman.

²⁹ This line accuses Boileau-Despreaux of having collaborated with his brother Gilles, not in the *Chapelain décoiffé*, as has been held, but in the *Colbert Enragé*.

Et tous deux possédés d'un esprit satyrique,
 Malgré tout mon pouvoir vous m'avez fait la nique!
 Sous un style rampant et des vers imparfaits
 En vain vous avez cru desguiser vos forfaits,
 Puisqu'aujourd'uy, malgré cette foible imposture,
 Le *Perçé* que je tiens est de ton escriture!
 Et ce méchant sonnet dont tu m'as fait la cour,
 Après m'avoir trahy, te trahyt à son tour.
 Reconnois en tous deux ton vilain caractère,
 Et rougis, si tu peux, d'une si sale affaire.
 Je ne veux point icy de juge que tes yeux,
 Cynique impitoyable, esprit pernicieux . . .
 Tu te tays maintenant et gardes le silence,
 Plus par confusion que par obéissance.
 Quel estoit ton dessein et par quel mouvement,
 Ingrat, m'as-tu traicté si satiriquement?
 Sy ma seule injustice animoit ta colère,
 Pourquoy chercher d'ailleurs le moyen de me plaire,
 Et dans le mesme temps, pour moüter tout soupçon,
 D'un perfide sonnet couvrir ta trahison?
 Sy c'estoit seulement pour noircir ma mémoire,
 A quoy bon y mesler des heros plains de gloire?
 Pourquoy du sieur Berryer attaquer la vertu?⁴⁰
 Enfin, par tes beaux faits, dis-moy, qu'espérois-tu?
 Présumois tu par là voguer sur le Parnasse?
 D'un estrange malheur son destin le menace
 Sy pour y présider et luy donner la loy,
 Paris n'en peut fournir de plus digne que toy!
 Sy jusques à ce point son sort est déplorable
 Qu'entre les beaux esprits tu sois considérable,
 Et sy ce grand fardeau de rimeur souverain
 Ne scauroit aujourd'uy mieux tomber qu'en ta main,
 Apprens à te cognoistre et descens en toymesme:
 Tu vas chez la Thoré pour dire qu'elle t'aime,⁴¹
 Quelques chansons ont dit qu'elle reçoit tes vœux
 Et que dans sa maison tu fais ce que tu veux.
 Mais en un triste état ta Minerve est réduite,
 Sy la seule Thoré fait cas de ton mérite!
 Ose me démentir; dis-moy ce que tu vaux,
 Fais voir de ton esprit les glorieux travaux!
 Mesnage sous ton nom a fait voir quelque ouvrage,
 Mais tu ne le payas que d'injure et d'outrage:
 Tu soutins hardiment qu'à toy seul estoit deubt

⁴⁰ Berryer, factotum of Colbert, is violently attacked in the last part of the *Colbert Enragé*.

⁴¹ On the relations of Gilles Boileau and the Présidente de Thoré, see note 34 of the present publication.

Tout l'honneur qu'à ton livre on n'avoit point rendu;
 Qu'à grand tort il vouloit en usurper la gloire;
 Enfin, pour achever en deux mots cette histoire,
 Ce malheureux sçavant qui te traitoit d'amy,
 En te faisant autheur te fit son ennemy.⁴³
 Contre Scarron depuis tu fis quelque épigramme⁴⁴
 Mais il estoit pour toy d'une trop haute gamme:
 En cinq vers il te fit pic, repic et capot,⁴⁵
 Et fit voir clairement que tu n'estoit qu'un sot.
 Tu n'as pas pour cela rengagné ta satyre,
 Mais, toujours possédé d'un grand desir de nuire,
 Sans craindre ny le fouet, ny Quinperchorantin⁴⁶

⁴³ Ménage claimed that he wrote, or at least that he furnished the greater part of Gilles Boileau's *Vie d'Epictète et l'Euchiridion ou l'Abrégé de sa Philosophie*, 1655. The following year, in his *Avis à M. Ménage sur son Eglogue intitulée Christine avec un remerciement à M. Costar*, 1656, Gilles Boileau referred to this quarrel. He says to Ménage: "Vous avez adopté des livres entiers, . . . Et c'est pour cela que lorsqu'on me dit que vous vous vantiez d'avoir fait mon *Epictète*, je répondis seulement:

Ménage, ce pauvre poète,
 Dit qu'il a fait mon *Epictète*:

Ce n'est pas chose estrange en luy

D'adopter les oeuvres d'autrui. (*Hist. de Tall. des Rêaux*, ed. 1860, IX, 281, sq.)

⁴⁴ The quarrel between Scarron and Gilles Boileau dates from 1659, the year that the election of Gilles Boileau to the Academy brought about a violent disagreement among the members of the Academy. Scarron in his letter *AM. Fouquet* states that the origin of the dispute were these four verses from his second *Eptère Chagrine*:

Cette année est fertile en grands événemens:
 Jules donne à la France une paix affermie,
 Et d'Estrée et Montmort par leurs soins véhémens,
 Ont enfin mis Boileau dedans l'Académie.

Scarron relates that in reply Boileau wrote an epigram against Mme Scarron, "Scarron ajoute que Boileau montra à l'abbé de Boisrobert cette épigramme, dont il voulut depuis le faire croire Autheur, et que pour parer aux coups dont il estoit menacé, il fit une autre épigramme, qu'il adressa à Madame Scarron sous le nom d'Iris, où il parloit fort mal de son mari. Celui-ci repliqua par quatre épigrammes, qui ne tardèrent pas à être suivies de plusieurs autres et de quelques sonnets, où le fiel le plus amer est répandu avec profusion." Goujet, *Bibl. Fr.* XVII, 172, sq. Scarron's letter *A Mons. le Surintendant Fouquet* (*Oeuvres*, 1781, pp. 269-79) relates the quarrel and prints the poems.

⁴⁵ Pic, repic et capot, terms of card games. Cf. *Les Précieuses Ridicules*.

⁴⁶ Quimper-Corentin, village in Britany of which the inhabitants are reputed stupid.

D'un ministre d'état tu fais un assassin!⁴⁶
 J'aime mieux toutesfois approuver ton ouvrage!
 Règne si tu peux aux dépens de ma rage.
 Mais oses-tu bien penser que tants d'auteurs si vains,
 Que tants de Chastillons,⁴⁷ que tants de Chapelains,
 Des Mesnages de qui l'estude sans pareille
 Nous a fait voir qu'un geay n'est pas une Corneille,
 Abaissent aisement leurs esprits orgueilleux
 Jusques à pouvoir souffrir que tu regnes sur eux?
 Parle, parle, il est temps!

Boisleau.

Je demeure stupide!
 Non que votre colère ou le fouet m'intimide . . .
 Je cherche en vain l'auteur de mon mauvais destin . . .
 Cette stupidité je dissipe à la fin:
 Monsieur, je suis Boisleau, c'est assez vous en dire!
 J'ay reçu de l'enfer ce talent de mesdire,
 Et quoyque petit-fils d'un malheureux sergent,
 Je suis larron d'honneur et vous larron d'argent.
 J'en ay bien dit et j'en diray bien d'autres
 Sy vous ne payez mieux les épigrammes nostres.
 Enfin, pour épargner les discours superflus,
 Si vous ne m'appaisez d'un bon nombre d'escus,
 Jusqu'au dernier soupir l'on me verra mesdire.⁴⁸
 J'en ay fait voeu, Monsieur, et ne m'en puis desdire.

Colbert.

Tu braves mon pouvoir, rimailleur indigent,
 Et veux avec l'honneur motter encor l'argent.
 Tu viens de me frapper par où je suis sensible;
 Ta demande a rendu ton crime irrémissible;
 Mais, puisque tu m'as su si bien pousser à bout,
 Voyons si ta bravoure ira jusques au bout:
 Fais ton arrest toy mesme et choisis ton supplice!

In their edition of Tallemant des Réaux, *Historiettes*, Paulin Paris and Monmerqué quoted forty-four lines of this parody, which they derived from a contemporary manuscript.⁴⁹ They made, however, a mistake which since then has led investi-

⁴⁶ At the end of the *Colbert Enragé*, the minister is represented as making arrangements for the poisoning of Fouquet.

⁴⁷ Boisrobert, who, in 1638, obtained the Abbaye of Châtillon-sur-Seine.

⁴⁸ Extraordinary prophecy . . . The list of awards for the following year, 1665, grants a pension to Gilles Boileau.

⁴⁹ 1860, IX, 38, note.

gation astray. They saw clearly enough that the *Boislean ou la Clémence de Colbert* reproached Gilles Boileau for having composed the *Chapelain décoiffé*, but they did not notice that it is a question of this *Cid*-parody only in the opening lines. Soon Colbert proclaims his indignation about a different parody of the *Cid*, about the *Colbert Enragé*, which concerned him more personally. He refers to this satire as to:

Ce *Percé* qui me peint d'une couleur si noire
Que toute ma faveur n'en peut sauver ma gloire,
Et qui m'a trop acquis le tiltre d'inhumain

The word *Percé* alludes to the first word of the first line of the *Colbert Enragé*. "*Percé* jusques au fond du coeur," borrowed verbally from the *Stances* of the *Cid*. It was easy enough to confuse this *Percé* with the *Chapelain décoiffé*, since there also is found a parody of the same verses of the *Cid*. But the context in the *Boislean ou la Clémence de Colbert* proves clearly that the *Percé* which aroused the ire of Colbert was directed against him and Fouquet's judges.

Révillout in *La Légende de Boileau*,⁵⁰ accepted P. Paris' and Monmerqué's explanation of the allusions in the *Cinna*-parody. But since he was at a loss to explain why Colbert was represented as such an ardent defender of Chapelain, he suggested that, in this parody, Colbert really stands for Chapelain.⁵¹ This is obviously impossible and conflicts with the greater part of the satire, where Colbert blames Gilles Boileau for flattering and betraying him at the same time in the matter of Fouquet's condemnation. All this has clearly no bearing upon the *Chapelain décoiffé*.

A. Bernhard⁵² took the opposite view. He noticed that the passages in the *Cinna*-parody which refer to the *Percé* could not be aimed at the *Chapelain décoiffé* and from this he concluded that the *Boislean ou la Clémence de Colbert* did not refer to the *Chapelain décoiffé* at all.⁵³ The truth lies midway between

⁵⁰ *Revue des Lang. Rom.* 1890-91.

⁵¹ "Le ministre ou plutôt Chapelain se montre encore plus dur qu'Auguste" *op. cit.* p. 500

⁵² *Die Parodie Chapelain décoiffé*, Münchener Beiträge, 1910.

⁵³ "Monmerqué et P. Paris berufen sich auf die sog. Cinnaparodie welche Gilles Boileau bezichtigt eine Parodie der *Cid* stanzen "Percé jusqu'au fond du

these opinions. The *Boisneau ou la Clémence de Colbert* speaks successively of the *Chapelain décoiffé*, which it attributes to Gilles Boileau; of the sonnet of Gilles Boileau defending Colbert's politics; and, at last, of the *Colbert Enragé*, which is ascribed to both Nicolas and Gilles Boileau. What value can be attributed to these ascriptions? Nicolas Boileau believed that the author of the *Cinna*-parody was the Abbé Michel de Pure,⁶⁴ in which case it would have been the work of a well informed, if satirical, contemporary. Le Verrier, Boileau's commentator, writing under his own supervision, testifies that it was because Nic. Boileau believed that the Abbé de Pure was responsible for the *Boisneau ou la Clémence de Colbert*, that his name was inserted in the *Satires*. He states in his notes on the lines 17-18 of the second *Satire*:

Si je veux d'un galant dépeindre la figure,
Ma plume pour rimer trouve l'Abbé de Pure

Il y avoit dans l'origine:

Si je songe à dépeindre un galant de nostre age,
Ma plume pour rimer d'abord trouve Mesnage

L'Abbé de Pure s'estant avisé de faire une parodie (satirique—*addition by N. Boileau*) de *Cinna* contre l'auteur et d'introduire Mr. Colbert qui parloit à l'auteur (Mr. Despréaux—*addition by N. Boileau*) on osta Mesnage pour mettre à sa place l'Abbé de Pure."⁶⁵

In his discussion of the *VIIth Satire*, Le Verrier, again noting down information derived from N. Boileau himself, gives more complete details:

"Les souris et les rats,

Semblent pour m'éveiller s'entendre avec les chats,
Plus importuns pour moi, durant la nuit obscure,
Que jamais en plein jour ne fut l'Abbé de Pure."

L'Abbé de Pure avoit excité l'indignation de l'auteur plus que qui ce soit. Car avant qu'il eust parlé de luy, cet abbé avoit fait une parodie de cette scène

coeur" geschrieben zu haben, Jenes *Perce*, von dem die *Cinna*-parodie spricht, ist aber gänzlich verschieden von dem unsern, wie uns ein Blick in die *Mss.* sofort zeigt. Es kann also Gilles Boileau nicht als Verfasser des *Chapelain décoiffé* in Betracht kommen." *Op. cit.* p. 5.

⁶⁴ 1634-80. On him see, *Nouv. Biogr. Didot*. —Lachèvre, *Bibl. des Rec. Coll.* II, 426.—Goujet, *Bibl. fr.* vol. VIII.—de Marolles, *Dénombrement des Auteurs*, —*Mercurie Galant*, Avril, 1880.—Somaize, *Dict. des Préc.*—E. Roy, *Le Moliériste*, 1887-88, p. 183.

⁶⁵ *Les Satires de Boileau, commentées par lui-même*, 1906, p. 26.

ai fameuse de *Cinna* qui commence: Prends un siège, Cinna Dans cette parodie, il introduisoit Mr. Colbert convainquant l'auteur et son frère l'Académicien (ou l'Argentier du Roy) d'avoir composé une satire qui couroit contre ce Ministre, dans le temps qu'il estoit le plus animé à poursuivre Mr. Fouquet, qui dans sa disgrâce même a trouvé des deffeudeurs . . .⁴⁶

Here Nic. Boileau wrote in the margin: "On soupçonnoit l'Abbé de Pure d'avoir fait (une parodie) . . .," so that here he seems to doubt his authorship. Modern editors are still less affirmative: "L'Abbé de Pure fit alors ou colporta des vers satiriques contre Boileau" says Gidel⁴⁷ and this guarded statement is repeated by Marty-Laveaux.⁴⁸ Revillout (*op. cit.*) ascribes the *Boisneau ou la Clémence de Colbert* vaguely to "des amis de Chapelain." Although de Pure's enmity to Nic. Boileau is well known and although no other author of the *Cinna*-parody has been suggested, his authorship is, then, not entirely established. But, whoever the author of this satire, it was the work of a contemporary and if his attributions may not be accepted without test, they merit at least as much credence as others of later date:

I.—*Colbert Enragé*.—The *Boisneau ou la Clémence de Colbert* ascribes the *Colbert Enragé* to both Gilles and Nicolas Boileau. This *Percé*, says Colbert to Gilles "est un coup de ta main" but,

Despréaux, qu'après toy j'estimois davantage,
T'a servy de complice en ce méchant ouvrage.

In vain did the satirical brothers try to lead investigation off the track by writing it in imperfect verse and in incorrect style, since Colbert is said to possess a copy of the satire in Gilles Boileau's own handwriting.

The sonnet of Gilles Boileau in praise of Colbert would have been composed intentionally to hide more effectively his attack against him. In the literary habits of Gilles Boileau there is nothing that would make these accusations entirely devoid of probability. He is constantly depicted as a sharp-tongued and irascible *arriviste*, aiming in literature, not high, but at obtainable advantages. Tallemant des Réaux tells that he did not spare his friend Chapelain to whom he owed, at least partly, his

⁴⁶ *id.* p. 56.

⁴⁷ *Oeuvres de N. Boileau*, I, 71.

⁴⁸ *Oeuvres de P. Corneille*, Introd. to *Cinna*, III, 368.

entrance into the Academy.⁵⁹ His natural waspishness may have been quickened by the fact that his name was omitted from the two first lists of awards and the parodist would have us believe that he attacked both Chapelain and Colbert for this, the first in the *Chapelain décoiffé*, the second with the *Colbert Enragé*. The *Cinna*-parody suggests very clearly that Gilles Boileau's anger could be appeased by a pension:

Si vous ne m'appaisez d'un bon nombre d'escus,
Jusqu'au dernier soupir l'on me verra mesdire.

The next year, however, he obtained an award of 1200 livres, and this grant shows that Colbert did not believe that Gilles Boileau was the author of the *Colbert Enragé*. Revillout⁶⁰ suggests that it was the price paid by Chapelain for a reconciliation with Gilles Boileau, who would at that moment have turned against his brother Nicolas. It must, however, be observed that, if Chapelain, through natural timidity or for other reasons, may have been desirous of making peace with Gilles Boileau, no such motives could govern the actions of the powerful minister Colbert. Unless we accept that Colbert rivaled in reality with Augustus in magnanimity, we must suppose that he did not consider Gilles Boileau as responsible for this virulent satire against his politics. The attribution of the *Colbert Enragé* to the brothers Boileau seems, then, only a rather doubtful insinuation from the side of an enemy.⁶¹

Incidentally, the *Boisileau ou la Clémence de Colbert* allows us to fix the date of the quarrel of the brothers Boileau as 1665. The fact that the author of this *Cinna*-parody depicts them as collaborators, proves that at the beginning of this year they were still known to be on friendly terms, for if they had been open enemies the insinuations of the parodist would have been at once discounted. On the other hand, the appearance of Gilles Boileau's name on the list of awards of October 1665 must have been the sign of hostilities between the two brothers, at least if they had not preceded that date.

⁵⁹ *Histor. de Chapelain*, III, 276-78.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.* pp. 479-80.

⁶¹ Such attributions are not infrequent at the time. See, for instance, *Le Livre abominable de 1665*, political comedy on the Fouquet case attributed to Molière. (Publ. by L. A. Ménand, 1883).

It is, then, very probable that the verses of Nicolas Boileau against Gilles, which were for some years part of the *First Satire*, were written in 1665. They were printed for the first time in the edition of 1666 of Nicolas Boileau's works:⁶²

Enfin je ne saurois, pour faire un juste gain,
Aller bas et rampant fléchir sous Chapelain.
Cependant pour flatter ce rimeur tutélaire,
Le frère en un besoin va renier son frère,
Et Phébus en personne, y faisant la leçon,
Gagneroit moins ici qu'au métier de maçon,
Ou, pour être couché sur la liste nouvelle,
S'en iroit chez Billaine admirer la *Pucelle*.⁶³

A. Fabre, in *Les Ennemis de Chapelain* (p. 407), dates these verses 1660, apparently because he believes the *Satire I* was composed during that year.⁶⁴ It was begun in 1657, but even if it were written entirely in 1660, Nicolas Boileau, true to his custom, might have added these lines later on. However, the reference in Nicolas' verses to "la liste nouvelle" makes it clear that they must be dated either 1664 or 1665, the years that *new* lists of awards were issued. But, since in 1664 the brothers Boileau were on good terms, the latter date must be accepted, the more so as in 1665 Gilles obtained a pension, which he could not have received without "aller bas et rampant fléchir sous Chapelain."

II.—*Chapelain Décoiffé*.—The *Cinna*-parody ascribes the *Chapelain décoiffé* to Gilles Boileau alone. It refers to the early text of this parody, in which Chapelain was reproached with having been an Archer:

Et c'est en quoy déjà tu manques de cervelle
D'avoir traicté d'Archer l'auteur de la *Pucelle*.

This utterance, placed in the mouth of Colbert, constitutes additional evidence that the text printed by A. Bernhard, in which is found the insulting reference to Chapelain-policeman, is the early version.⁶⁵

⁶² This edition has been consulted by Revillout, *op. cit.* p. 480.

⁶³ Edition Gidel of *Oeuvres de Boileau*, I, p. 63, note 3. They were suppressed in the edition of 1674, after the death of Gilles Boileau.

⁶⁴ A. Fabre, *op. cit.* p. 644, note I.

⁶⁵ This early version seems to have appeared in print in *La Ménagerie, Par M. l'Abbé Cotin. Et quelques autres pièces curieuses*. La Haye, 1666, p. 49.

There has been considerable divergence in the ascription of the *Chapelain décoiffé*. It was circulated anonymously and the authors showed no eagerness to reveal their identity. Chapelain accused Nicolas Boileau,⁶⁶ who claimed at that time that the real author was the provincial satirist Delasson.⁶⁷ The *Ménagiana* of 1693 mentioned Boileau: "Ce fut pour le divertir (le Président de Lamoignon) plus que pour autre chose que Monsieur Boileau parodia quelques endroits du *Cid* sur Chapelain, Cassagne et les autres." (pp. 51-52). Monsieur Boileau here indicates rather Gilles Boileau than Nicolas who was always called Mr. Despréaux by his contemporaries. Yet, in the following enlarged editions of the *Ménagiana*, "Monsieur Boileau" was taken to indicate Nicolas Boileau. In 1701, Brossette asked him whether the *Chapelain décoiffé* was really his work and whether he could insert this parody in the complete edition which he then projected. In his reply of Dec. 10, 1701, Nicolas Boileau confessed to have composed four lines of it, but revealed Furetière and Racine as co-authors. Racine, on the contrary, does not mention his own collaboration, but indicates Furetière, Chapelle, and "a few others."⁶⁸ According to Tallemant des Réaux,⁶⁹ the parody was composed by Chapelle but enlivened by Racine and Furetière. The *Carpentariana* (p. 360) attributes it principally to Lignière, helped, however, by Furetière.

In the present state of our knowledge, it seems well nigh impossible to settle this vexed question of authorship with any degree of definiteness. A. Bernhard (op. cit.) has argued that the early text of the *Chapelain décoiffé* was the work of Nic. Boileau, Racine, and Furetière; and the later text a version changed by Chapelle, Lignière, and a few others. But this conflicts directly with Racine's statement that it was produced "by Chapelle, Furetière, and others," and if Boileau's letter to Brossette is reliable, Racine's utterances are not less trustworthy. Moreover, the attribution made by the *Cinna*-parody to Gilles Boileau, is the earliest known, since it antedates even

⁶⁶ Letter of March 3, 1665.

⁶⁷ See on him, Lachèvre, *Bibl. des Rec. coll.* and J. Collas, *J. Chapelain*, p. 455.

⁶⁸ *Mémoires*, p. 74.

⁶⁹ *Mss. of La Rochelle*, Ms. 672, fol. 246.

Chapelain's letters on the subject. It seems, then, that the *Chapelain décoiffé* was even in its earliest form the work of several hands. As far as the conflicting attributions allow a diminishing gradation of probability of authorship, the following list attempts to tabulate the contemporary ascriptions:

- 1.—Nicolas Boileau (*Lettres de Chapelain*, 1665, His own letter of 1701).
- 2.—Furetière. (Indicated by Nic. Boileau, Racine, Tallemant des Réaux and the *Carpentariana*.)
- 3.—Gilles Boileau. (*Cinna*-parody, 1664. *Ménagiana*, 1693)
- 4.—Racine. (Indicated by Nic. Boileau and Tallemant des Réaux)
- 5.—Chapelle. (Indicated by Racine and Tallemant des Réaux)
- 6.—Lignière (Indicated only by the *Carpentariana*).
- 7.—Delasson. (Indicated by Nicolas Boileau, but only to disguise his own authorship)

In 1664, the *Chapelain décoiffé* was not an entirely isolated parody: Corneille's *Cid* and *Cinna* were used or misused for a venomous battle of parodies, partly personal and partly political, which involved two engrossing happenings of the moment, the trial of Fouquet and the new lists of pensions for authors. Collas (*op. cit.* p. 405) has demonstrated that the real influence of Chapelain in the matter of awards to French authors lasted but two years, from 1663 to 1665, and that he was then succeeded by Perrault. Were the several attacks on Chapelain not in part responsible for this change? Colbert may have felt that Chapelain was too much under fire and Chapelain himself may have preferred to devote his attention exclusively to the awards to foreign authors, from whom no such attacks were to be expected. In any case he went on playing at being the "Providence" of foreign scholars and men of letters and avoided further battles with the pitiless wits of Paris.

GUSTAVE L. VAN ROOSBROECK

XLI. BYRON AND THE COMIC SPIRIT

(A STUDY OF POETIC MOOD)

In recent decades the Comic Spirit, after a century of sleeping-sickness, has been struggling with imperfect success to reassert herself in literature. And to her renewed vitality, it seems, is due something of the fresh interest in Byron—her recreant son. His poetry has not yet had its full and clear day. It was mistily worshipped by his contemporaries. The Victorians partly mispraised it and partly reacted from it. The poetic spirit of our own time, rejecting Victorianism and casting back for inspiration to the early writers of the century, has loved the Shelleyan dream and the “colorful” imagery of Keats. But Byron could offer neither. Moreover, though recent writers have re-created a cult and a cant of free individualism that is often reminiscent of Byron, they have patently desired *not* to be Byronic—so strongly has this poet inoculated his posterity against Byronism! Critics and interpreters of Byron have recently done him some good service. But they have allowed his poetry and his personality to remain too closely intertwined; and sometimes they have continued, in one guise or another, the legend of his Titanism. Matthew Arnold, while professing a balanced and disillusioned view of Byron, did much to strengthen the illusion that he was essentially, or potentially, a Titan. In 1881 Arnold still felt so strongly the pull of his boyhood’s hero that, adopting for once a Swinburnian hyperbole, he insisted on Byron’s “splendid and imperishable excellence which covers all his offences and outweighs all his defects: the excellence of sincerity and strength.” How ironic that word “imperishable” appears when Arnold goes on, in maturer vein, to state that Byron “has no light, cannot lead us from the past to the future”; and that he “shattered himself to pieces” in attacking the bourgeois cant of the earlier nineteenth century! For sincerity and strength are “imperishable” in proportion as they cut through the passing forms to the perennial forces of human cant. Olympus itself is antagonist

of the true Titan. He makes no compromise with its minions and, when he falls, falls deep. Byron made the compromise called "Byronism," and fell—into the arms of fairly congenial Guiccioli, "with her sleek tresses" (as Leigh Hunt pictures her) and "none of her graces entirely free from art."

In the worst passages of Byron's poetry, the worst features of the man have been industriously discovered. In the best passages, the higher Byron has been shown forth-stepping—"that true and puissant personality, with its direct strokes, its ever-welling force, its satire, its energy, and its agony" (Arnold). His spiritual career—"that Titanic strife"—has been closely followed in the succession of his works. As to the culmination of that career, the best recent essay on Byron concludes: "he wrung from the tragedy of his own life the irony and pathos of *Don Juan*, a poem which in its own sphere is so easily supreme that this achievement alone would rank him great among the strongest, if not among the wisest" (Paul Elmer More in the Cambridge edition). In short, Byron has been viewed as an extraordinary personal force, coming out now in irony or satire, now in agony or pathos or romantic sentiment, and therefore reaching its fullest expression in the medley of *Don Juan*.

But how much of that *personal* force was really *poetic* force? This question now presses to the foreground; and no doubt it will be gradually answered during the next hundred years or so. Doubtless many passages of Byron that are still favorites will sink. For example, if this "direct stroke" should arrest the future lover of verse—

No more—no more—Oh! never more on me
The freshness of the heart can fall like dew—

all the more would he hurry over the remainder of that well-known passage (*Don Juan*, I, sts. 214-5). It has Byronic pathos and irony; but, for poetry, it is far too sprawlingly showy. This is obviously the main defect of Byron's work; but the nature of it needs to be made plainer. Its main source is not insincerity, nor slipshod technique, nor predilection for rhetorical effect. Many faults of this nature, as in the Elizabethan poets, can be floated on a current of real *poetic mood*. But just here is Byron's deficiency. Poetic mood, in general, is of course

the artist's poise of spirit when, with his peculiar abilities at full tide, he is intent, not on expressing himself or impressing his public, but simply on the making of true verse. The mood comes as a brooding and creative presence that demands complete obedience. It demands that all *personal* interests and powers that the artist may have as a man among men shall be submitted to it, and rejected in so far as they cannot serve its purpose. It burns quietly above the apex of all excitements, like a star over Vesuvius. Its mark is a certain mysterious serenity, quite distinct from all other serenities—moral, philosophic, and so on—though it may hold something of these in solution. This kind of serenity is comparatively rare in Byron's work. Perhaps no other English writer has had so many artistic capabilities and, at the same time, been so deficient in sure poetic mood. Just for this reason, however, his verse affords the most remarkable examples of that mysterious process which underlies all good verse: the transition from the personal to the poetic mood. In the following stanza, a certain familiar interest of Byron the man is completely lifted and changed into poetry, excepting the first line:

Her eye (I'm very fond of handsome eyes)
 Was large and dark, suppressing half its fire
 Until she spoke; then through its soft disguise
 Flashed an expression more of pride than ire,
 And love than either; and there would arise
 A something in them which was not desire,
 But would have been, perhaps, but for the soul
 Which struggled through and chastened down the whole.¹

Here is the broad wholeness of effect that Byron was master of — in easy force of phrasing, and linked, mounting rhythms. But in this case there is also a true poetic mood that rises through 'and chastens down the whole,' curbing the rhetoric and enriching the mettle of poetic suggestion. The mood is deeply comic, developing through a sort of stoic compression and composure. A little further on it flows out ripplingly into this:

Yet Julia's very coldness still was kind;
 And tremulously gentle her small hand

¹ *Don Juan*, I, st. 60.

Withdrew itself from his, but left behind
 A little pressure, thrilling, and so bland
 And slight, so very slight, that to the mind
 'Twas but a doubt; but ne'er magician's wand
 Wrought change with all Armida's fairy art
 Like what this light touch left on Juan's heart.

Taken together, these serenely comic stanzas point the way of Byron's destiny. It was not the way of romance or satire. For highest distinction in satire, he was too emotional, and he lacked the subtlety of wit that shines in the eighteenth century masters whom he revered. His feelings sought romantic expression. For romance, however, he lacked the subtlety of imagination that gleams in Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, and Coleridge. They were penetrated by the romantic mood, and he was merely cloaked in it. It made him swagger because it fitted him imperfectly. His romantic poetry is diffuse and showy not just because the man was an egotist, but because the artist was not at home there. His gift of poetic mood was not apt and certain in transmuting personal feelings into romantic verse. His proper genius was the comic spirit, which loves large symmetry, and neither slashes nor weeps and yearns; though of course it may employ satire and sentiment intermittently when they are soluble in its purpose. Not the satirico-romantic mode was Byron's *goal*, but a sort of stoical and comic art, akin, in spirit, to that which George Meredith was later to essay. Byron's destiny demanded that, through an increasingly stoic outlook on life, he should learn to hold his crowded experiences at a certain cool distance, where he could view them, not with contempt or sighs, but in the light of the comic vision. For an obvious example of the rise in the quality of his style when he views life at stoic distance, consider stanza 182 of *Childe Harold*, Canto Fourth—"Thy shores are empires," etc.—in contrast with the preceding passages, where his personal feelings are too close to the scene. The stanza, though serious, is on the road leading to the comic vision of life because it views an old paradox of human society with poetic calm. When Byron travels the road *toward* the comic vision he sings his best song: his mood is firmest and his touch most sure. In this point of view, *Heaven and Earth* and *Sardanapalus*, written in 1821, are his two most significant poems. They have been

neglected because, as it seems to me, they have not been shown in their proper relationship with his preceding work.

The works of 1816-17 have been regarded too exclusively as the volcanic result of Byron's English career, with all its passions and troubles, and abrupt decline. In reality, just how mountainous were those troubles (so the critical reader has queried) and how sincere the throbs and groans of the down-cast Titan beneath? This question has confused the critical evaluation of the poems of the time. Properly, these may be viewed as a series of shifting efforts, on the part of a slow-maturing poet, to find his way ahead in his art. *Childe Harold*, Canto Third, is far superior to the earlier works—the dulcet lyrics, the half-baked satires, the flaring *Oriental Tales*—mainly because Byron was trying with maturer earnestness to surmount Byron, to win a new lift and veracity of poetic mood. So intense and continual is this effort that it warms all the atmosphere and creates a mirage-like reflection in which the scattered objects seem to form a single landscape. From a rapid and sympathetic reading of this extraordinary piece, one may always win an illusion of poetic completeness. Actually, however, such completeness is achieved only in particular passages, as in that describing the Rhine castles:

And there they stand, as stands a lofty mind,
Worn, but unstooping to the baser crowd,
All tenantless, save to the crannying wind,
Or holding dark communion with the cloud.

Here (in contrast with stanza 114) Byron's personal experience has been stoically accepted and submerged, and rises again as pure poetry. Identical in tone with this passage is the companion poem to *Childe Harold*, *The Prisoner of Chillon*, where Byron won superb success in mood and organism by confining himself to his hatred of tyranny, and throwing it into a cool Alpine distance. But he could not well continue on such narrow tracks. In *Manfred*, he cast back upon the rich and various experiences of *Childe Harold*—the loss of love, the despair, the appeal to surrounding nature, the proud independence, the craving for Lethe—and tried to reweave them into a single dramatic design. But the design is factitious and superficial: it is the result of a rhetorical, not a poetic, concentration. The

fresh lift and glow of the earlier poem are gone; and this reassembly of its feelings serves only to show how little they had been subdued, in the meanwhile, to the service of real poetic purpose. Manfred himself is obviously designed to be of far larger calibre than he actually is: his actions presuppose a resolution that one who so unpacks his heart with words could not have; he contradicts that strength of his own despair on which the whole theme turns. Therefore those who have praised the piece for its extraordinary unity of theme, while deprecating its romanticism, have turned it wrong side out, under the sway of a false criterion. The emotions of *Manfred* are potential poetry: its whole mood and mode are nonsensical.

Byron deliberately tasted blood in *Manfred*, and the taste lingered. In the ensuing poem, *Childe Harold*, Canto Fourth, he demands his soul to stand "a ruin amidst ruins." The naiveté of Canto Three is gone; and he is groping toward the satiric vein of *Don Juan*. In this work, begun in 1818, the lust of rhetorical self-expression culminates, and well-nigh swamps Byron the poet. Continually he gets his head above the tide, like "some strong swimmer in his agony," only to be submerged again by a wave of stale regret or commonplace wit. The alternating of sentiment and satire was, in itself, a sound comic idea, and marked an advance toward Byron's goal. But this mode demands a firm comic mood, which Byron did not have. His uncertainty of mood and purpose, ingenuously confessed by himself at the beginning of Canto IV, made the poem as a whole a failure. The author is still a drawing-room lion,—monologuing with clever variegation to a "large and attentive audience," but spoiling his whole effect by an extraordinary lack of self-possession. He is undecided as to what kind of lion he is—or whether he *is* one after all. The poem degenerates in its whole spirit, more or less steadily, after Canto I. The story of Juan and Julia in that canto is superb sex-comedy, quite unique of its kind in English verse. But in the ensuing episode of Juan and Haidée, comedy is lost in a queer mixture of romance and burlesque. The poet is tangled in his own feelings, and uncertain as to their quality. By cheap joking he tries for comic footholds in the marshy sentiment that lures him on. The romantic theme in itself is a failure: Haidée, the center of it, is a mechanic composition, part Arcadian and

part Oriental.² A natural sequel is the episode of Juan and Dudu, Canto VI, which reads like a burlesque of the Juan and Julia affair. Here Byron moves easily, in obvious laughter. Indeed, the recurrent strain of burlesque or "low comedy" in *Don Juan* stays happily with the reader. If isolated, it could have made a complete poem on a frankly lower level, like *The Vision of Judgment* (1821). As it is, *Don Juan* is a rich but monotonous display of the little Byronic world; with a very special interest for us, which should not be confused with lasting poetic interest; and with the true comic spirit touching it here and there, and yearning to work it over into organic poetry.

The call of his finer genius led Byron in 1821 to set aside *Don Juan*, for nearly two years, in favor of poetic drama. The two Italian plays, *Marino Faliero* and *The Two Foscari*, with their stiff attention to form, mean a revulsion from the expressional dissipation of *Don Juan* and a striving for shapeliness. This self-imposed discipline was beneficent for Byron's remaining pieces; but he could not move far in the bonds of historical tragedy, and his imagination sought the mythological fields of *Sardanapalus*, *Cain*, and *Heaven and Earth*. The last two are closely related. *Cain*, despite its absurd "air-service" provided by Lucifer, is in its main mood a far firmer and truer work than *Manfred*. The rhetorician of the Alps yields here to a human sinner with a spirit worthy of a destiny not conceivable for Manfred:

Think and endure, and form an inner world
In your own bosom—where the outer fails;
So shall you nearer be the spiritual
Nature, and war triumphant with your own.

Still firmer in its stoicism, and far deeper in imaginative power, is *Heaven and Earth*. This poem is the apex of Byron's serious verse. It has the superb tone-architecture of *The Prisoner of Chillon* on a wider basis of thought. It has the moody, scenic power of *Childe Harold*, but with poetic concen-

² What a glaring inconsistency in regard to her "pure ignorance" appears in stanzas 190 and 193 of Canto III! It is noteworthy that her situation is used again and more successfully in a later poem, *The Island*, as though Byron were correcting himself. There, the mood is purely Arcadian; and the story of Neuha and Torquil is satisfying as a poetic idyl.

tration. It is *Manfred* purged and re-created after five years. Just here an objector might exclaim: "But *Heaven and Earth* is like a stiff wall-painting; it lacks the glowing detail of Byron's earlier works, the intense" . . . etc. etc. My reply is: "Are you not confusing personal and poetic glow? The value of style, beyond detail, depends on poetic mood. A wall-painting, if gloriously done, is better than a cheap and highly colored 'portrait of the artist.'" Here Byron is freest from Byron: his mood is almost sheer poetry. The feverish thought of his own little fight with society is sunk in the contemplation of mankind's whole struggle with necessity—as imaged in the conduct of a group of typical figures during the night before Noah's Flood. So free and intense was the vision that it lifted Byron from the bonds of conventional drama, and shaped out a fresh mode of poetry for which his genius had been groping at the time of *Manfred*. It is a sort of cantata: a series of lyric passages, sometimes dropping into recitative, sometimes sweeping into choral strains. But the whole moves steadily forward to the catastrophe, like a gathering storm; for in the moments of pause the reader is made to feel a fresh intensity gathering.

The piece opens upon the God-defying love of Aholibamah—a superb, statuesque Amazon—for her descending seraph:

I can share all things, even immortal sorrow;
For thou hast ventured to share life with me,
And shall I shrink from thine eternity?

Then comes the mild tone of Japhet, servant of Jehovah. But his love of his errant Anah warms his feeling for the doomed world:

Ye wilds, that look eternal; and thou cave,
Which seem'st unfathomable; and ye mountains,
So varied and so terrible in beauty;
Here, in your rugged majesty of rocks
And toppling trees that twine their roots with stone
In perpendicular places, where the foot
Of man would tremble, could he reach them—yes,
Ye look eternal! Yet, in a few days,
Perhaps even hours, ye will be changed, rent, hurled
Before the mass of waters; and yon cave,
Which seems to lead into a lower world,
Shall have its depths searched by the sweeping wave . . .

His rising sympathy for mankind, straining the leash of his pious obedience, leads into the song of the mocking nature-spirits:

Not slow, not single, not by sword, nor sorrow,
Nor years, nor heart-break, nor time's sapping motion,
Shall they drop off. Behold their last tomorrow!
Earth shall be ocean!
And no breath,
Save of the winds, be on the unbounded wave!

And the chorus of spirits mounts through this:

The wave shall break upon your cliffs; and shells,
The little shells of ocean's least things, be
Deposed where now the eagle's offspring dwells—
How shall he shriek o'er the remorseless sea!

to this:

And to the universal human cry
The universal silence shall succeed.

A meditative pause ensues, marking the end of the first half of the cantata. Then begins the final ensemble of voices. The current of Aholibamah's passion, meeting more and more the urgency of the servants of Jehovah, rises to a stoic acceptance of fate, and represents grandly the spirit of ultimate independence in humanity:

Let us resign even what we have adored,
And meet the wave, as we would meet the sword,
If not unmoved, yet undismayed,
And wailing less for us than those who shall
Survive in mortal or immortal thrall . . .

She stands aloof, now, while the milder personages plead and question together. And just here, with a sure sense for tonal architecture, the poet brings on the immediate signs of the Flood, answering to the premonitions at the close of the first half of the poem, like nearer thunders. Just before sunrise:

Hark, hark! the sea-birds cry!
In clouds they overspread the lurid sky,
And hover round the mountain, where before
Never a white wing, wetted by the wave,
Yet dared to soar,
Even when the waters waxed too fierce to brave.

At sunrise:

The clouds return into the hues of night,
 Save where their brazen-colored edges streak
 The verge where brighter morns were wont to break.

Never was Byron's command of wide landscapes, rocky grandeurs, and wild waters used with such large human effect. The roar of the waters blends with the pathetic Chorus of Mortals flying in vain for refuge. And yet, a tone not of wild despair or revolt but of stoic acceptance dominates this closing scene, and is felt in the regular pulse of the verse. It is the dominant tone of the whole piece and, indeed, of Byron's total work in 1820-21.

Stoical acceptance of life, with concentration of poetic mood and form—this was the avenue through which the author of *Don Juan* had to pass if he were to reach the realm of poetic comedy that was his by right. His nearest approach to that realm is *Sardanapalus*. It is *Don Juan* reborn. The sprawling *uncertainty* of mood is mainly gone. The poet has finally sloughed off, not only the pseudo-Titan, but his uneasiness concerning the status of his own special nature in relation to human nature in general:

I feel a thousand mortal things about me,
 But nothing godlike—unless it may be
 The thing which you condemn: a disposition
 To love and to be merciful, to pardon
 The follies of my species, and (that's human)
 To be indulgent to my own.

define! These are words of the central character, *Sardanapalus*, but they convey the mood of the whole play. The inflated regrets and mockeries of *Don Juan*, jostling together uneasily like a circus handful of toy-balloons, have been cast off. In their place the true comic spirit hovers, rather steadily,—now blessing an honest sentiment, now throwing a sharp-smiling glance upon the religious and political pretensions of mankind. Above all, the comic illumination is turned upon Byronism itself. Consciously or not, Byron was learning to distil the comedy of his own career, which is paralleled in the plot of this play. *Sardanapalus*, by his truest nature a poetic and humorous onlooker, is set by fate in a high position, acts a showy part for a time, and then breaks with society. He is able to view

his own case with a critical smile. For he senses the inevitability of individual temperament and, opposed to it, the inevitability of social convention. Byron had more innate respect than the other chief poets of the time for what might be called the convention-making power in human nature. He loved the spectacle of history, and the reach of poetic tradition. The very bitterness of his clash with British society was due in no small measure to the fact that he had himself a more or less conventional conscience, and, beneath it, a recognition that social customs, cheap or fine, are offspring of an essential human power. A deepened sense of the mystery of that power appears in the works of 1820-21,—especially in his attitude toward the gods of conventional humanity, Jehovah and Baal, who rise somberly in the background of *Heaven and Earth* and *Sardanapalus*, and let fall their shadows upon the moving scene. What are the divine stars beyond those human divinities? the poet seems to ask, and finds no answer:

There's something sweet in my uncertainty
 I would not change for your Chaldean lore;
 Besides, I know of these all clay can know
 Of aught above it or below it—nothing.
 I see their brilliancy and feel their beauty:
 When they shine on my grave I shall know neither.

Meanwhile, Baal is an "oracular deity":

. his marble face majestic
 Frowns as the shadows of the evening dim
 His brows to changed expression, till at times
 I think the statue looks in act to speak.

He is too human to be feared or hated. But his persecution of human hearts makes him often unlovely. His minions are pathetic; comical, also, in that they turn against their well-wishers. But these liberators, with their blind impulsiveness, or fetterless love of pleasure—with their incapacity for coming to human terms with society's ways—are they not comical, too? In *Sardanapalus*, Byron smiles at himself more wholesomely than ever before. To be sure, the smile is overcast in the later scenes; here the play contradicts its initial tone and works up to a romantic-tragical ending. The cast-off Queen must enter and be apologized to. The lovely and sensible concubine,

Myrrha, must in the end mount the funeral pyre with the hero. Before this end, the genial hedonist of the Nineveh palace has to make a sober discovery:

These slaves, whom I have nurtured, pampered, fed,
And swoln with peace, and gorged with plenty, till
They reign themselves—all monarchs in their mansions—
Now swarm forth in rebellion, and demand
His death who made their lives a jubilee;
While the few upon whom I have no claim
Are faithful! This is true, yet monstrous.

But even here his tone is half jocular. And if he had lived on and looked back, he would soon have seen the full comedy of that situation, with himself at the center.

If Byron himself had lived on—if he had been more devoted to poetry than to the freedom of Greece—he would have done much, I think, toward the freedom of the comic spirit in himself and in his century. His voluminous power as a writer was far from spent. A Shelley, or even a Keats, aged fifty and producing a kind of poetry comparable in value with the glamorous verse of his youth, is unthinkable: their race was run. But quite possible was a disillusioned Byron, living on into middle age, and composing his matured comic vision into narratives or dramatic sketches, in verse and lively prose. This author was not *so* beloved by the gods that he needed to die young. In *Don Juan* his powers were cascading, not toward brilliant extinction, but toward a serener level and a comelier flow. Picture him re-collecting himself, as a middle-aged *Sardanapalus*, with some Myrrha to friend—in a Casa Lanfranchi, or visiting England, if you will—recalling with tolerant amusement young Childe Harold's yearning:

Oh that the desert were my dwelling-place,
With one fair spirit for my minister,
That I might all forget the human race,
And, hating no one, love but only her!

Such a Byron would have caught both sides of the comic vision: the absurdity of those who fight, as well as of those who worship, the god Baal. The second side has been overdone by recent revivers of comedy. They flout Baal without really comprehending him, because they have missed the experience

of grappling with him Byronically, and of thus modifying profoundly their own self-conceit. One may trace a certain progressive uncertainty and conceited narrowness of comic vision from George Meredith, through Samuel Butler, to Shaw, and on to—others. Byron, from premature Elysium, points toward the balance and poetic comeliness of the true comic spirit that we are groping for now.

G. R. ELLIOTT

XLII. UNPUBLISHED PASSAGES FROM THE
PFORZHEIMER MS. OF SHELLEY'S
PHILOSOPHICAL VIEW OF
REFORM

It is so much easier to understand a simple character, one that runs true to form, than to comprehend a peculiarly complex one, that I have always had a good deal of sympathy for poor old Timothy Shelley, weeping on the neck of his son's friend, Hogg, at Miller's Hotel in London, just after the Oxford expulsion. For Percy Bysshe Shelley, his poetic talent aside, was no ordinary scion to issue from the sedate portals of an English country home. Bred a Tory, he aligned himself with the Radical Reformers; reared in the Church of England, he published a tract on *The Necessity of Atheism* before he was twenty. Nor does the paradox end here. As the author of *Prometheus Unbound* and *Epipsychidion* he seems to us a "spirit that walked in a flaming robe of verse;"¹ but the always-worldly Byron turned over to this spirit of fire and dew his financial negotiations with the wholly substantial John Murray; and this citizen of worlds of unimaginable beauty could turn in a moment from the composition of *Alastor* to discuss with the impecunious Godwin the least expensive means of borrowing on collateral.

"Mr. Shelley's countrymen," wrote Leigh Hunt, "know how anxious he was for the advancement of the common good, but they have yet to become acquainted with his anxiety in behalf of this particular means of it—Reform. The first time I heard from him, was upon the subject: it was before I knew him, and while he was a student at Oxford, in the year 1811. . . . Mankind and their interests, were scarcely ever out of his thoughts. It was a moot point when he entered your room, whether he would begin with some half-pleasant, half-pensive joke, or quote something Greek, or ask some question about public affairs." Hunt goes on to describe how on one occasion

¹ Preface to 1st edition of *The Mask of Anarchy*, 1832. p.v.

they came together, after a long separation, before a fire in a cottage study. "The air of domesticity about us," says Hunt, "was so complete that I thought he was going to speak of some family matter, either his or my own; when he asked me, at the close of an intensity of pause, what was 'the amount of the National Debt.'"²

Peacock beheld this same aspect of Shelley through laughing eyes. He is describing Scythrop (his satirical portrait of Shelley, in *Nightmare Abbey*;) "He now became troubled with the passion for reforming the world. . . . 'Action,' he soliloquised, 'is the result of opinion, and to new-model opinion would be to new-model society. Knowledge is power. It is in the hands of a few, who employ it to mislead the many for their own selfish purposes of aggrandisement and appropriation. . . . What if it were universal, and the multitude were enlightened? No. The many must be always in leading-strings; but let them have wise and honest conductors. A few to think, and many to act: that is the only basis of perfect society.'"³ Thus, Peacock amusingly testifies, Scythrop "laid deep schemes for a thorough repair of the crazy fabric of human nature."⁴

One of Shelley's blue-prints for the making of such repairs in the "crazy fabric" of the state has come down to us in the form of an essay, written out on some hundred and fifty pages¹ of an Italian notebook in 1819-20. The earliest reference to the work is in a letter from Shelley to the Gisbornes, December 23, 1819. In a letter to Ollier, two days later, he says of it: "I intend it to be an instructive and readable book, appealing from the passions to the reason of men."⁴ On May 26, 1820, he appealed to Leigh Hunt: "Do you know any publisher or bookseller who would publish for me an octavo volume, entitled *A Philosophical View of Reform*? It is boldly but temperately written, and, I think, readable. It is intended for a kind of standard book for the philosophical reformers, politically considered like Jeremy Bentham's, something, and perhaps more systematic. I will send it sheet by sheet. Will you ask and

¹ *Mask of Anarchy*, 1832, pp. xi-xiii.

² *Nightmare Abbey*, 1818, pp. 22-23, 27.

⁴ *Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed Ingpen, 1912, II, 760.

think for me?"⁵ Whether Hunt did "ask and think" for Shelley in the matter we do not know. We lose all sight and knowledge of the MS. for a century; and then, in Mr. T. W. Rolleston's Introduction to the first edition of the essay (1920), published by the Oxford University Press, we learn that the note-book containing it, having passed through the hands of Jane, Lady Shelley, and the Reverend Stopford A. Brooke, had come into the possession of Mrs. Rolleston (nee Brooke). A year after the appearance of this edition, the note-book was bought at a public sale in London by an American bookseller who subsequently resold it to Mr. Carl H. Pforzheimer of New York City.

In the spring of 1922 Mr. Pforzheimer generously offered to allow me to inspect the note-book. This inspection confirmed my belief (provoked by a comparison of a facsimile page of the MS., in the Rolleston edition, with the text therein) that the text of the first edition was inaccurate; and some notes on the subject, which I made at that time, were published in the *Times Literary Supplement* (London) on the centenary of Shelley's death.⁶ During the summer of 1923 Mr. Pforzheimer was good enough to permit me to study the MS. at more leisure in my library in Ohio; and this courtesy has enabled me to discover, among other things, that Rolleston had not printed, either as footnotes or appendices, a number of most interesting cancelled passages in the MS., and that six entire pages of the MS., thought by Rolleston to have been cancelled, were in reality intended by the poet to be included in the text. The error in this case was due, apparently, to his unfamiliarity with Shelley's method of connecting a word in his text with a footnote by a line drawn through all intervening copy. So much concerning the history of the manuscript I have thought it necessary to say, in order to place it in its proper setting, and to explain the reasons for the necessity of reexamining it at this late date. And now to the subject-matter of the essay.

Part of the difficulties of England in 1820, Shelley believed, were traceable to her passion for war. In *A Philosophical View of Reform* he deploras this, and traces its consequences to society.

⁵ Dowden, *Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 1886, II, 291.

⁶ *Times Literary Supplement*, July 6, 1922, p. 444.

In language singularly simple and clear (easy enough, it would seem, for any school-boy to understand) he describes the method by which the nation's credit is stretched to provide for the enormous expenditures required by war. "All great transactions of personal property in England," he says, in the published text of the essay, "are managed by signs and that is by the authority of the possessor expressed upon paper, . . .

A man may write on a piece of paper what he pleases; he may say he is worth a thousand when he is not worth a hundred pounds. If he can make others believe this, he has credit for the sum to which his name is attached. . . . He can lend two hundred to this man and three to that other, and his bills, among those who believe that he possesses this sum, pass like money."⁷

Shelley then, in the following unpublished cancelled passage, proceeds:

These are the persons to whom the rulers apply—They lend no money but they only write down their names or transfer that fictitious credit which their friends and neighbors had in them to the government which in turn pledges the faith of the nation to the payment of the amount (the effects of a base coin, a depreciated currency are thus perpetuated in the currency of any paper which shall be the symbol of a transaction of this nature). A number of persons however really contribute their property to these loans and receive in exchange a promise signed by the authorized agents of the government that it shall be paid.—

A transaction of this kind which, if they were aware of its real nature, would deceive no one, deludes the nation allured by the appearance of good faith that appears in the transaction and in utter ignorance of its real meaning.

The paper on which this promise is written as in the existing instance of England now superseded the currency of the legal and ordinary coin. These promises to pay, or Bank notes are so many evidences in the hands of the holders that the persons from whom they secure them [are] indebted to that amount. Thus the current coin of the nation has been superseded by pieces of paper which import that the gold which they supersede has been spent. They are the memorandums of the debt, each of which is an acknowledgment of a debt incurred by the holder of that paper having transferred his right [to] the amount of gold expressed upon it to the person from whom he received it. But as, in many instances, neither gold nor any palpable sign of the produce of labour has been lent, this promise to pay would, if actually paid in gold, only reward for this great speculation, these impostors [who] having nothing else to lend but their signatures, [have] received a signature in payment. —The government has taken advantage of this substitution of paper for coin, consequent upon loans of

⁷ *Philosophical View of Reform*, ed. Rolleston, 1920, p. 41.

this nature, to issue other promises to pay which represented no loan previously made but are merely bills.⁸

The last sentence of this perhaps reminds us of Shelley's verse description of this crime, in *The Mask of Anarchy*, where he condemns the government for issuing

Paper coin—that forgery
Of the title deeds, which ye
Hold to something of the worth
Of the inheritance of Earth.⁹

Or it recalls Mammon's outburst, in *Oedipus Tyrannus*:

Why what's the matter, my dear fellow, now?

.

Does money fail?—come to my mint—coin paper,
Till gold be at a discount, and ashamed
To show his bilious face, go purge himself,
In emulation of her vestal whiteness.¹⁰

or the dialog of Mammon and Purganax:

Mammon.—'tis the Swinish multitude I fear,
And in that fear I have—

Purganax.

Done what?

Mammon.

Disinherited

My eldest son Chrysaor, because he
Attended public meetings, and would always
Stand prating there of commerce, public faith,
Economy, and unadulterate coin,
And other topics, ultraradical;
And have entailed my estate, called the Fool's Paradise,
And funds in fairy-money, bonds, and bills,
Upon my accomplished daughter, Banknotina,
And married her to the gallows.¹¹

There is very generally current a theory referable, perhaps, to such isolated stanzas as this, from *The Mask of Anarchy*, beginning:

⁸ Pforzheimer MS. of *A Philosophical View of Reform*, ff. 45^v, 46^r and ^v, 47^r and ^v.

⁹ *Mask of Anarchy*, stanza xlv.

¹⁰ *Oedipus Tyrannus*, I, 102, 104-107.

¹¹ *Ibid.* I. i. 194-204.

Rise like lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number¹²

and expressed in Walter Bagehot's assertion regarding Shelley that "It was in him to have walked towards" the Paris of the Revolution "over seas of blood."¹³ I have heard the view warmly defended in a meeting of The Friends, in Oxford. It is, I think, altogether untrue to Shelley's type of revolutionary philosophy. Retribution he expressly disclaims, in the *Philosophical View*. In the *Essay on Christianity* he refuses to believe that God, like Jupiter, could take delight in torturing, or beholding the torture, of millions of his creatures in Hell.¹⁴ The victories of the liberators, in Shelley's poems, from Laon to Christ, are the victories of fortitude, forbearance, and the forgiving heart. "Think, read, and talk," he advised the Irish, in Dublin; "disclaim all manner of alliance with violence: meet together if you will, but do not meet in a mob."¹⁵

"Many," he says, in a cancelled passage of *A Philosophical View*, "are strongly impressed with the fear, lest the multitude, unused to the arts of government, should elect men who would attempt some innovation."¹⁶ He was withheld, therefore, from endorsing the view of many of his fellow-reformers, that universal suffrage should be extended to the English people, by the thought (expressed in another cancelled passage) that "the perverse and unteachable passions of men render this at present wholly impracticable."¹⁷ The demand for it, he says, expresses a "vulgar eagerness"¹⁸ and he warns his fellow-countrymen: "The conflict of passions in which a new system is engendered demands above all things caution."¹⁹ With his objective, then, "moderate Reform," he endorses the granting of the franchise to all who pay a certain sum in direct taxes to Government. "I am one of those," he wrote to Hunt from Italy, "whom nothing will fully satisfy, but who are ready to be partially satisfied by all that is practicable."²⁰

¹² *Mask of Anarchy*, stanza xxxviii. ¹³ Pforzheimer MS., f. 89.^v

¹⁴ *Estimates of Some Englishmen and Scotchmen*, 1858, p. 280. ¹⁷ *Ibid.* f. 82.^r

¹⁵ *Shelley Memorials*, 1859, p. 262; and ¹⁸ *Ibid.* f. 83.^r

cf. Shelley's essay *On the Devil, and Devils* ¹⁹ *Ibid.* f. 83.^r
in *Prose Works*, ed. Forman, 1880, II, March 19, 1921, p. 876, col. 2.
394-5.

²⁰ *Address to the Irish People*, in *Prose Works*, 1880, I, 335.

Furthermore, reform, necessary though it was, would not be accomplished with ease; for strong opposition would undoubtedly be offered by those who would lose a portion of their ill-gotten gains:

Nobles, and sons of nobles, patentees,
Monopolists, and stewards of this poor farm,
On whose lean sheep sit the prophetic crows.
Here is the pomp that strips the houseless orphan,
Here is the pride that breaks the desolate heart.
These are the lilies glorious as Solomon,
Who toil not, neither do they spin,—unless
It be the webs they catch poor rogues withal.²¹

Thus Shelley pictures them in *Charles the First*; and here is his prose analysis of them and of their motives, in an uncanceled passage of *A Philosophical View of Reform*:

According to the principles of human nature as modified by the existing opinions and institutions of society a man loves himself with an overweening love. The generous emotions of disinterested affection which the records of human nature and our experience teach us that the human heart is highly susceptible of are confined within the narrow circle of our kindred and friends. And therefore there is a class of men considerable from talents, influence, and station who of necessity are enemies to Reform.

For Reform would benefit the nation at their expense instead of suffering them to benefit themselves at the expense of the nation.—If a reform however mild were to take place, they must submit to a diminution of those luxuries and vanities in the idolatry of which they have been trained. Not only they, but what in most cases would be esteemed a harder necessity their wives and children and dependents must be comprehended in the same restrictions. That degree of pain which however it is to be regretted is necessarily attached to the relinquishment of the habits of particular persons at war with the general permanent advantage, must be inflicted by the mildest Reform. It is not alleged that every person whose interest is directly or indirectly concerned in the maintaining things as they are, is therefore necessarily interested. There are individuals who can be just judges even against themselves, and by study and self-examination have established a severe tribunal within themselves.

Shelley next proceeds to enumerate those officers of government who, being as he had said "considerable from talents, influence, and station," would prove "enemies to Reform":

All public functionaries who are overpaid either in money or in power for their public services, beginning with the turnkey who extorts his last shilling from his starving prisoner. All members of the House of Lords who tremble

²¹ *Charles the First*, Scene 1, ll. 151-158.

lest the annihilation of their borough interest might not involve the risk of their hereditary legislative power, and of those distinctions which considered in a pecuniary point of view are injurious to those beyond the pale of their caste in proportion as they are beneficial to those within. An immense majority of the assembly called the house of Commons, who would be reduced, if they desired to administer public business, to consult the interest of their electors and conform themselves. The functionaries who know that their claims to several millions yearly of the produce of the soil for the service of certain dogmas, which if necessary other men would enforce for as many thousands, would undergo a very severe examination [in the event of a general Reform.]²²

The imprisonment of Peter Finnerty, in 1811, and Leigh and John Hunt, in 1813; the trials of Daniel Isaac Eaton in 1812, William Hone in 1817, and Richard Carlile in 1819; the Derbyshire executions of 1817 and the Manchester Massacre of 1819 had stirred Shelley to utter his protest against a tyranny boldly endeavoring to stave off the day when it must yield to the demands of the people for a redress of their grievances and for a general reform. "I fear," he confessed to Hunt, in the letter before cited, "that in England things will be carried violently by the rulers, and that they will not have learned to yield in time to the spirit of the age. The great thing to do is to hold the balance between popular impatience and tyrannical obstinacy; to inculcate with fervour both the right of resistance, and the duty of forbearance."²³

Yet if reform, which had been so long denied by the rulers, should still be refused; if petitions, which Shelley suggested should be drawn up by the eminent men of letters of the day, should lie neglected on the table of the House of Commons, there remained the regrettable, but sole resort of a desperate and defeated justice—insurrection. "Insurrection," he wrote, in a cancelled passage of this essay, "is, in certain emergencies, not only an inalienable right, but a duty from which no personal consequences can dispense us."²⁴

Even as he wrote this, however, I can imagine that his pen wavered, and that his thought took the channel of the *Lines*,
Written Among the Euganean Hills:

²² Pforzheimer MS., ff. 33^r and ^v, 34^r and ^v, 35^r and ^v.

²³ *Nation and Athenaeum*, March 19, 1921, p. 876, col. 2.

²⁴ Pforzheimer MS., f. 109^r.

Men must reap the things they sow,
Force from force must ever flow,
Or worse; but 'tis a bitter woe
That love or reason cannot change
The despot's rage, the slave's revenge.*

WALTER EDWIN PECK

* ll. 231-235.

XLIII. A PHASE OF CARLYLE'S RELATION TO *FRASER'S MAGAZINE**

Among the articles in *Fraser's Magazine* during its early years are a number which contain parallelisms to the acknowledged work of Carlyle. Many of these treat more or less fully Carlyle's favorite theme of the *Vates*, the Poet, the Man. Most of them show strong German influence, with a regard both for transcendental philosophy and aesthetic criticism.

The question of the authorship of some of these articles presents no little difficulty. They must have been written by a contributor on the inner staff of *Fraser's*, as their manner is often openly editorial; yet the Fraserians in general were either indifferent or hostile to the invasion of German thought which was led by Coleridge and Carlyle. No one intimately connected with the periodical took any share in the movement aside from Carlyle himself, Heraud, Gillies, and very remotely Willmott and Procter, (better known as "Barry Cornwall"). Of these, the Germanism of Gillies is of a different sort from that in the articles, nor have we evidence that he wrote for the magazine during its initial years. Barry Cornwall was averse to all theorizing, and Willmott was still a young man, whose interest at the time was in poetry, the light essay, and the classics. The choice therefore, it would seem, lies between Carlyle and Heraud—one of them the great innovator, the other the man who was the first, consciously or unconsciously, to echo his thought.

Both Heraud and Carlyle were associated with *Fraser's* from its foundation in February, 1830. Heraud assisted for three years in editing it, and made it the repository of his poems and articles. Carlyle in the early thirties published in it almost exclusively. In the subsequent seven years, to February

* The following paper has grown out of a more general investigation of *Fraser's Magazine*; which it is my intention to publish later in book form. In presenting any part of this material, I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Thorndike, whose stimulating criticism has constantly opened to me new aspects of the work.

1837, he wrote only three articles for the *Edinburgh Review*, three articles for the *Foreign Quarterly*, two articles for the *Westminster*, and a very short sketch for the *New Monthly*. In contrast to this is the long list of his acknowledged work in *Fraser's*, including various poems, the extended narratives *Sartor Resartus* and the *Diamond Necklace* (the latter begun in January, 1837); as well as *Richter's Review of Allemagne*, *Cui Bono*, *Four Fables*, *History*, *Luther's Psalm*, *Cruthers and Johnson*, *Schiller*, *Peter Nimmo*, *Schiller*, *Goethe and Madame de Stael*, *Goethe's Portrait*, *Biography*, *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, *Quae Cogitavit*, *Count Cagliostro*, *Edward Irving*, and the two translations from Goethe, *The Tale* and *Novelle*.

In addition to this acknowledged work, at least one piece of evidence seems to indicate that Carlyle may have written other essays for *Fraser's*. The nucleus from which *Sartor Resartus* was developed was an article originally intended for publication in this magazine, as we know from a letter in which Carlyle asks his brother, Dr. John Carlyle, to call at the publisher's for the manuscript.¹ Moreover, there is reason to think that Carlyle did not wish his relations to *Fraser's* to be generally known. He did not approve of the magazine, and in letters and journals frequently expressed regret that he was obliged to publish in it. Whether with his knowledge or not, his long article on Madame de Stael's *Allemagne*, which appeared in February 1830 and ultimately was included in his collected works, was for years attributed to Hugh Fraser, a man about town who took a minor part in the establishment of the periodical. It may well be therefore that he wrote other essays for the magazine which he did not consider of sufficient value to republish and did not chance to mention in his letters, or care to acknowledge.

Again, extensive as is his acknowledged work during these years, it could scarcely have afforded sufficient income to cover the expenses of even the most frugal of households. Carlyle was entirely dependent on his writing, and his frequent outcries at his dire need of money are well known. On February 7, 1831, he records in his Note Book, "I have some £5 to front the world with, and expect no more for months. . . . Hand to oar!"²

¹ Carlyle *Letters*. I. 249.

² Carlyle *Note Books*, p. 183.

Between this date, however, and January 1837, six years later, his acknowledged work, in all magazines, amounts to only thirteen essays, two translations from Goethe, the short memorial sketches of Irving and Goethe, a few poems, and *Sartor Resartus*. When we remember that for *Sartor Resartus* he received only £80, and that the *Edinburgh Review* paid at the rate of 16 guineas a sheet,³ or a guinea a page, the *Foreign Quarterly* presumably somewhat less, and *Fraser's*⁴ perhaps slightly more, it is difficult to understand how these slender resources could have been made to cover a period of six years. For the few essays written in the latter part of 1832 and in 1833 Carlyle may have been paid at a higher rate. *Count Cagliostro* and *Diderot*, we know, he expected to sell to *Fraser's* for nearly £100,⁵ though we can be by no means sure that he received that amount, since at the same time he considered that *Sartor Resartus* would bring in almost £200.⁶ But even if allowance is made for the utmost generosity of publishers and for Mill's remission of the £100, which Carlyle estimated as covering the expenses of his London household during the five months while he was writing the ill-fated manuscript of the *French Revolution*, his income would still be exceedingly small.

The question of determining which articles in *Fraser's* may have been written by Carlyle is complicated by the imitative character of the contributions by Heraud. In work published under his own name and not connected with the magazine Heraud is stolid and pedantic. Within the pages of *Fraser's* however, he frequently assumes the elasticity of style of its astonishing editor, William Maginn, and also borrows liberally in subject matter and diction from both Coleridge and Carlyle. His shadowing of the latter is unfortunately not only close but entirely unacknowledged.

³ *Edinburgh Rev.*, CXCVI, 285. Centenary article on the history of the *Review*.

⁴ Carlyle was evidently not paid at a stipulated rate by *Fraser's*, since at one time he complains that the magazine pays less than other periodicals, and at another time he states that it pays more. See Carlyle *Letters* I, 248, and II, 99. It is probable that in the long run *Fraser's* paid him slightly more than did the others.

⁵ Carlyle *Letters*. II, 99.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Many of the articles dealing with the theme of the *Vates*, Poet, Man, which runs through the metaphysical and critical group in *Fraser's*, were in all probability written by Heraud. They either acknowledge the overlordship of Schelling and Schlegel too servilely to have come from the pen of Carlyle, or they contain too great an admixture of Coleridge's doctrines. Heraud was an avowed follower of Coleridge: he delivered an oration at the Russell Institution on the poet's death, and he carried his discipleship so far that it provoked an exasperated comment from Carlyle. Furthermore, a subsequent *Fraserian* speaks of him as "the metaphysical and profound";⁷ he was well known in his own day as a writer of long philosophic poems; he was among the first of the nineteenth century German scholars in England, and, according to his biographer, did much to popularize the thought of Schelling in particular;⁸ and he wrote a sage pamphlet on the subject, "Poetic Genius"—all matters which qualified him to be the author of the *Fraser* essays.

But the decisive point is that in his subsequent work he used part of the material from at least one of these essays. A critique of Byron's *Cain*, which appeared in *Fraser's* for April, 1831, includes a long quotation from notes taken by the writer of the article during one of Coleridge's Thursday evening talks.⁹ The rest of the essay is chiefly an elucidation of Coleridge's thought in the author's own terms. Two years later the quotation and some of the comments upon it appear in Heraud's oration on the death of Coleridge.¹⁰

Were the evidence for the rest of the *Vates*-Prophet-Poet articles in *Fraser's* as strong as that for the *Byron's Cain*, there could be no question of Heraud's authorship of the whole. We should then merely note the influence of Carlyle in the midst of a good deal of alien material, as interesting evidence that his ideas began to be reflected somewhat earlier than hitherto supposed.

But to some of the articles Heraud's title is far from clear. Though the writer of these essays is occupied with the *Vates*-

⁷ *Fraser's*, XXI, 21.

⁸ Edith Heraud: *Memoirs of John A. Heraud*. 78.

⁹ *Fraser's*, III, 292 ff.

¹⁰ *Oration of the death of Coleridge*, pp. 6 ff.

Poet-Man theme, the Coleridge-Schelling-Schlegel strain is lacking and the Carlyle strain is strong. The question arises, whether in these instances we may not recognize the work of Carlyle's own pen.

For example, in the review of Allan Cunningham's *Maid of Elvar*,¹¹ there is stronger evidence for Carlyle's authorship than for Heraud's. The review begins with a long discussion of the relation of the Man of Genius to the *Vates*, the Teacher, the Great Man, who is conceived as exemplifying the highest state which is humanly attainable, that state which is just short of the perfect. In the course of this discussion, which in style and thought is characteristic of Carlyle, occurs the following passage:

In them [the works of Shakespeare, Milton, Dante] we see the most perfect humanity developed with which we are acquainted. The form of its development is the poetical, granted. But the poetical form is capable of including the whole compass of human science and art. Are not Shakespeare, Milton, and Dante, orators as well as poets? theologians also? metaphysicians? statista? musicians? fathers? actors on the great stage of the world? men of business? All! All!¹²

The passage just quoted presents a striking resemblance to the following well-known lines in *The Hero as Poet*:

I confess, I have no notion of a truly great man that could not be *all sorts* of men. The Poet who could merely sit on a chair, and compose stanzas, would never make a stanza worth much. He could not sing the Heroic warrior, unless he himself were at least a Heroic warrior too. I fancy there is in him the Politician, the Thinker, Legislator, Philosopher;—in one or the other degree, he could have been, he is all these.¹³

The resemblance between the two passages just quoted involves more than the usual borrowing. The date of the *Maid of Elvar* review was 1832; that of the *Hero as Poet* not until some eight years later; yet the former presents a closer parallel to the famous essay than is to be found in any of Carlyle's acknowledged works. If the review of Cunningham's poem, then, was written by Heraud he must have learned Carlyle's thought before it had been given utterance in his own work.

¹¹ *Fraser's*, V, 659-66.

¹² *Ibid.*, 660. col. 1.

¹³ *Works* (Centenary ed.) V, 78-9.

Heraud might, it is true, have remembered the phrasing from some spoken comment by Carlyle. The Carlyles were in London in the winter of 1832, and Heraud was sufficiently acquainted with them on their return to the city in 1834 to help in selecting their house in Cheyne Row. Yet from the point of view of Heraud himself this explanation presents difficulties. As assistant editor of *Fraser's* he must have known that Carlyle was at the time writing for the magazine, and might therefore reasonably be expected to see its numbers. Moreover, Carlyle was Cunningham's friend: only the year before, in 1831, when Cunningham was presented with the freedom of Dumfries, Carlyle had taken the trip from Craigenputtock to speak in his honor. Accordingly, he would be the more likely to notice so spectacular an article upon him as the review in question. All told, the moment was not one for conspicuous borrowing. Up to this time Heraud had constantly put himself in Carlyle's debt, but never in such sharply defined terms. He echoes Carlyle's thought, suggests his manner of attack, and frequently his style, but in a less clearly enunciated fashion. One questions whether a man whose reputation as a philosophical poet was at the time high would have cared to expose to a fellow metaphysician such a marked instance of dependence.

On the other hand, to suppose that Carlyle was indebted to Heraud for the expression of his thought in the *Hero as Poet* would, of course, be absurd. Some two years before the commencement of *Fraser's* he had already introduced the *Vates*-Poet into his *Burns* and *Goethe* and various other of his early essays. Poets had been called *vates*, seers, and sages for centuries, but the off-hand introduction of the august *vates* into an ordinary critical review for a current periodical originated with Carlyle, and scarcely needed outside suggestion. Before delivering his lecture on the *Hero as Poet* he probably looked over his notes made in previous years and thus came upon the passage which had already been incorporated in the *Maid of Elvar* review.

A minor point in favor of Carlyle's authorship of the review, aside from the passage just discussed and the fact that he was already sufficiently interested in Cunningham to speak in his honor, is a brief reference made to Byron and Burns in the course of the article. In more than one essay Carlyle mentions the

moral failure of the two men: their failure both to attain "moral manhood"¹⁴ and to deliver the message with which they had been "sent forth as missionaries to their generation."¹⁵ In the *Burns* and elsewhere this verdict has a marked elegiac strain, and this strain also occurs in the brief allusion to their failure in the *Maid of Elvar*.¹⁶ It is just this note of sorrowful regret which Heraud would have been least likely to give. He repeats, in essays which can be identified as his, Carlyle's statement that Byron did not attain moral manhood;¹⁷ he repeats also Carlyle's reason for Byron's lack of attainment—that he could not be "both poet and man of the world"¹⁸—but in Carlyle's love for Byron he has no share. While he admires his dramas—and on this point he differs from Carlyle—his estimate of him as a poet is low, and his criticism of him as a man is uniformly unsparing.¹⁹ He would not have written, as does Carlyle in his *Note Book*, "good, generous Byron";²⁰ nor in speaking of the Scotch poet would he have been apt to exclaim, as in the *Maid of Elvar* review, "let the dumb heart break, and to sorrow be given no words."²¹ The only evidence in favor of Heraud's authorship of the review is a reference to it in one of the essays attributable to him.²² This passage, however, puts forward no claim to authorship of the earlier article, and is of the type which Heraud, in his office of assistant editor, might have inserted to give continuity to the work of the magazine.

A second essay in *Fraser's*, a review of Cunningham's *Life of Burns*,²³ is even more surely by Carlyle than the *Maid of Elvar*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XXVI, 291, 293.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 316.

¹⁶ *Fraser's*, V, 659.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, 309.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ See, for instance, Heraud: *On poetic genius as a moral power*, pp. 47-8. and also, *Fraser's*, VII, 317.

²⁰ Carlyle *Note Books*, p. 71.

²¹ *Fraser's*, V, 659.

²² *Ibid.*, VI, 183. The passage runs: 'Have we not said it—yea, and it shall stand fast—that Lord Byron became a poet in consequence of his education having been as far as possible from that breeding and bringing up which can only with propriety be called lordly? Have we not said, that it was only inasmuch as Byron was less of a lord that he was more of a poet?'

²³ *Fraser's*, IX, 400-10.

review. A brief allusion to the "Man of Genius"²⁴ connects it with the group of Heraud-Carlyle articles; yet in this case there is no possibility of attributing the work to Heraud. Its author distinctly gives the reader to understand that he is a Scotchman, and writes throughout from the point of view of a Scotchman; Heraud was an Englishman born and bred, and as far as can be learned had no Scotch affiliations of any sort.

At the beginning of the article occurs a passage relating to the writer's own youth. After quoting Cunningham's account of an evening scene in a peasant's cottage, when the father instructs his children in whatever theological, historical, or poetical lore he himself may have, the writer vouches on his own knowledge for the "perfect accuracy of this description."²⁵ Then follows a charming narrative of his own home life, in which he recalls "the tough drilling we used to undergo in the evening," the books read aloud after the day's work, and the *bole*, to which "we could yet, even blindfold, find the way," where a book of ballads was hidden "for our own peculiar enjoyment."²⁶ Throughout the review the writer takes honest pride in the "high-souled and pure-minded peasantry," "that noblest portion of the Scottish community."²⁷ He concludes his reminiscences of Scottish peasant life with these words: "That these are no imaginary scenes, no romantic descriptions of what never existed, but a plain, unvarnished account of our own young days, we call upon the low walls, and darkened roof-tree, and 'long ash-tree soughing aboon the lum-head' of our own beloved cottage, to attest."²⁸

Moreover, in a review dealing with such a specialized subject it is impossible to suppose that the writer would introduce fictitious realism merely for the sake of lending force to his argument. The chief point of the article is that Cunningham omitted to show, first, how it came about that Scottish patriotism could be revived only by a man from the peasant class, such as Burns, and secondly, how it came about that the peasantry themselves as well as the nobility finally forsook their patriot.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 403.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 401.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 409.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 401.

The omissions of Cunningham are then supplied: of all classes in Scotland, we are told, the peasants alone had maintained their high intelligence and sturdy independence through holding to the religious faith of their fathers; and Burns, while he had inherited the strength of his class and had fired its heart with his songs, had forfeited its respect because he had departed not only from the rigor of its creed but from the sobriety of its conduct. "In an evil hour for himself, Burns had embraced the meagre Arminianism which made a noise in the west of Scotland about that time, under the name of the New-light; which, however pleasing in the sunny hours of prosperity, . . . is incapable of sustaining the soul amid the storms of adverse fortune, and yields, the sport of every vice."²⁹ Surely these are matters which a reviewer would not have taken up except for the satisfaction of speaking his own mind upon them. In work of this kind a man would not be likely to invent a peasant parentage for himself.

If, then, we accept the statements of the article, the question of its authorship becomes very much narrowed. The only writers in Scotland of peasant origin who contributed, or would have been likely to contribute, to *Fraser's Magazine* were Thomas Carlyle, his brother John, Allan Cunningham, and James Hogg. Cunningham is, of course, out of the question. The work of Hogg touches the article at no point, either of style or interest: although he wrote on Burns, his whole approach was personal, and not philosophic. Moreover, Hogg in his youth would have had no occasion to hide a ballad book for moments of secret delectation. His parents, so far from frowning upon songs as frivolous or ungodly, conscientiously stocked his mind with them to the limit of his capacity. Equally improbable as the author of the essay is John Carlyle. At the time when the article was published in 1834 he had already been abroad for nearly three years as physician to the Countess of Clare. While he had written several articles for *Fraser's* during its first year, there is no evidence that he continued his relation with it after his departure from England. Nor would he have been apt to enter a field which his brother only a short time before had conspicuously made his own.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 408.

Even if we disregard the writer's account of his peasant youth, the possibilities of authorship are hardly enlarged. Lockhart, Moir, Macnish, Sir David Brewster, Galt, Edward Irving, Jerdan, Gillies, all have well developed styles and interests of their own. None of them would have been likely to refer with Carlyle's accustomed familiarity to the Man of Genius. Moreover, none of them, with perhaps the exception of Galt and Irving, could have truthfully made the statement which concludes the main portion of the essay: "We are not speaking at random—we [the writer of the article] can substantiate every important particular in the view thus given, on our own knowledge, or the most unexceptional authority."³⁰ Galt, although he had lived in Dumfriesshire and might thus have gained first-hand information, is mentioned in the text of the article in such a way as to preclude all possibility of his authorship.³¹ Lockhart is also quoted and commented upon.³² Edward Irving's work for *Fraser's* is enumerated by the editor of the magazine in connection with the brief memoirs written shortly after his death.³³

None of these objections, on the other hand, applies to Carlyle. The style of the essay is his. He knew Burns's country; he took pride in his own peasant birth; and in his boyhood his reading of poetry and fiction was frowned upon by his Calvinist father. Conway mentions Carlyle's account of running off into the fields to read.³⁴ In the Cunningham review the Scotch word *bole*, or enclosed space, is used. Furthermore, Carlyle had already made the field of the article his own in his essay on *Burns*, written six years before. In the earlier work the discussion of the New-light and its effect on the poet seems out of place, although one realizes from the emphatic tone of the remarks that to Carlyle it was of the greatest importance. In the later article the significance of the point is made clear. By showing that religion was the bulwark of the peasant's character, the mainstay both of his intelligence and his integrity,

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 409.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 405. The sentence reads: 'Meanwhile we may glance at the famous "sword-scene," as Galt would term it.'

³² *Ibid.*, 405.

³³ *Ibid.*, XI, 99.

³⁴ M. D. Conway, *Thomas Carlyle*, p. 31.

the writer is able to explain more readily how Burns's "unhappy preference" for the "delusive" doctrines of the New-light left him without the moral resistance of his class. The Cunningham review thus serves as a supplement to the earlier review, giving full expression to what had been only briefly, though emphatically, treated. Between the two essays there is no point of contradiction or inconsistency. The attitude towards the New-light is the same in each; the account of its effect on Burns is the same.³⁶ Even in the estimates given of the biographies of Currie, Walker, and Lockhart the two articles correspond.³⁶

A second work of Carlyle reflected in the review of Cunningham's *Burns* is the sketch of his father Thomas Carlyle. Although the memoir was not published until it was included in the *Reminiscences*, it was written shortly after his father's death in 1830, and thus within two years of the Cunningham review. There are no parallel passages, but there is much in the spirit of the later work which suggests that the writer may have had in mind the hardy old Scotchman who dominated the Teufelsdröckh home. In the memoir, religion is shown to be the basis of Thomas Carlyle's education.³⁷ In the review of Cunningham's *Burns*, it is the basis of the peasants' education, that which kept their minds alert and their self-respect strong.³⁸ " . . . accustomed as they were morn and even," we are told, "to commune with their Creator, they feared not to lift an independent brow in the presence of any fellow creature."³⁹ This last reminds us of the sentence in the memoir, "Man's face he did not fear; God he always feared."⁴⁰ But above everything, the author of the review takes manifest pride in the class of which he is writing and to which he belongs. Carlyle, it will be remembered, was not ashamed to say in the memoir, "I have a sacred pride in my peasant father."⁴¹

³⁶ Compare Carlyle *Works* (Centenary ed.) XXVI, 296, 313, with *Fraser's*, IX, 408.

³⁷ Cf. Carlyle *Works* (Centenary ed.) XXVI, 259 ff. with *Fraser's*, IX, 400.

³⁸ *Reminiscences* (Froude's ed. Scribner, 1881), p. 16.

³⁹ *Fraser's*, IX, 402.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 407.

⁴¹ *Reminiscences* (Froude's ed. Scribner, 1881), p. 11.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Against Carlyle's authorship of the Cunningham *Burns* review there is no evidence except the blanket statement recorded in his *Journal*. Under February 7th, 1835, he wrote:

. . . . it is now some three-and-twenty months since I have earned one penny by the craft of literature. Be this recorded as a fact and document for the literary history of this time. I have been ready to work, I am abler than ever to work, know no fault that I have committed; and yet so it stands.⁴²

In this statement, however, Carlyle was stressing the prevailing inhospitality toward literary production. It is entirely possible that in reckoning his earnings "by the craft of literature" he did not include sums received from occasional reviews. This entry in his *Journal* is to be compared with a similar statement in a letter to Emerson, in which he speaks of his efforts to sell his work, and of his continued income in spite of the fact that his "hawking" has been futile. ". . . where the money I have lived on," he comments, "has come from while I sat here scribbling gratis, amazes me to think; yet surely it has come (for I *am* still here), and Heaven only to thank for it."⁴³ Since his pen was his only source of income till the spring of 1837, when he began his course of lectures, it is probable, therefore, that he occasionally wrote articles which he did not regard as belonging to the "craft" of literature and did not care to acknowledge. Certainly in his *Reminiscences*, in looking back over these lean years, 1834-1836, he mentions having received "trifling increments from *Fraser's Magazine*, perhaps," and then adds in parenthesis, "*Diamond Necklace*, etc. were probably of those years."⁴⁴

The *Diamond Necklace* did not appear till the January number of 1837, when the long strain of writing the *French Revolution* was practically over; it could not, therefore, have relieved the poverty of which Carlyle so much complains in the preceding years. The "etc.," however, forces us to ponder. Since no acknowledged work, with the exception of the brief

⁴² Froude, *Thomas Carlyle, a history of his life in London*, I, 16.

⁴³ Emerson and Carlyle *Letters*, I, 107.

⁴⁴ *Reminiscences* (Froude's ed. Scribner, 1881), p. 411. Notice also Carlyle's statement in speaking of these same years: "Money I did get somewhere honestly, articles in 'Fraser,' in poor Mill's (considerably hidebound) 'London Review'; 'Edinburgh' I think was out for me before this time," *Ibid.*, p. 416.

obituary notice of his friend Edward Irving, appeared in the magazine between August '34 and January '37, it would be interesting to know for just what articles the "increments from *Fraser's*" were paid. Of the essays which appeared during those years several strongly suggest Carlyle's authorship. The article which may perhaps most safely be ascribed to him is the review of Cunningham's *Burns*.

MIRIAM MULFORD THRALL

XLIV. POETRY AND MODERN INDUSTRY

A LITERARY CONTROVERSY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE¹

In one form or another, the issue of the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* is forever recurring in French literature. Whether the various forms of literature, and in particular poetry and the drama, shall follow the models offered by classical antiquity or shall resolutely draw their inspiration from contemporary civilization, is a question that has more than once caused passionate argument and unloosed floods of eloquence. The problem rose again toward the middle of the last century. It has been customary to say that there was at that time a reaction against the romanticists (i. e. the moderns) resulting in the establishment of the Parnassian school whose spirit was largely classical. That, however, is not the whole truth. At the time when Leconte de Lisle, Ménaud, and others were struggling for recognition as poets, there existed also a group which, far from condemning the romanticists as too modern, considered them not sufficiently modern, and called for a reform in French poetry through a utilization of modern industry as a source of inspiration. The contrast between this group and the Parnassians is even more striking than that between either of them and the romanticists. The chief object of this article is to show how the suggestion of a *rapprochement* between poetry and modern industry came to be made, and to relate the controversy which followed. The latter centered in a book little known today: *Les Chants Modernes* by Maxime Du Camp. The secondary object of this paper is, therefore, to place *Les Chants Modernes* in their true historical light.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, a new force, mechanical power, sprang into existence, developed incredibly, and proceeded to transform the social organization. The introduction of machinery, alleviating man's work and at the same time multiplying his productive capacity; the innumerable inventions which increase the power and tenseness of life; the

¹ I am indebted to Professor André Morize for suggesting this study.

creation of the locomotive and the steamship to transport the products, the ideas, the men of one world to the extremity of another; the establishment of the telegraph; all the resulting consequences,—the closer association of the races, the vision of future ages continually reducing the domain of unconquered but not unconquerable nature; all these things profoundly modified French civilization and stirred French society to its depths.

What was to happen when poetry came into contact with this phenomenon? For fully twenty years (1820-40), of course, the romantic school was supreme and its poets were primarily pre-occupied with the well known themes which permitted the expression of their personal experiences, emotions, and aspirations. Yet even in the heyday of romanticism, certain poets were not blind to the recent economic developments. In 1830 J. J. Ampère took note of the latest means of ocean travel in his poems *La Flotte* and *La Démocratie*.² Shortly after, Alfred de Vigny realized the far-reaching possibilities of mechanical power and translated his feeling in *Paris*:

Je ne sais si c'est mal, tout cela; mais c'est beau!³
Mais c'est grand! mais on sent jusqu'au fond de son âme
Qu'un monde tout nouveau se forge à cette flamme.

Thus in 1830-31, industry made an almost dramatic entrance into the poetic realm. It was not long, however, before poets were not merely introducing the new phenomena into their work but also passing judgment upon them. Auguste Barbier, Vigny himself, Amédée Pommier joined in an attack upon the industrial movement; Barbier turning his guns against factory conditions;⁴ Vigny utilizing the Versailles railroad catastrophe (May 8, 1842) for a warning against the possible domination of man by machinery;⁵ Pommier exclaiming against the whole philosophy of material progress.⁶ Other poets followed their lead, while a few rose to defend industry and to celebrate its achievements.^{6a}

² See his volume entitled *Heures de Poésie*.

³ Note the esthetic judgment.

⁴ See *La Lyre d'Airain*, published in *Satires et Poèmes*, 1837.

⁵ See *La Maison du Berger*, 1844.

⁶ See his volume *Colères*, 1844.

^{6a} Particularly the Belgian poets Mathieu, Van Hasselt, and Weustenraad.

Meanwhile a decline had been taking place in French poetry as a whole. Romanticism had run its course and a period of sterility had set in. Sainte-Beuve perceived this fact and saw that a new direction must be taken.⁷ Perhaps the first attempt to solve the problem is to be observed in the Academic *Concours* of 1845 on the discovery of steam. Doubtless an endeavor to bring French literature in touch with the changed conditions of French civilization, the *Concours* eventually brought forth a number of compositions. Amédée Pommier, making a complete about-face, submitted *La Découverte de la Vapeur, Lettre de Philinte à son ami Alceste*. Victor de Laprade contributed *L'Age Nouveau*. Other poems were composed by M. J. Lesguillon, Auguste Barthélemy, J. S. Boubée. But none of the major poets were apparently attracted. The *Concours* created, after all, hardly a ripple of excitement. Certainly it did not succeed in forcing upon French poetry a totally new orientation.

Another and more serious effort to provide a driving force for a revival of French poetry was made a few years later by a group of young writers connected with the *Revue de Paris*. These young men had witnessed the introduction of the great mechanical inventions, and the resulting development of the industrial movement. They beheld the miraculous transformation of the material world in which they lived. Their enthusiasm was stirred and kindled. In short, they were men who believed with fervor, almost with idolatry, in the idea of progress. During the months following the establishment of the Second Empire they launched upon the waters of public opinion a series of articles proclaiming the glories of industry and demanding that poetry seek in them its inspiration. The culmination of this campaign was the publication, in 1855, of *Les Chants Modernes*.

The first note was sounded by Maxime Du Camp's close friend and associate, Louis de Cormenin. In the May number of the *Revue de Paris*, 1852, he inserted an article on "Les Féeries de la Science."⁸ An enthusiastic panegyric of industry and the machine, this article contains passages worthy of citation. Here,

⁷ "Quelques Vérités sur la Situation en Littérature," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 1, 1843.

⁸ The same article appeared in *La Fabrique, la Ferme et l'Atelier* (1851), tome 1, p. 362.

for example, are a few lines depicting machines working in perfect harmony of movement, impressive, mighty, and terrible:

Le travail est confié aux machines. Elles broient, elles déchirent, elles tissent, elles cardent, elles blutent, elles tordent, elles roulent, elles soulèvent, elles transportent. Pour elles, ni sueurs, ni défaillances, un jeu sûr, une précision automatique. Nos sens imparfaits encore ne peuvent connaître si la machine éperonnée à toute vapeur souffre et halète aussi, si le piston rougit de révolte, si la chaudière, lasse d'être chauffée à blanc, n'a pas le dessein d'éclater.

This tremendous power, awe inspiring though it may be, is, none the less, under man's control. Further conquests and achievements can, consequently, be prophesied. Let not, therefore, the poets be uneasy:

Que les poètes ne s'apitoient pas, ce n'est pas la décadence, c'est la naissance; ce n'est pas la nuit qui s'allonge en ténèbres, c'est l'aube qui se lève à l'horizon et déjà blanchit les sommets d'une civilisation plus parfaite. . .

Cormenin's suggestion to the poets of his day is taken up and emphasized, with a rather different force, by a contemporary writer of some renown, Hippolyte Castille. In an article in the *Revue de Paris*, February 1853,⁹ Castille points out the double character, good and bad, of Industry. On the one hand, it is the "principe de vie organique" and will be the refuge of the active, vigorous, belligerent instincts of man. On the other, it is or may be a terrible destructive agency, a brutalizing element that may cause the degeneration of man. The solution, the writer believes, lies in art and literature.

Il faut donc que la littérature et l'art s'unissent à l'industrie dans une sacrosainte union de forme et de pensée . . . La consolation et l'espérance descendront alors dans les cœurs les plus endoloris. Le soleil de l'avenir se lèvera entre les nuages sanglants du XIX^e siècle, le siècle de la reconstitution du vieux monde.

Castille contents himself with this generalization. He does not enter into any detailed discussion of the implications or applications of his theory. Yet he is a degree more precise than his predecessor, Cormenin. The latter had merely sought to prove that the development of industry was not to be considered a state of decadence, but rather of progress. Castille goes a step further in proposing an actual alliance between literature and industry.

⁹ *Des Lettres et des Arts au point de vue industriel.*

A much more vigorous, definite, challenging, and effective statement is to be found in an article that appeared in the *Revue de Paris* five months later, "La Poésie de l'Industrie," by Achille Kauffmann. His contribution is a veritable warcry, bold and martial in tone.

Qui donc a osé dire le premier que l'industrie a tué la poésie, l'a ensevelie dans un linceul de bitume, de vapeur et de fumée? Qui a proféré un tel blasphème? qui l'a répété, sans s'informer si la pensée est vraie, sans comprendre que cette industrie, dont on fait la meurtrière de la poésie, est, en réalité, le plus puissant inspireur des temps nouveaux, le dieu de notre époque.

With this opening sentence, at once a refutation and an assertion, Kauffmann combatively enunciates the thesis he desires to prove. Then follows a long panegyric on the essentially poetic character of industry. Its struggles and victories are no less thrilling than those of war. The battlefield of industry is the workshop. Its instruments of combat are the tool and the machine which it has invented and manufactured, polished and rendered light and convenient. Its soldiers are numberless and its armies are disseminated over all the regions of the globe.

After enumerating some of the triumphs of industry, Kauffmann evokes, in order further to develop his theme, a series of pictures of supposedly poetic quality. First of all, the locomotive rushing headlong through the plains and meadows, crossing rivers, penetrating mountains, breaking down the artificial barriers of nationality, and bringing peace and plenty to long-suffering humanity.

Si vous ne trouvez pas de la poésie dans ce tableau saisissant, c'est que vos cœurs sont trop usés pour s'ouvrir aux inspirations, qui, de tous les laboratoires de l'industrie, effluent sur le monde.

Then the writer invites his readers to take a trip to Saint-Etienne, "ville de charbon, de fer et de soie." At night, especially, a striking picture is presented:

Entre Saint-Chamond et Rive-de-Gier, vous aurez au milieu de la nuit un spectacle des plus émouvants. Devant vous, sur les deux rives du rail-way, près, loin, partout, s'élèvent des flammes d'une variété de couleurs, d'une pureté de teintes à défier tous les feux-follets, tous les farfadets, toutes les lucioles aimés de la poésie, la route décrit de nombreuses courbes, et vous jurerez, à chaque pas, que vous allez vous précipiter dans les flammes de quelque volcan. Ce sont des usines où l'industrie dégage de la houille du bitume et du soufre pour en faire du coke.

Not content with attempting to prove the pictorial qualities of industry, Kauffmann goes further and elevates industry to a position equal in importance to that of science. What, indeed, would science be without industry? "Une âme, c'est beaucoup, mais une âme sans corps." It is not enough for science to discover general laws: industry is needed to put them into execution. In a word, industry is essential to give a visible and tangible body to scientific thought. As we might expect, Kauffmann does not fail to close his article with a reference to progress. In shortening distances, in bringing together different peoples, in mingling their interests, in lowering all the barriers which separate them, industry will render war useless and criminal. Harbinger of universal peace, rich in possibilities of stirring drama, in poetic visions, it would appear that industry offers adequate material for the most gifted poets. Such, indeed, is the conclusion reached by the writer: "L'industrie n'a pas tué la poésie, elle lui ouvre un monde nouveau."

The significance of these articles¹⁰ that appeared during the first months of the Second Empire is clear. They present for the first time an actual demand for poetry inspired by industry. Previously, there had been in poetry casual allusions favorable or otherwise, to industry. Occasionally, the locomotive or steamship had inspired a writer to devote a complete poem to its glorification. The *Concours* of 1845, important as the first organized recognition of industry by a group of literary men, was, nevertheless, limited in scope and treatment. But now, the belief is openly expressed that industry is a proper poetic subject and that poets would do well to utilize it. There remained, indeed, but one step, to maintain that if poetry wishes to live, it must concern itself with this manifestation of modern civilization. This final step was soon to be taken.

The time was appropriate for such a pronouncement. In 1851 the first World's Exposition of Industry had been held in London with great success. Napoleon II, not to be outdone, arranged for an even more extensive one to be held in Paris in 1855. More than a year was spent preparing for it. As early

¹⁰ There were other expressions of opinion, Cf. Pierre Dupont, Preface of his *Chansons*, 1851. Cf. also Michelet's *Le Banquet*, 1854. We have, for lack of space, limited ourselves to Du Camp's associates on the *Revue de Paris*.

as August 1853, we find an article in the *Revue de Paris* discussing the preparations for the enterprise and giving in some detail the plans of the palace to be erected. The approach of this great industrial jubilee preoccupied men's minds and thereby created a most favorable atmosphere. Indeed, in 1855, Maxime Du Camp realized that the moment was ripe for action. The way had been opened by Cormenin and the others. Public attention was focused on the industrial movement. What is more, another camp, of hostile tendencies and ideals, was looming large on the literary horizon. Leconte de Lisle's *Poèmes Antiques* and Gautier's *Emaux et Camées* had been published in 1852 and had won some success among the critics. Louis Ménard, disillusioned by the political reaction following 1848, plunged into the study of classical antiquity, was writing poems delicately infused with the Hellenistic spirit. The productions of these men might well compromise the campaign of the new group. Not a moment was to be lost! Consequently, in the early days of 1855, *Les Chants Modernes* appeared.

The book opens with a long preface, dated January 6, 1855.¹¹ Belligerent, polemical, revolutionary, this manifesto outlined a new, or supposedly new, conception of poetry to which it attempted to convert the literary public. The author apparently hoped that it might be a second *Préface de Cromwell* and become the rallying cry for a new school. In fact, a line of Victor Hugo's figures as the preliminary quotation: "Dis ce que tu fais, fais ce que tu dis." Du Camp's preface comprises two distinct parts, one destructive, the second constructive. But first of all, he launches his polemic by describing the actual situation. Art and literature languish. The great masters are silent. An excessive importance is attached to mere form. In sculpture and painting a ridiculous ornamentation has replaced richness and purity of line. The same situation exists, alas! in poetry:

On accumule images sur images, hyperboles sur hyperboles, périphrases sur périphrases; on jongle avec les mots, on saute à travers des cercles de périodes, on danse sur la corde roide des alexandrins, on porte à bras tendus cent kilos d'épithètes, et l'on fait le saut périlleux par-dessus le dénoûment. De but, il n'y en a pas; de pensée, il n'y en a pas; de foi, de croyance, de mission, d'amour

¹¹ Published in *Revue de Paris*, somewhat abbreviated, Feb. 1, 1855. The book is listed in the *Bibliographie de la France* under date of March 31, 1855.

il n'y en a pas. Le plus fort est celui qui a le plus de mots à son service; on polit les phrases, on fait battre des antithèses, on surveille les enjambements; on parle pour ne rien dire. Où sont donc les écrivains? Je ne vois que des virtuoses.

Du Camp seeks a reason for this deplorable literary decline. He comes to the conclusion that literature itself is to blame, that it has been failing in courage, for instead of marching forward like a bold pioneer, it has turned backward.

Tout marche, tout grandit, tout s'augmente autour de nous cependant. La science fait des prodiges, l'industrie accomplit des miracles, et nous restons impassibles, insensibles, méprisables, grattant les cordes fausses de nos lyres, fermant les yeux pour ne pas voir, ou nous obtenant à regarder vers un passé que rien ne doit nous faire regretter. On découvre la vapeur, nous chantons Vénus, fille de l'onde amère: on découvre l'électricité, nous chantons Bacchus, ami de la grappe vermeille. C'est absurde.

It is impossible for the reader not to understand the allusions. Du Camp is very obviously aiming his shafts at those who profess the theory of *l'Art pour l'Art*. He is in particular attempting to ridicule Leconte de Lisle who had just been singing of classical antiquity.¹² He is attacking his former colleague, Théophile Gautier, whose *Emaux et Camées* had appeared but two years before, and whose recent departure from the *Revue de Paris* was perhaps rankling in Du Camp's breast.

The author continues his frontal assault in the paragraphs that follow. Let us see, he exclaims, exactly what our literary activity is at this moment of the nineteenth century. The subject of the last poetic concours was the *Acropole d'Athènes*. Similarly in sculpture, the last title suggested by the Académie des Beaux-Arts for a competition was *Hector et Astyanax*. And yet this is a century that has identified many planets and constellations, that has utilized steam with marvelous results, that has discovered electricity, gas, chloroform, and photography. A thousand admirable inventions, a thousand miracles¹³ permit man to live infinitely better than before. We approach the era to aerial navigation. In spite of that, we concern ourselves with the Trojan war! In Shakesperian language, "What's Hecuba to us, or we to Hecuba?"

We have listened to Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen; we live in the midst of social changes which will affect the face of

¹² For a discussion of this point, see M. A. Leblond, *Leconte de Lisle*, pp. 336-7.

¹³ Du Camp uses the word *féeries*; cf. the title of Cormenin's article.

the world; we see young America contributing gloriously to the new civilization; and we waste our time making commentaries of bad translations of Plato, we write tragedies on Ulysses, we evoke in our verse all the dead gods of Olympus. "Cela est insensé! cela est fou! cela est impie!"

Turning¹⁴ from the negative, destructive part of the Préface, let us examine Du Camp's positive, constructive program. In spite of his initial pessimism, he expresses his belief that a renaissance is at hand, and that another world will be born in which, he prophesies, the function of literature will be twofold. On the one hand, it will have to act as the interpreter of science; on the other, it will have to guide and direct industry.

Scientific poetry is encouraged by Maxime Du Camp. Briefly stated, his concrete suggestion is that Humboldt's *Cosmos* be turned over to a poet to be built into a monumental poem of science. But, beside the glories of science and parallel to them, the industrial movement is being developed with splendor and magnitude. This movement, thus far completely utilitarian, covering the whole world with a network of railroads, building vast factories, seeking to give to every individual a certain amount of comfort and ease, needs to be directed. It is for literature to assume the task of leadership. Like science, industry has splendors which deserve to be recounted. Its unceasing efforts, its constantly fruitful creations, its gropings, its long meditations, its rivalries,—all these are worthy of being told. We have sung of the forges of Vulcan.¹⁵ Why, pray, should we not sing of the forges of Indret or Le Creusot? Hereupon, Maxime Du Camp appropriately evokes a dramatic factory scene:

La salle est énorme; de larges feux l'éclairent au milieu desquels passent des hommes demi-nus, noirs en sueur, actifs, musculeux et superbes comme des cariatides de Puget. Sur une enclume plus large qu'un plateau de montagne, une masse énorme, rouge, flamboyante est placée et crépite encore. Au-dessus d'elle s'élève et s'abaisse un marteau gigantesque, d'un poids incompréhensible, et mû par une machine à vapeur. Vingt hommes robustes, attentifs, poussent

¹⁴ I omit here a lengthy diatribe against the Academy. It does not directly concern us.

¹⁵ Cf. Gautier, *Emaux et Camées*, A L. Sextius:
 et Vulcain, plein d'ardeur
 Souffle ses forges rougissantes.

peu à peu, lentement le bloc enflammé sous le bélier qui le forge. Ils regardent tous le maître-forgeron qui ne parle pas et qui, debout, le bras levé, la main tendue, fait un geste que comprennent ses intelligents ouvriers. Nul ne dit mot; l'angoisse serre les cœurs car un faux mouvement, un signe mal interprété peut faire voler en éclats le colosse de fer rouge qui pèse peut-être quarante mille livres. On n'entend rien que la roue qui chante en battant la rivière, que les coups profonds du marteau et le sifflement aigu de sa chute. C'est une bataille aussi que ces luttes contre des obstacles semblables vaincus à force de travail et d'audace. Il y a péril de vie, mais, si l'on meurt, on est certain, du moins, que c'est pour la bonne cause.

The conclusion to be drawn from the above drama is that such a scene of sweltering human effort, of mighty and awe-inspiring machinery, offers surely as good poetic material as the forges of Vulcan with their one-eyed cyclops, that it is undoubtedly as poetic as the "fers de lance, les casques, les boucliers, les foudres et autres vieilleries inutiles qu'on tapait à coups de merlin chez l'époux chagrin de la blonde Vénus. N'en déplaît à ceux qui regrettent l'antiquité pour prouver qu'ils ont appris le grec au collège." Not that Du Camp rejects classical antiquity. On the contrary, he heartily approves the study of the classics. In at least one respect we should do well to imitate the Greek and Latin authors: "Les poètes antiques parlaient de leur temps . . . en cela, imitons-les, et parlons du nôtre." It is the old, eternal question of the Ancients and the Moderns.

His supply of arguments apparently exhausted, Maxime Du Camp closes his preface with a restatement of the aim and purpose of literature:

Trois grands mouvements, le mouvement humanitaire, le mouvement scientifique et le mouvement industriel se complétant et s'entraînant l'un l'autre, emportent, comme un triple courant notre époque vers une rénovation certaine. Qu'il (l'art littéraire) s'y mêle hardiment, qu'il se baigne sans crainte dans les eaux fécondes de ces fleuves de régénération, il y trouvera des forces qu'il ne soupçonne pas et des vigueurs à soulever le monde. Qu'il les dirige, qu'il les calme ou les excite selon qu'il en sera besoin, qu'il marche avec eux, ou sinon ils ne l'attendront pas et le laisseront loin d'eux, mourant de faiblesse et d'inanition.

Un dernier mot: les poètes antiques, tourmentés déjà par les regrets du passé, ont placé l'âge d'or derrière nous, aux premiers temps de la terre. Ils se sont trompés, j'en jure par l'éternel progrès, l'âge d'or est devant nous! Il est trop loin encore pour que nous puissions l'atteindre dans notre existence actuelle, mais nous pouvons du moins travailler à défricher la route qui mène vers les beaux pays de l'avenir; c'est plus que notre devoir, c'est notre mission!

It is evident that for Maxime Du Camp the poetic utilization of industry is to be accomplished in two ways. The pictorial qualities,—the flaming forges, the toiling workmen, the mighty and intricate machines, the impression of confusion,—are to furnish the material for poems of dramatic intensity. Du Camp's enthusiastic picture of a factory scene would thus be turned into effective alexandrines. Or, on the other hand, the philosophical significance is to be emphasized. Thus the idea of progress would once again be enrolled among the poetic themes.

The humanitarian aspects of the problem are left practically untouched by Du Camp. When he does refer to them, he evidently has in mind only semi-socialistic theories. The condition of the working classes that had moved other poets (Auguste Barbier, for example) so deeply, their misery, their stunted lives, seem to appeal comparatively little to Du Camp.

The theories of the preface are by all odds the most important part of *Les Chants Modernes*. The poems that follow are not, however, without interest. Maxime Du Camp did not content himself with presenting theories; he also attempted to put them into effect. The *Chants de la Matière*¹⁶ include poems on *La Locomotive*, *La Vapeur*, *La Bobine*. Without entering on an extensive study of these poems, we may say briefly that while they fulfill in general the requirements of the preface, they do fall short in some respects. The idea of progress is, indeed, emphasized throughout the various compositions, but, on the other hand, the translation of the pictorial qualities of industry into successful verse is not as thoroughly developed as one might expect. Again, a difference between theory and execution is manifest in the treatment of the humanitarian motif. The preface had concerned itself but little with humane working and living conditions for the proletariat. The poems give greater prominence to these problems, but adopt, in contrast to writers such as Barbier and Hugo,¹⁷ a generally optimistic tone.

¹⁶ The volume of poetry is divided into three parts: the first, to which the author has given no collective title; then, the *Chants de la Matière*; finally, the *Chants d'Amour*.

¹⁷ Cf. *Melancholia*, in *Les Contemplations*.

Limiting ourselves to *La Bobine*, perhaps the most effective of the *Chants de la Matière*, let us examine the opening stanzas. A mill scene is presented:

Comme les Elphes de Norvège
Qui toujours valsent sur la neige,
Fuyant l'esprit qui les poursuit,
Je tourne! je tourne! je tourne!
Jamais en paix je ne séjourne!
Je tourne le jour et la nuit!

Près de moi travaillent les cardes,
Infatigables et criardes,
Qui mordent de leurs dents d'acier
Les flocons de laine salie,
Et la rendent blanche et polie
Comme les neiges d'un glacier.

Notre ouvrier chante à tue-tête;
La carde crie et fait tempête,
Moi, je bruis sur mon rouleau;
Notre chariot grince et roule,
Et la roue ainsi qu'une houle,
Mugit en faisant jaillir l'eau.

A very evident attempt is made in these lines to represent the whirl and velocity of the machinery. The author has also striven to render in words the ear-splitting noise of such an establishment. His choice of words indicates a desire for vividness and precision. Yet in spite of these praiseworthy characteristics, the passage fails of effect. The description is so far from being brutally realistic that it is almost polite. And therein lies the error. For, to be successful, the description of such a scene must produce on the mind of the reader the same impression that the actual vision would produce on his senses. A superficial comparison of these lines with those of the preface wherein a foundry-scene is depicted will suffice to prove our contention.

When it becomes necessary to draw a conclusion from the foregoing examination of *Les Chants Modernes*, one fact stands out very clearly. Maxime Du Camp suggested nothing fundamentally new. In fact, he advanced but little beyond the point achieved by Kauffmann. And yet, Du Camp's book was instantly recognized and widely discussed, while the former's article attracted little or no attention. The reason is plain. First of all, Du Camp had treated the problem from an essen-

tially literary point of view. Kauffmann's article was that of a man more interested in industry than in literature. In the second place, Du Camp had done more than theorize; he had written poems intended to carry out the program and fulfill the prophecies of the preface, compositions that drew their inspiration from industry. Theory is all too infrequently accompanied by execution. In the rare cases where theory is translated into reality, interest is infallibly aroused. Then, the author's bitter attack on the Academy—which we did not feel called upon to discuss—provoked a great deal of comment. Whatever its merits, it was an excellent bit of advertising for the manifesto. Furthermore, whereas Kauffmann was comparatively unknown, Du Camp occupied a position of considerable prominence in the world of art and letters. Finally, his book had been heralded in advance and was awaited with interest. The result was that its appearance caused something of a sensation.

What was to be the attitude of the critics toward this book that demanded a specific renovation of French poetry? Just as Madame de Staël at the beginning of the century had attacked the then existing subservience to classical tradition, so now Maxime Du Camp was urging French poets to abandon the old for the new, to be part of their own generation, and to celebrate the glories of contemporary civilization. What was to be the answer of men steeped in the conventional literary traditions? This question must now occupy our attention.

* * * * *

A shout of protest, even anger, arose from a considerable portion of the literary public. Poets, novelists, and critics joined in denouncing these radical theories. Some, though hostile, gave the manifesto serious consideration. Others were less respectful in their opposition and resorted to ridicule. On the other hand, a number of critics supported whole-heartedly the new conception of poetry.

A thoroughly scornful attitude was assumed by Maxime Du Camp's soon-to-be-famous friend, Gustave Flaubert. Not that the great novelist deigned to contribute a formal article on the subject. In fact, it is from Du Camp that we learn that Flaubert said to him:

Prends garde, tu es sur une pente! . . . Dans la préface des *Chant Modernes*, tu as débité un tas de sornettes passablement déshonorantes, tu as

célébré l'industrie et chanté la vapeur, ce qui est idiot et par trop Saint-Simonien.¹⁸

This unfavorable attitude is corroborated by a letter written to Louis Bouilhet. Attacking the writers connected with *La Revue de Paris*, Flaubert says: "Si tu suis un peu attentivement leur manœuvre, tu verras qu'ils naviguent vers le vieux socialisme de 1833, national pur. Haine de L'art pour l'art, déclamation contre la Forme. Du Camp tonnait l'autre jour contre H. Heine et surtout les Schlegel, ces pères du romantisme qu'il appelait des réactionnaires."¹⁹ He then accuses the group of opportunism, pure and simple: "Quand on ne peut pas entraîner la société derrière soi, on se met à sa remorque . . . c'est un moyen d'avancer . . . On est servi par les passions du jour et par la sympathie des envieux . . . Arsène Houssaye a profité de la manie moyen âge, comme Mme Beecher-Stowe a exploité la manie égalitaire. Notre ami Maxime, lui, profite des chemins de fer, de la rage industrielle, etc."²⁰

Flaubert was, of course, attached by inclination to the opposite party. He disapproved violently of the materialistic tendencies of the time. In the same letter to Bouilhet he wrote: "Je sens contre la bêtise de mon époque des flots de haine qui m'étouffent."

From a literary point of view his attitude is easily explicable. His "esthétique" was well defined and vigorously adhered to. As early as 1846 he had written to a friend: "Il n'y a pas de belles pensées sans belles formes et réciproquement . . . Supposer une idée qui n'ait pas de forme, c'est impossible, de même qu'une forme n'exprime pas une idée."²⁰ In 1857 he expresses himself in much the same fashion: "Vous me dites que je fais trop d'attention à la forme. Hélas! c'est comme le corps et l'âme, la forme et l'idée; pour moi, c'est tout un et je ne sais pas ce qu'est l'un sans l'autre."²⁰ His niece, in the preface of

¹⁸ *Souvenirs littéraires*, II, 417. It seems to us possible that the preface of the *Chans Modernes* may have caused the slackening of the ties of affection that had hitherto bound Du Camp and Flaubert. Even if one assumes that the cause was rather Du Camp's frank and probably tactless criticism of the first *Tentation de Saint-Antoine*, one may still admit the preface as a contributory factor.

¹⁹ *Correspondance*, III, 18; letter written in May 1855. Charpentier edition

²⁰ Quoted by T. Mustoxidi: *Histoire de l'Esthétique française*, p. 170.

the *Correspondance*, tells us that Flaubert, "jugeait qu'aucun livre n'est dangereux, s'il est bien écrit; cette opinion venait chez lui de l'union intime qu'il faisait du fond et de la forme, quelque chose de bien écrit ne pouvant pas être mal pensé, conçu bassement."²⁰ Evidently one who professed these principles could not think very highly of a book that not only decried excessive attention to form but in addition upheld the doctrine of the social utility of poetry.

A similar impatience is manifest in the attitude of Gustave Planche. His discussion of the preface is most superficial, for it hardly goes beyond the stage of rather elephantine ridicule. Sarcastically he observes: "L'hélice a désormais droit de bourgeoisie dans le domaine poétique: Jacquard²¹ passe au rang des demi-dieux; c'est un événement qui n'est pas à négliger . . . M. Du Camp nous explique très clairement comment la science peut devenir vassale de la poésie. Mon Dieu, rien n'est plus simple, un enfant aurait trouvé cela: le génie s'est toujours rapproché de l'enfance par son ingénuité. Il s'agit de mettre en vers le *Cosmos* d'Alexandre de Humboldt."²² When he reaches the *Chants de la Matière*, Planche's procedure is the same. He seizes with avidity the *Sac d'Argent* and pulverizes it with the mill-stone of his scorn.

Planche sees in Du Camp's preface the opening shot of a campaign. He says: "On sent qu'il ne parle pas en son nom seulement mais au nom d'une armée frémissante, qui n'a pas encore tiré l'épée, et qui demande à grands cris le combat . . . Cette préface vantée d'avance par des amis complaisans comme un prodige de hardiesse, n'est tout bonnement qu'une parodie de la préface de Cromwell. J'ai dit parodie, je n'ai donc pas besoin d'ajouter que c'est le même amour du paradoxe, sans la verve et l'originalité du modèle." It is interesting to find this contemporary suggestion that the preface represented a definite attempt to found a poetic school.

A sharp statement, contemptuous by its very brevity, came from the pen of Leconte de Lisle. He had doubtless felt himself to be the object of Du Camp's remarks concerning contemporary

²¹ J. M. Jacquard, 1752-1824, inventor of famous loom.

²² *Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 15, 1855.

tributes to Venus.²³ He, therefore, hastened to insert a reply in the preface of his new volume, *Poèmes et Poésies*:²⁴

. . . j'ai beau tendre l'oreille aux premiers chants de la poésie humaine, les seuls qui méritent d'être écoutés, je les entends à peine, grâce aux clameurs barbares du Pandémonium industriel . . . Les hymnes et les odes inspirées par la vapeur et la télégraphie électrique m'émeuvent médiocrement, et toutes ces périphrases didactiques, n'ayant rien de commun avec l'art, me démontreraient plutôt que les poètes deviennent d'heure en heure plus inutiles aux sociétés modernes.

This is exactly the sort of reaction one might expect from the author of *Hypatie*.

Now these statements of Flaubert, Leconte de Lisle, and Planche are hardly arguments. *Les Chants Modernes* were really worthy of more serious discussion. Let us, therefore, consider some of the reasons that were placed in opposition to the theories advanced by Maxime Du Camp. Perhaps the most obvious criticism was that of Sainte-Beuve. In his review of the book,²⁵ he suggested that this "new" theory was by no means new, that there had been in the eighteenth century poets who went to science and utilitarian objects for their material in the hope of rejuvenating their art. Furthermore, he added: "ce renouvellement, qui n'est que de surface, est bientôt usé." Sainte-Beuve forgot, however, two important points. First, Du Camp was introducing into poetry an element almost unknown to Delille: that is to say, mechanical power. This, in itself, marks a profound difference between the productions of the two men. Secondly, while Delille's poetry was entirely and indefatigably didactic and descriptive, Du Camp intended that the poetry of industry should be also utilitarian.

It is rather surprising, indeed, that Sainte-Beuve's attitude was not more sympathetic. He believed quite definitely in scientific progress. In 1851 he had said: "If we go beyond the ephemeral triflings of present literature, which cumber up the front of the stage and obstruct one's gaze, there is in this age a great and powerful movement in every direction, in every science. At every point men are at work—in physics, chemistry,

²³ See M. A. Leblond, *Leconte de Lisle*, pp. 336-7.

²⁴ Published in 1855.

²⁵ *L'Athenaeum Français*, July 28, 1855. Reprinted in *Causeries du Lundi*, vol. XII.

zoology, botany, in all branches of natural history, in historical and philosophical criticism, in oriental studies, in archaeology everything is being gradually transformed, and the day when the century takes the trouble to draw its conclusion, you will see that it is at a hundred leagues, a thousand leagues, from its point of departure."²⁶ To be sure, Sainte-Beuve did sympathize with Du Camp in one essential respect, for he agreed that "l'artiste doit être de *son temps*, doit porter dans son œuvre le caractère de *son temps*: à ce prix la vie est durable, comme le succès." The coolness of his article is probably to be attributed to the poverty of inspiration and flabbiness of expression of the *Chants de la Matière*. With the best will in the world, he could not praise the artistically ineffective.

An interesting comment on the idea of progress was made at this time by Baudelaire. But a few years before he had welcomed enthusiastically Pierre Dupont's *Le Chant des Ouvriers*.²⁷ By 1852 he had suffered a change of heart. His article on Edgar Allan Poe protested against the use of humanitarian or utilitarian motifs in poetry.²⁸ The year 1855 witnessed another modification. While not aimed directly at Du Camp, Baudelaire's discussion of progress was so timed that we may well discuss it here. His opinion is briefly that, in the first place, one ought not to confound progress in the intellectual world with progress in the material world; and, secondly, that there is no guarantee of progress in the future, particularly in the realm of art and literature.

Transportée dans l'ordre de l'imagination, l'idée du progrès . . . se dresse avec une absurdité gigantesque, une grotesquerie qui monte jusqu'à l'épouvantable. La thèse n'est plus soutenable . . . Dans l'ordre poétique et artistique, tout révélateur a rarement un précurseur. Toute floraison est spontanée, individuelle . . . L'artiste ne relève que de lui-même. Il ne promet aux siècles à venir que ses propres œuvres. Il ne cautionne que lui-même. Il meurt sans enfants.²⁹

In so far as Baudelaire is allying himself with the theory of *l'Art pour l'Art*, he is inevitably in opposition to the program

²⁶ *Portraits littéraires*, III, 549 (1864). The original edition of this volume was published in 1851 as *Derniers Portraits*. The above translation is taken from I. Babbitt, *The Masters of Modern French Criticism*, pp. 134-5.

²⁷ See Baudelaire's *Notice sur Pierre Dupont*: "Quand j'entendis cet admirable cri de douleur et de mélancolie, je fus ébloui et attendri" etc.

²⁸ *Revue de Paris*, March 1852.

²⁹ See *Curiosités Esthétiques, Exposition Universelle de 1855*, p. 211.

of Du Camp and his followers. The latter would undoubtedly, however, have agreed with the above statement. They wanted progress, including material progress, to provide poetic inspiration. But they were not seeking to apply the theory of perfectibility to art and literature.

We now reach the critics who begin seriously to grapple with the problem. All of them, with some individual differences, raise the general question of whether industry and machinery can belong to the realm of the ideal and therefore be treated in poetry, or whether these things are inevitably materialistic and hence to be discarded by the poets. Their articles present a thoughtful, serious consideration of the points at issue and we shall, therefore, study them in some detail.

Victor de Laprade is the first to be considered. Although he had contributed a poem to the *Concours* of 1845 on the discovery of steam, Laprade had continuously modified his attitude.³⁰ He now takes a definitely determined stand and in an article published in *Le Correspondant* he makes an uncompromising attack on the conception of industrial poetry. It is fair to assume that he was spurred on in part by the *Chants Modernes*: he certainly must have known the volume. The immediate cause of his wrath, however, was a composition entitled *L'Exposition*³¹ by his friend, Charles Alexandre. An excessively mediocre poem, it could not fail to provoke a hostile reaction on the part of Laprade. The following verses are a fair sample of the whole:

Ils ne souffriront plus, les vieux doigts des aieuls,
Les fileuses de fer sans repos, toutes seules,
Les laisseront prier pour leurs petits enfants;
Et trouvant leurs corps chauds sous la laine et la toile,
Les mères béniront en priant vers l'étoile,
Les métiers triomphants.

On December 21, 1855 Laprade wrote a letter to Alexandre in which he expressed himself in the following terms:

Au moment où vous écriviez peut-être votre pièce inspirée par les splendeurs de l'exposition, je faisais refuser par la *Revue des Deux Mondes*, comme trop

³⁰ See *Les Taureaux*, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Oct. 15, 1853. Consider also the fact that Laprade changed the title of *L'Age Nouveau* to *Utopie* when publishing it in the 1855 edition of *Les Symphonies*.

³¹ Published in *La Revue*, Nov. 1, 1855.

violemment hostile à l'industrie,³³ un article de prose intitulé précisément *la Poésie et l'Industrie* . . . Toutes les choses dont l'Exposition témoigne et qui vous semblent un commencement et une jeunesse, je les vois comme une fin et une caducité. J'attache comme vous une grande importance à ce fait des expositions, mais en sens inverse . . . l'industrie, ce n'est pas l'affranchissement, mais la servitude.³⁴

Apart from Laprade's own temperament, Du Camp and Alexandre may be considered as chiefly responsible for the article which appeared shortly after under the title of "*La Poésie et l'Industrie*."³⁴ The author proclaims that there are three poetic orders: God, Man, and Nature. If poetry omits a single one of these great realities, it is and must be incomplete. True poetry takes into consideration all three elements and knows how to subordinate them to each other. Now, industry, in spite of its size and pretensions, is nothing more than a mere detail in the order of human things and in the realm of ideas. Furthermore, it is nothing new even as a poetic conception. Homer depicted vividly the industry of his day. Yet he never thought of choosing the plow, the anvil, or the potter's wheel as the subject of an epic. He considered the anger of Achilles far superior in interest to the forge of Vulcan.³⁵

It is to be noted, says Laprade, that as one approaches the era of the sovereign reign of machinery, one sees the poets turn more and more away from any acceptance of the ideals of beauty that, according to some, ought to be the principal source of their inspiration. Must one conclude that all the poets of the world have gradually lost their poetic sense, or rather that industry has lost poetic quality through the introduction of mechanical power and its consequent enormous growth? This leads Laprade to the question of whether modern industry can, by nature, be artistic. For the solution of the problem he lays down five principles:

1. Any mechanical apparatus which does not leave to man the largest place and most prominent rôle in the scene depicted by the artist is irreconcilable with art in general and with the necessary laws of the beautiful.

³³ This refusal of the *R. D. M.* is significant of the importance that industry was assuming.

³⁴ Extract from letter quoted by E. Biré: *Victor de Laprade*, p. 205.

³⁵ *Le Correspondant*, 1856, p. 34.

³⁶ It is impossible not to see here a reference to the *Chants Modernes*.

2. Any object must have simplicity and elegance of line in order to be artistically reproduced either in painting or in sculpture.

3. Objects whose dimensions are out of all proportionate relation with those of the human body are incompatible with art.

4. Any instrument whose power is out of proportion to that of the human body cannot become the object of a work of art.

5. The qualities of solidity and permanence are essential to a work of art.

On the basis of these principles, Laprade concludes that modern industry is subversive of painting, sculpture, and architecture, as soon as it attempts to subordinate them to itself and to impose upon them its various functions as themes of works of art. As for poetry, he adds: "La poésie est, sans doute, un autre ordre que celui des arts; mais bien des principes leur sont communs, et ce sont ces principes, également applicables à la peinture de la beauté extérieure et à l'expression du beau moral, qu'il serait nécessaire de consigner ici."

Laprade then faces the problem of whether industry has embellished the moral world. His answer is vigorously negative. Industry, by its uniformity and automatism, inspires the worker himself with tedium and disgust. Mechanical power, indeed, has done actual injury to humanity, for man, far from dominating the machine, becomes its slave. The writer's conclusion is plain:

La poésie restera la poésie, c'est-à-dire une œuvre morale, l'industrie restera l'industrie, c'est-à-dire une œuvre matérielle . . . Elle peut devenir dans le monde tout ce que la force matérielle y devient de plus éminent, une royauté, une idole, tout excepté une poésie. Que les poètes le sachent donc, et ne perdent pas de temps à expérimenter dans cette voie leur antique domaine.

Such is the rebuke addressed by Laprade to those of his contemporaries who sought in an alliance of industry and poetry a desirable renaissance.

An equally thoughtful criticism is that of Ernest Renan. His article, entitled "La Poésie de l'Exposition,"³⁶ is in every respect worthy of examination. His first concern is to establish the fact that man is not satisfied by the mere satisfaction of his material needs. There is something superior to his physical desires. An ideal has always been necessary to stimulate his soul. Finally, men have sought to find an ideal in the various

³⁶ *Journal des Débats*, Nov. 27, 1855.

manifestations of life and have expressed it with poetic and artistic symbols. And now

Pour la première fois, notre siècle a convoqué de grandes multitudes sans leur proposer un but idéal. Aux jeux antiques, aux pèlerinages, aux tournois, aux jubilé ont succédé des comices industriels. Deux fois l'Europe s'est dérangée pour voir des marchandises étalées et comparer des produits matériels, et, au retour de ces pèlerinages d'un genre nouveau, personne ne s'est plaint que quelque chose lui manquât.

A clear indication of decadence is to be seen in such a state of affairs. Renan ironically recalls the prophecy of Fourier that some day, instead of meeting in battle, rival nations would dispute the respective excellence of their cake. He adds: "Sans doute, ce grand progrès n'est pas encore pleinement accompli. Mais bien des pas ont été faits en ce sens: il y a quelques jours, les plus fortes têtes de l'Europe étaient occupées à décider quelle nation fabrique le mieux la soie ou le coton."

The author utters a warning, drawn from history, that the progress of industry is in no way connected with the development of art and poetry. Consider, for example, the fifth century B. C. in Greece and the Renaissance in Italy:

. . . si nous étudions de près ces deux grands moments, nous verrons qu'à côté d'un sentiment du beau merveilleusement développé il y avait absence presque complète de soin pour tout ce qui tient au bien-être et aux commodités de la vie.

On the other hand, China, long before the other nations, possessed highly developed processes of industry. And China has nothing that deserves the name of art. The conclusion is, therefore, that the progress of industry is in no way parallel to the progress of the arts.

Renan freely admits that material progress in elevating the level of the lower classes and in bringing peoples closer together, serves a moral, even a religious end. The error is not in proclaiming industry good and useful, but in exalting it beyond measure. When men go so far as to consider that the great industrial development of the century represents a revolution in the human mind, they are simply taking the "accessoire de la civilisation pour le principal."

One must not be astonished, the author states in conclusion, if this industrial jubilee has produced nothing in the realm of

the intellect. It is a dazzling spectacle for the eyes, an instructive study for the practical man of affairs, but it offers little material for thought or speculation.

Renan, of course, had suffered great disillusionment from the events of 1848-1852. "Le coup d'état," he says, "acheva de me rattacher à la *Revue des Deux Mondes* et au *Journal des Débats* en me dégoûtant du peuple que j'avais vu, le 2 décembre, accueillir d'un air narquois les signes de deuil des bons citoyens."⁸⁷ Then it was that, abandoning all hope for the success of his ideals, he devoted himself to scientific research and philosophic speculation. By intellect and experience, he was clearly more attracted to the group of which Leconte de Lisle was an illustrious representative than to the young *cénacle* headed by Maxime Du Camp. Certainly he was in no mood to welcome the idea of utilizing French poetry for the glorification of mechanical progress.

A somewhat similar protest against the invasion of the moral world by *le Machinisme* was made by Edmond Texier.⁸⁸ Although he admits the possibility of machinery entering a purely descriptive poem, he bluntly refuses any further concession. "La vue d'une machine," he says, "intéresse parce qu'on pense à son utilité; elle ne passionne pas." Consequently, the poet, above all, must remain aloof from industry, for he is mainly inspired by emotions, and not by material interests. Texier fears, moreover, that scientific and industrial progress constitutes a serious menace to all art:

. . . en face des progrès nouveaux, j'ai quelque doute sur la longévité de l'art tel que nous le comprenons aujourd'hui. L'auteur des *Chants Modernes* rêve le mariage de la science et de la poésie; et moi, je lui réponds comme le maître: *Ceci tuera cela.*

Whereupon, Texier closes his article with a word of praise for Du Camp's honest endeavor to carry out his program in the *Chants de la Matière*.

Auguste Lacaussade⁸⁹ likewise admired Du Camp's good intentions. Admitting his sincerity and deep conviction, he

⁸⁷ See preface of *L'Avenir de la Science*, 1890.

⁸⁸ *Le Siècle*, May 18, 1855.

⁸⁹ *Revue Contemporaine*, June 15, 1855; *De la Poésie Utilitaire et d'une poésie nouvelle*.

says: "Il faut le reconnaître, dans ces lignes il y a de la jeunesse et de la conviction, des critiques portant juste, une ferveur émue, une intelligence passionnée des choses de l'art." The validity of Du Camp's assertions and arguments cannot, however, be so easily conceded. First of all, Lacaussade recalls quite pertinently that the Academy, attacked by Du Camp for being too bound up with the past, has as recently as 1845 opened a concours on the subject of the discovery of steam. After this salutary correction of detail, the critic passes to a consideration of general ideas. He says:

La Science, dans ses résultats extérieurs, l'industrie dans ses plus riches manifestations, ne sont que les effets d'une même cause suprême, inspirant et dominant l'activité humaine; c'est à cette cause que la poésie doit incessamment remonter pour trouver la vie dont elle anime ses créations.

It is the same distinction between the spiritual and the material that we have met before, with the pitiless relegation of industry to the realm of the material.

Lacaussade's criticism of the *Chants de la Matière* is succinct and, though severe, accurate:

. . . ils me font l'effet d'amplifications en vers sur des sujets donnés, de thèses rimées à l'appui d'un nouveau système sur l'art. L'inspiration ne jaillit pas du fonds même des choses, et rythme et rimes n'y peuvent rien. L'auteur aura voulu justifier sa théorie par des exemples, et il n'aura réussi qu'à trahir l'impuissance de ses bonnes intentions. . . on sent partout dans les *Chants de la Matière* l'absence d'inspiration réelle.

It might, perhaps, be possible to interpret these words as meaning that Lacaussade, while condemning the poverty of Du Camp's poetic vein, does not consider the realization of Du Camp's program an utter impossibility, that he believes a good poet truly inspired might produce something artistically valid. The general tone of his article, however, seems to be against such a conclusion.

A much more timid discussion of the problem is met with in the article of Armand de Pontmartin.⁴⁰ At first, he places himself beside Renan, Laprade, and Lacaussade. To his mind, the most probable consequence of the industrial achievements is to cause a reaction away from industry, to make people seek

⁴⁰ See *Dernières Causeries Littéraires*, 1862, 2nd edition. The article on Du Camp was undoubtedly written in 1853 or 1856.

a spiritual refuge in the old idealism, in the old conception of poetry that has existed for so many years. But then, as he reflects on the matter, Pontmartin is inclined to admit that there is an element of truth in Du Camp's manifesto:

. . . une petite dose de vérité à extraire d'une dose plus forte d'illusions ou d'erreurs. Il est très vrai que la poésie moderne peut et doit chercher des tableaux, des images et même des inspirations nouvelles dans ces nouveaux développements de la puissance humaine appliquée aux forces de la nature et de la matière.

Pontmartin has made here a damaging admission, so damaging, indeed, that it undermines his earlier attempt to remain orthodox. Another passage, immediately following, is even more damning:

Sans s'y compromettre par une alliance trop étroite et trop onéreuse, elle (la poésie) ne saurait rester insensible à ces grands et émouvants spectacles, et la faculté de vibration qu'elle possède doit être mise en jeu par les pathétiques récits de l'histoire, les catastrophes contemporaines, les beautés du paysage ou les luttes de la conscience et du cœur. L'essentiel est qu'elle y arrive en souveraine.

Maxime Du Camp might well have written these lines himself.

More courageous defenders of the new poetry than Armand de Pontmartin soon appeared on the battlefield. Although they found themselves arrayed against the great literary geniuses of the period, they nevertheless supported with spirit the ideals to which Maxime Du Camp had given expression. They were perhaps fortified in their position by Sainte-Beuve's judgment that "l'artiste doit être de son temps." On this point the defenders of Du Camp unite. Furthermore, they resent the assertion that industry is essentially materialistic, that poetic treatment of the struggles and achievements of industry cannot satisfy the idealistic aspirations of man.

Louis Ulbach, one of the editors of the *Revue de Paris*, illustrates this double-sided resistance. In his review of Gustave Claudin's *L'Exposition à vol d'oiseau*,⁴¹ Ulbach takes the opportunity of asserting his allegiance to the progressive movement in the world of art and letters, and of defending *Les Chants Modernes*. He exclaims:

⁴¹ *Revue de Paris*, Dec. 1, 1855.

. . . il y a mauvaise foi à prétendre qu'en voulant chanter le travail et les machines on déplace les sources et l'on méconnaît les inspirations les plus généreuses et les plus universelles, l'amour, la haine, les passions en un mot.

Les machines ne sont pas l'anéantissement du sentiment: elles en sont une expression. Il n'y a pas là de paradoxe. Notre siècle a autant d'imagination que les siècles les plus féconds en poèmes; . . . le siècle ne prend pas la lyre impuissante pour chanter sous les saules . . . ni la besace odieuse pour mendier, il se met à l'œuvre, saisit des outils, en crée, en invente, en distribue, et si sa chanson est un peu moins douce, un peu moins harmonieuse, elle est du moins plus attendrie, plus humaine. Tout poète inutile, tout écrivain qui ne s'associe pas au travail cyclopéen de son temps est un voleur qui n'a pas droit au pain qu'il mange, un meurtrier qui suicide en lui un artisan de Dieu.

Impossible not to see in some of these expressions a fling at the criticisms of Flaubert, Renan, and Laprade.

A more direct attack on these men and the arguments they advanced was made by several other writers. Renan's article, especially, bore the brunt of their assault; indeed, the most important criticism bears the subtitle "Lettre à M. Ernest Renan." This article, "La Poésie de l'Exposition," by Ad. Guérout, appeared in the *Revue Philosophique et Religieuse* for January 1856. It is essentially a protest against the assertion that industry is but an "accessoire" of civilization. The author maintains rather that industry is an integral part of a unified whole:

Aimons le bien, étudions le vrai, pratiquons l'utile, et ne cherchons pas à diviser de que Dieu a voulu réunir, dans la société comme dans l'individu, par le lien indissoluble d'une vivante unité.

Furthermore, industry, mechanical power, is an "indispensable auxiliary of the moral and intellectual progress of humanity." It will create the leisure necessary for the acquisition of the finer things of life.

What industry lacks, according to Guérout, in order to fulfill its proper destiny is a realization of its own value. This it must acquire. It must arrive at an understanding of its high mission, the exploitation of the material world for the benefit of humanity. And, naturally, this mission must be recognized and confirmed by all the agencies of public opinion. Then, says the writer, "les poètes . . . prendront la parole et sauront trouver, soyez-en sûr, des accents dignes de pareilles solennités." But, until then, one can scarcely hope for anything more than isolated expressions of indifferent value.

Renan's article also drew a reply from Félix Belly in the *Revue Contemporaine* for December 15, 1885. Heading his article as Renan did his, "La Poésie de l'Exposition," Belly restates the ideas expressed by Du Camp, and at the same time vigorously counter-thrusts. Referring to the much belittled Exposition, he asks:

Où sont les spectacles plus grandioses . . . que le Palais de l'industrie étalant les produits du monde, et vingt peuples couronnant par leurs représentants les chefs-d'œuvre du genre humain. On a contesté le côté idéal de ce grand jubilé industriel. Les quarante mille spectateurs de la cérémonie du 15 novembre pourraient répondre à notre place . . . Si la poésie est quelque part, elle est là.

On the other hand, if poetry is anywhere absent, it is not in the industrial movement, but rather in the "immobilité systématique" of those who ought to aid its development.

Another defense of industry was made by one of the most prominent writers on mechanical subjects, Michel Chevalier.⁴² Taking, naturally, a point of view contrary to that of Renan and Laprade, Chevalier says: "Non, l'industrie, quoiqu'elle s'exerce sur la matière, n'est point d'essence matérielle. Elle relève de la noble partie de notre nature; elle est une des filles légitimes de l'esprit humain. Loin qu'on soit fondé à lui reprocher d'asservir l'espèce humaine à la matière, elle ploie la matière au joug de l'intelligence." We hardly need follow Chevalier into the obvious development of this thought.

Du Camp's book is directly treated by several writers, Paulin Limayrac, Eugène Pelletan, Edouard Thierry, Amédée Pichot, and Alfred Michiels. The first one of this group contents himself with a few words of cordial approval:

Les Chants Modernes sont un beau livre où l'idée et le sentiment sont fondus ensemble avec beaucoup de bonheur et forment une seule âme poétique pleine de jeunesse et de puissance. Il faut dire aussi . . . que le volume . . . est précédé d'une noble préface en prose. Cette préface est un brillant et généreux manifeste; c'est un large drapeau placé à la porte principale de l'édifice, et dans les plis duquel souffle une chaude et odorante brise d'été.⁴³

Eugène Pelletan⁴⁴ is scarcely more critical in his enthusiastic acceptance of the *Chants de la Matière*. *La Bobine* and *La Vapeur*

⁴² *Journal des Débats*, May 15, 1855.

⁴³ *La Presse*, June 4, 1855.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, March 27, 1856.

seem to him particularly admirable. The supreme epithet that he finds to qualify the author of these odes is "psalmiste du travail." Although Edouard Thierry condemns the violence of the preface, he supports Du Camp's contention that excessive attention is being paid to mere form.⁴⁵ He agrees that industry may be a source of inspiration for poetry as well as the usual conventional themes. In any case, whatever the inspiration, it is the idea that counts. Amédée Pichot finds the *Chants de la Matière* worthy of his warm approbation.⁴⁶ Full of movement and picturesque expressions they resemble in no way the descriptive poetry of the eighteenth century. A little more precision would make them perfect. A word of unstinted praise was offered by the last writer mentioned above, Alfred Michiels, author of that curious book, *Histoire des Idées Littéraires en France au XIX siècle*. Referring to Maxime Du Camp, he says: "Sa préface n'épargne aucune idée vermoulue, aucune institution caduque . . . Et pour mettre ses œuvres en harmonie avec ses principes, l'auteur aborde dans le volume toutes les questions modernes; il pare de la forme poétique certains sujets que l'on croyait ne pouvoir la revêtir. Les morceaux intitulés: *la Vapeur, la Bobine, la Locomotive* . . . sont des entreprises audacieuses parfaitement réussies. Le courage de M. Maxime Du Camp lui a porté bonheur. C'est, au surplus un privilège des grandes nations que, dans la foule d'individus qui les composent, il y a toujours des esprits vaillants et judicieux pour combattre l'erreur, pour proclamer la vérité."⁴⁷

A new direction of attack against Du Camp's opponents was instituted in 1859 by Jean Tisseur in his article "Des Affinités de la Poésie et de l'Industrie dans l'Antiquité Grecque."⁴⁸ The title indicates his method. Realizing that the adversaries of the poetry of industry and science were in the habit of contrasting contemporary civilization, proud of its inventions, with ancient Greece and its masterpieces, innocent of mechanical power, Tisseur undertakes a study of the relation of industry and the arts in Athens in the time of her glory. He attempts a description of Greek industry, of the position of the artisan and of the

⁴⁵ *Le Moniteur Universel*, July 10, 1855.

⁴⁶ *Revue britannique*, April 1855.

⁴⁷ See 4th edition, "augmentée", 1863, II, 627, 629.

⁴⁸ *Revue du Lyonnais*, 1859, (vol. 18).

poet in Athenian society. He quotes liberally from Sophocles, calling attention to passages that extol man in his work. He concludes that "la poésie ne doit pas être son but à elle-même, ni une vaine délectation de l'esprit, mais une excitation à une moralité supérieure; que son objet direct est l'emploi de la vie. ." From this point of view, poetry must inevitably concern itself with all aspects and functions of life, among which industry is one of the most important.

To all these defenders of the faith we must add the name of Du Camp himself. His hand is undoubtedly to be seen in the pamphlet issued April 1, 1856 by the *Revue de Paris*, entitled *Cinquième Année*. The following statement of policy is significant:

La poésie chassée de partout . . . trouvera dans la *Revue de Paris* un refuge sacré . . . Un seul genre sera proscriit: la poésie extérieure et égoïste qui s'isole des angoisses contemporaines et qui ne voit dans les vers qu'un instrument mélodieux pour les oreilles, pour de vagues et inutiles sensations . . . pour être vraiment poète, il faut sentir en soi l'intelligence des grandes missions que la philosophie, la politique, la science et l'industrie doivent accomplir. La poésie . . . a un rôle pratique à jouer; le méconnaître, c'est ne rien comprendre à l'harmonie des diverses vocations, à la solidarité des facultés différentes de l'esprit.

If Maxime Du Camp did not write the above statement, he certainly approved it for publication. In any case, his continued fealty to industrial poetry is readily proved by the preface to the second edition (1860) of the *Chants Modernes*. Here he frankly raises the question of whether he would change the famous preface in any way, if he were to rewrite it at this later date. His answer is unhesitating: he would perhaps soften the expression, but would not modify at all the fundamental thought.

We close here our account of the controversy which broke out after the publication of the *Chants Modernes*. The discussion thus engendered continued in one form or another for several years. Echoes of the conflict reverberate throughout the last decade of the Second Empire. Théophile Gautier, for example, in discussing the evolution of French poetry from 1830-1868 mentioned *Les Chants Modernes* and said maliciously that Du Camp was never so successful as when he was not attempting to carry out the program of the preface.⁴⁹ But it was during the

⁴⁹ *Les Progrès de la Poésie française depuis 1830*, written in 1868, published in volume entitled *L'Histoire du Romantisme*.

sur la proue des bateaux à vapeur ou sur les rails des chemins de fer."⁵¹ In 1836, Victor Hugo expressed his admiration for the locomotive: "Je suis réconcilié avec les chemins de fer; c'est décidément très beau . . . Il faut beaucoup d'efforts pour ne pas se figurer que le cheval de fer est une bête véritable. On l'entend souffler au repos, se lamenter au départ, japper en route . . d'énormes raquettes d'étincelles jaillissent à tout moment de ses roues ou de ses pieds; et son haleine s'en va en beaux nuages de fumée qui se déchirent aux arbres de la route . . ."⁵² Théophile Gautier, generally so contemptuous of the industrial movement, could not conceal an involuntary admiration for the machines he saw at the Exposition Universelle in London, 1851: "Les bobines tournaient comme des danseuses ivres, disparaissant dans l'éblouissement de leur rapidité. Les pistons levaient et laissaient retomber leur moignons avec un han plaintif, comme des bûcherons fendent un tronc de chêne . . . tous ces esclaves métalliques et plutoniens inventés par le génie de l'homme travaillaient à qui mieux mieux sur notre passage."⁵³

Finally, poets and all those interested in the future of French poetry were attracted in their turn. We have seen how they responded, approving or condemning. They, too, were caught up in the mighty current of contemporary thought and were swept along with it. Some resisted, preferring to let the troubled waters rush by. Others actively labored to get their companions into the stream. In any case, it was inevitable that many poets and critics should join in the discussion of the great economic revolution of the century and contribute a word of praise or blame. The history of the controversy which centered in the *Chants Modernes* is, therefore, far from being an isolated episode of nineteenth century literature; it is a manifestation of the complex social thought of the age.

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⁵¹ *Mélanges*, I, 370.

⁵² See *Bretagne et Normandie*, in volume *En Voyage. France et Belgique*.

⁵³ *L'Orient*, I, 303. Charpentier edition, 1907.

XLV. BROWNING'S *CHILDE ROLAND*

Nearly everyone knows that behind Browning's *Childe Roland* lies a vast contributory reservoir of chivalric romance. The hero of the poem is obviously engaged in a quest, drawn out through a number of years and attended by continual disappointments, a quest which he shares with a band of other adventurers who have been lost in their attempts to achieve. Roland's coming to the Tower, under these circumstances, while it may not be duplicated in any one romance, is patently a chivalric enterprise of a familiar type. Our recognition of this fact makes the poem much less the mystery that early commentators found it. And yet many puzzling details still remain to be explained.

One such puzzle exists in the establishment of a logical connection between Edgar's song in *Lear* and this chivalric background. Browning insisted,¹ with more than usual stubbornness, that the poem was wholly suggested by the lines:²

Child Rowland to the dark tower came;
His word was still,—Fie, foh, and fum,
I smell the blood of a British man.

This passage may be separated into three parts: the first line, which Shakespeare possibly took verbatim from some lost ballad; the first half of the second line, which is plainly Edgar's own phrase, connecting the words before and behind it; and the final line and a half, which seems to be the vaunt of an Ogre, probably the occupant of the tower.³ As regards *Childe Roland*, the significant parts of the song are the first line and the doggerel at the close. The former may be conceived of as indefinitely suggestive of romantic material. The subject of the sentence recalls, through the famous nephew of Charlemagne, the names of many heroes; the complement is reminiscent of quests

¹ For example, see his letter to Miss Irene Hardy, *Poet Lore*, 24:56.

² Act III, Sc. IV, ll. 171-3.

³ I owe this suggestion to Professor G. L. Kittredge.

months immediately following the publication of Du Camp's book that opinions were expressed not only with the greatest warmth but also with the most careful attention to the fundamental thought.

It is, of course, impossible for us to discuss in any definitive way a theory which caused such a terrific debate some sixty or seventy years ago and which in one form or another is still agitating men's minds. Furthermore, the subject is one of those which inevitably divide mankind into two irreconcilable groups. Just as all men may be classified as Platonists or Aristotelians, so may they be divided into those who interpret material progress idealistically and those who do not. The foregoing pages constitute a demonstration of that fundamental fact. But, if we limit ourselves to a historical point of view, we may draw a few conclusions.

While numerous critics supported Du Camp in his attempted reform, the really great names of French letters were listed against him. The most prominent poets and critics—Sainte-Beuve is, of course, an honorable exception—condemned as one man the proposal to seek in industry and machinery anything worthy of being translated into poetry. The weight of their reputation was too great to be resisted. The conclusion is ineluctable that Maxime Du Camp failed in his attempt to found a new school. Yet his book has a very real influence. We have seen that it met with the approbation of a considerable number of minor critics. The theory found similar favor among certain poets. After further researches we hope to show that many independent characters (among them such really great geniuses as Hugo and Sully Prudhomme) refused to be intimidated by the derision of the *Art pour l'Art* adherents, or by the conservative traditionalism of the critics, and following the lead of Du Camp, wrote poems inspired by industrial scenes. We can only say now that the new ideas satisfied a very evident desire of the reading public and would not be denied. While industry could not hope to conquer the position held by the most prominent literary themes, nevertheless it was to acquire a firm and recognized standing among the manifold subjects open to poetic treatment.

The rôle of Maxime Du Camp in this episode in French literature is an interesting one. What he really did was to exploit

a number of ideas that have been in existence for some time. He assembled them and gave them concrete expression. They had been in a sense seething underground; he brought them to the surface. Mme de Staël's judgment of Rousseau may well be applied to Du Camp: "Il n'a rien découvert; il a tout enflammé." In at least one respect, however, he seems almost original. His insistence on the pictorial qualities of industry, his effort to develop a "plastique" stands out clearly as we look back on all the flood of controversy. Curiously enough, it caused little comment. Yet it is the portion of the preface which was destined to have the best literary posterity. It is this suggestion which makes Maxime Du Camp the literary ancestor of such modern poets as Emile Verhaeren. To read the latter's poem *Les Usines* is a startling experience for one who is familiar with the manifesto of 1855.

One consideration remains. The episode which we have just traced had the result of bringing French poetry into touch with the great movement of the century. Or rather, it may be regarded as one of the many manifestations of that movement. The group of facts and theories that we have studied must, therefore, be placed in its proper setting.

The establishment of the industrial movement with all its attendant consequences gave rise to passionate debate in all branches of society. One of the earliest books to deal with the workers and their position in the new régime was Lamennais' *Le Livre du Peuple* (1837). A long sober study of the workers' conditions was published in 1840 by Villermé.⁶⁰ Michelet contributed to the discussion in *Le Peuple* (1846). In 1848 Cabet issued his *Voyage en Icarie* which ran through several editions in a very short period of time. He, too, treated the much mooted question of mechanical power. Historians, economists, moralists, sociologists, all were led to declare themselves on the problem of the hour. Men of letters could hardly fail in their turn to recognize its existence and to contribute to the discussion. One has only to mention Vigny's characterization of John Bell in *Chatterton* (1835) to realize that the question of industry was not slow in invading literature. Even earlier, in 1833, Désiré Nisard wrote: "A cette heure toute poésie est

⁶⁰ M. Villermé: *Tableaux de l'Etat physique et moral des ouvriers*, 1840.

sur la proue des bateaux à vapeur ou sur les rails des chemins de fer."⁵¹ In 1836, Victor Hugo expressed his admiration for the locomotive: "Je suis réconcilié avec les chemins de fer; c'est décidément très beau . . . Il faut beaucoup d'efforts pour ne pas se figurer que le cheval de fer est une bête véritable. On l'entend souffler au repos, se lamenter au départ, japper en route . . d'énormes raquettes d'étincelles jaillissent à tout moment de ses roues ou de ses pieds; et son haleine s'en va en beaux nuages de fumée qui se déchirent aux arbres de la route . . ." ⁵² Théophile Gautier, generally so contemptuous of the industrial movement, could not conceal an involuntary admiration for the machines he saw at the Exposition Universelle in London, 1851: "Les bobines tournaient comme des danseuses ivres, disparaissant dans l'éblouissement de leur rapidité. Les pistons levaient et laissaient retomber leur moignons avec un han plaintif, comme des bûcherons fendent un tronc de chêne . . . tous ces esclaves métalliques et plutoniens inventés par le génie de l'homme travaillaient à qui mieux mieux sur notre passage."⁵³

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² Act III, Sc. IV, ll. 171-3.

³ I owe this suggestion to Professor G. L. Kittredge.

and adventures; the verb connotes valorous *achievement*. Yet these suggestions, real though they are, are still indefinite; for the adventures of Roland, even in late prose redactions and Italian elaborations, were never those of the Roland in Browning's poem. Still less suggestive of romances are the *sanguinary* words at the end of Edgar's song; if the first line is but vaguely connected with romance, the last lines do not *seem* to be connected with it at all. And yet they cannot be disregarded, for Browning made no distinction between one part of the passage and another in owning his obligation to the lines in *Lear*. The problem lies in establishing a subconscious connection between Edgar's maudlin words and the material from which Browning obviously drew; it consists in discovering some threads of association that will bind them to the great field of romance in so close a way that the poet would have been conscious of the song and not of the romances in a frank statement of his sources.

The problem is hardly solved by supposing popular ballads to have formed the connecting link. The Rev. J. Kirkman long ago suggested⁴ that the probably spurious ballad of *Child Rowland and Burd Ellen* was a source for the poem. This critic obviously attached too much importance to the ballad. It cannot be a main source: Child Rowland seeks no Dark Tower here, for the stronghold of the king of Elfland is beneath a green hill in a pleasant countryside; the lost adventurers number only the hero's two brothers; the guide who directs his steps is a hen-wife, not a cripple. Yet the name of the hero and the "fi, fo, and fum" doggerel which it contains give the ballad some importance as a possible connecting link between Edgar's words and the richer field of romance lying beyond. That Browning knew the ballad, however, can hardly be proved. No definite evidence exists that Jamieson's *Northern Antiquities* was one of the 60,000 books in the elder Browning's library, or that Browning read it and associated it with Shakespeare's words at so early an age that he would have been unconscious of this association in manhood.

A more plausible connecting link between *Lear* and the romances seems to lie in the domain of popular children's tales.

⁴ *Browning Society Papers*, Vol. I, p. 21* ff.

A number of these tales contain the concluding words of Edgar's song. In *Hop-o'-my-Thumb*, *Jack and the Bean-stalk*, and *Jack the Giant-killer* the doggerel occurs: in the two former as a part of the common episode of the man-eating giant who smells the blood of a visitor whom his wife is hiding;⁵ in the latter as the boast of an attacking foe. The "fie-foh-fum" passage is thus associated, not only with Jamieson's ballad, but even more intimately with the nursery tales because of its frequent occurrence. But, as cannot be positively asserted of the ballad, these tales were undoubtedly familiar to Browning,⁶ and familiar from so early a period in his childhood that his mature mind held them far below the surface in a state of fusion. They would thus be grouped around Edgar's song so intimately that he would be hardly conscious of their presence or see any necessity for referring to them in citing the song as the germ of his poem.

That this fusion existed in Browning's mind and that it was of importance in the genesis of *Childe Roland* may be interestingly illustrated from lines in *A Lovers' Quarrel*:

"I would laugh like the valiant Thumb
Facing the castle glum
And the giant's fee-faw-fum."

At first sight, it would seem that Browning was here thinking either of the English tale of *Tom Thumb* or of the French *Petit Poucet*, which translators rendered *Hop-o'-my-Thumb*; but as a matter of fact the former hero has but one adventure, and that an ignominious one, with a giant who swallows him, while the latter Thumb is in no sense a valiant character but trembles with all his force when, as a mere child, he falls into the clutches of an Ogre. Browning, in *A Lovers' Quarrel*, has obviously confused these tales with others in which the main character is a fighting hero. Not the Thumbs, but the Jacks of children's lore seek out giants and laugh with nonchalant courage at their "fee-faw-fums." The title role in both *Jack*

⁵ Lang (in his edition of *Perrault's Popular Tales*, Introduction, p. civ f) cites ultimate sources for this incident.

⁶ In *The Ring and the Book* (Bk. I) there is a reference to *Jack and the Bean-stalk*; in *Packiarotto* to *Hop-o'-my-Thumb*; in one of Browning's letters to Miss Barrett (Vol. II, p. 20) to *Jack the Giant-killer*.

and the *Bean-stalk* and *Jack the Giant-killer* is played by a valiant hero who adventures worthily against a castle and gets the better of its lord.

The connection of the valiant Jack⁷ with the valiant Thumb and of the castle glum with the Dark Tower gains significance in view of a similarity between the incidents of both these tales and those of *Childe Roland*. The hero of *Jack and the Bean-stalk* travels, as does Roland, through a desolate country on his way to the giant's castle. In most chap-book versions⁸ this plain is described as "a desert, quite barren; not a tree, shrub, house, or living creature to be seen"; but in some forms of the tale⁹ this description is expanded to include "scattered fragments of stone; and at unequal distances, small heaps of earth . . . loosely thrown together." Even more interesting, in connection with Browning's poem, is the last episode in *Jack the Giant-killer*.¹⁰ The hero comes at evening to the foot of a mountain, where he encounters a man "with a head as white as snow." This man guides him to a castle, shared by a giant and an enchanter, where a host of lost adventurers, who had previously essayed the conquest of the tower, lie imprisoned. On arriving before the gates, Jack finds a golden trumpet hanging suspended by a silver chain, under which is written:

"Whoever can this trumpet blow,
Shall soon the giant overthrow,
And break the black enchantment straight,
So all shall be in happy state."

Whereupon, "Jack had no sooner read this inscription, but he blew the trumpet."

It will be observed that in these two tales the main outlines of *Childe Roland* are suggested. The cripple at the outset of the journey, the desolate countryside, the mountains, the

⁷ *Valiant* was a stock epithet for Jack the giant-killer. On his belt appeared the words: "This is the valiant Cornishman Who killed the giant Comoran."

⁸ See, for example, that included in *John Cheap The Chapman's Library*, Glasgow, 1878, Vol. III.

⁹ See the version printed in Craik, *The Fairy Book*. Macmillan, London, 1868, p. 132ff.

¹⁰ I quote from the version, the usual one, in *Chap Books and Penny Histories* (*Ancient Literature of the Olden Times*), Third Series.

tower, the lost adventurers, and the slug-horn appear in one or the other. Both are logically connected with the *Lear* passage through the "fie-foh-fum" verse and, as the lines from *A Lovers' Quarrel* show, the Dark Tower. The relation of *Childe Roland* to Edgar's words is rather more comprehensible when the nature of this intermediary material is understood. But it is obvious that the nursery tale material is only intermediary; the larger background for the poem is still to be sought among the romances. The facts seem to indicate that many incidents from the children's tales were grouped in Browning's mind about the *Lear* passage, grouped about it very early in his youth and elaborated with fancies of his own;¹¹ but it is also probable that these tales were in turn connected with more developed chivalric stories until the ever-widening web enclosed a store of material into which his questing mind ranged far during the composition of the poem.¹²

Consequently, Roland's quest differs much from the relatively simple adventuring of the nursery tale heroes. His quest is purposeful; it has been long extended and encompassed by many difficulties; it has been shared, as was that for the Grail and for the lost Amadis,¹³ with a number of other knights. And, most interesting of all, it is an example of that quest which has as its theme the failure of many and the triumph of one.¹⁴ All of Roland's predecessors have fallen by the way or have met their doom at the Tower. Standing before the turret, he is acutely aware of the dark precedent his fellows have established; he remembers

¹¹ In this imaginative elaboration Browning may have been aided by his father, whose skill with his drawing pencil was often employed in the illustration of familiar stories for his own and other children. See Griffin and Minchin, *Life of Robert Browning*, p. 20.

¹² Browning's acquaintanceship with the romances seems to have dated from very early youth and to have been largely confined to that period. See Orr, *Life and Letters of Browning*, Revised ed., 1908, pp. 144, 201, 232, 378f.; Griffin and Minchin, *Life of Browning*, p. 71ff., *Letters of R. B. and E. B. B.*, Vol. I, pp. 40, 523, Vol. II, pp. 388, 555; *Letters of E. B. Browning*, ed. Kenyon, 1897, Vol. I, pp. 420, 442.

¹³ Pt. II, cc. 15, 17.

¹⁴ For example, see *Don Belianis of Greece*, London, 1703, Pt. III, c. 38: "This great Adventure cannot finish'd be, Unless by those to whom the Fates decree."

"How such a one was strong, and such was bold,
And such was fortunate, yet each of old
Lost, lost! one moment knelled the woe of years."

Yet, although the poem ends with no more than the glorious summoning of resolution, it must be imagined that Roland was predestined to victory, as the others were to defeat.

Not only the quest as a whole, but the separate episodes in Roland's journey to the Tower were influenced by common descriptions in the romances. The cripple at the outset of Roland's path is the familiar guide whom errant knights consulted at cross-roads, often an

"—old old man, with beard as white as snow,
That on his staffe his feeble steps did frame—"

such as he from whom Prince Arthur, in the *Faerie Queene*,¹⁵ asks information concerning the prisoners of Orgoglio. Not always was information from such a source to be trusted, for the guides were sometimes rogues and often magicians.¹⁶ Typical is Spenser's Archimago, that "conning architect of cancred guile." He was

"An aged Sire, in long blake weedes yclad,
His feete all bare, his beard all hoarie gray,—"¹⁷

But his appearance belied his nature,

"For all he did was to deceive good knights,
And draw them from pursuit of praise and fame."¹⁸

Such sources explain why Childe Roland, guided by a strange old man with a malicious eye, should have been somewhat distrustful of the information he received.¹⁹

¹⁵ Bk. I, c. VIII, s. 30.

¹⁶ A "wicked mage" appears in *Easter-Day*, XIV, and one of the kinder sort in *James Lee's Wife*, V.

¹⁷ Bk. I, c. I, s. 29.

¹⁸ Bk. II, c. I, s. 23.

¹⁹ The third stanza of *Childe Roland*, which seems to indicate that the whereabouts of the Tower was common knowledge, has puzzled some commentators. These are, of course, not Roland's words, but the cripple's, which Roland quotes indirectly and ironically. Such ellipsis is common in Browning. Another writer might have introduced, "if I am to believe the cripple," in parentheses at the end of the sentence.

Connected with the desolate country, around the path to the Tower, are many descriptions in the romances. The desolation of such landscapes is sometimes that of an uninhabited wilderness; sometimes that of a district laid waste by war. The fell cirque beyond the river in *Childe Roland* recalls the frightful battlefield of Roncevaux, with which the name of Roland has a direct connection. Yet a supernatural tinge to Browning's description suggests more definitely those fields and moors in the romances which had fallen under some awesome spell of enchantment, as had the dragon-swamp of Siegfried and the mere of Grendel. The haunts of the sage Friston, in *Don Belianis of Greece*,²⁰ are typical of many such localities in romances of the kind. A damsel held there by enchantment describes it: "—it may rightly be termed the Desert of Death; for all the Fields are blasted, and continual Mildews burn each plant, the Trees are bare, and on their naked tops, naught but Owls sit perching and Ravens building, no kindly Sunbeams shed their cheering Lustre, but all as melancholy as the Gloome of Death: here Ghosts do nightly Roam, and the infernal Spirits that obey the great Magitian."

The despair which pulls at Roland's heart is likewise a romantic despair out of which great resolution could come when the hero faced a crisis. Knowledge of chivalrous traditions, thoughts of personal glory, and faith in a God who rejoiced in good sword-play braced the nerves of errant knights before the final combat. Roland's depression and sudden exaltation are fairly typical. If, however, he is to be regarded as a knight of chivalric story, the presence of the lost adventurers ranged along the hillsides may be thought of as giving him an additional stimulus. An audience in the galleries above the lists, or in castle windows above the scenes of sterner conflicts, played fully as important a part in chivalric enterprises as in modern athletics.

The slug-horn²¹ at the close of *Childe Roland* is another common romantic property. Some were used to sound a

²⁰ As above, Pt. II, c. 11.

²¹ The "slug-horn" is merely a horn. Skeat and Murray note that Browning, following Chatterton, erred in his use of the word. It is "really Md. Sc. *slugorne*, a corruption of *slogon*," and means "a war-cry."

challenge to a foe, like that which Bradamante, in the *Orlando Furioso*,²³ sounds to call the enchanter from his impregnable tower to the plain below. For such a purpose, supposing an enemy within the Tower, Roland may have wound his horn. On the other hand, we may imagine the slug-horn having supernatural qualities.²⁴ A horn of this kind is interestingly described in the *Faerie Queene*:²⁵

"Was never wight that heard that shrilling sownd,
But trembling feare did feel in every vaine:
Three miles it might be easy heard arownd,
And Ecchoes three aunswer'd it selfe againe:
No false enchauntment, nor deceitfull traine,
Might once abide the terror of that blast,
But presently was void and wholly vaine:
No gate so strong, no looke so firm and fast,
But with that percing noise flew open quite, or brast."

It is impossible to decide definitely just what type of horn Browning had in mind. The horns of faerie range in their materials from bone to gold; in their location, from the baldric of the hero to an especially constructed pillar before castles and towers; in their qualities, from the simple emission of sound to the razing of walls and the dispersion of enchantments. It is likewise impossible to know what Browning imagined as the sequel to Roland's blast, although it will always be fascinating to speculate.

These scattered resemblances of the poem to the general field of chivalric romance are enough to suggest how wide-flung was the web of associations in Browning's mind, connected probably by means of the nursery tales to the lines in *Lear*. As in the case of the children's tales, it seems true that the romantic material existed in the background of Browning's consciousness as a mass rather than in separate packets each labelled with

²³ C. IV, ss. 15, 16.

²⁴ For typical examples see *Orlando Furioso*, c. XXX, s. 44; *Faerie Queene*, bk. V, c. VII, s. 27; *Morte d'Arthur* (Everyman ed.), Vol. I, p. 203; *Amadis of Gaul*, bk. I, c. 42; *L'Admirable Historie du Chevalier du Soleil*, Vol. I, c. 44; *Don Belianis of Greece*, Pt. II, c. 12. Note also the horns of Huon, Roland, Astolpho, and Helias (*The Knight of the Swanne*).

²⁵ Bk. I, c. VIII, s. 4. The quotations from the *Faerie Queene* may be taken as representative of the romances from which Spenser drew.

an author's name. Two books, however, are perhaps more closely related to *Childe Roland* than any so far mentioned.*

The first is the *Renowned History of the Seven Champions of Christendom*, "written or compiled, in the reign of James the first, by one Richard Johnson."²⁶ To mention all the instances of enchanted towers, weird landscapes, aged guides, magic horns, and lost adventurers which occur in this extraordinary volume would be more than tiresome. Two episodes are, however, especially noteworthy. One of these describes St. George coming to the country of the Amazons and finding it desolate. The queen thus accounts for its lamentable condition: "Osmond, a necromancer, wrought the destruction of this my realm and kingdom; for by his magic arts and damned charms, he raised from the earth a mighty tower, the mortar whereof he mingled with virgin's blood, wherein are such enchantments wrought, that the light of the sun and the brightness of the skies are quenched, and the earth blasted with a terrible vapour and black mist that ascended from the tower, whereby a general darkness overspread our land, the compass of twenty-four leagues, so this country is clean wasted and destroyed."²⁷ When St. George vows to overcome this enchantment, the queen demurs: "Most dangerous is the adventure, from whence as yet did never knight return, but if

* Yet it must be kept in mind that both of these romances, like the *Faerie Queene*, are synthetic. It is entirely possible that Browning drew not from them, but from their sources. What makes these two books especially significant is that they bring together many common details from the general field of romance and arrange them in an order resembling that we find in *Childe Roland*, and that their phraseology suggests Browning's in several instances. It must be added that one of the romances that Johnson used in compiling the *Seven Champions* was *Arthur of Lytle Brytayne*, known to English readers in Lord Berner's translation. Here occur (c. LVIII) the dark river, the monstrous birds, and the prevailing gloom, just as Johnson describes them in the first passage I cite from the *Seven Champions*; the object of the hero's quest, moreover, is here called 'the Tenebrous, or Darke Tower' (c. LV). In other respects Johnson's account of the adventure is closer than Lord Berner's to Browning's poem.

* Quoted from the preface to the 1824 edition. There were many black-letter editions, and one good London edition of 1755, besides a host of chap-book abridgements which retain the main episodes. Coleridge, it will be remembered, was fond of acting out the incidents of this romance when a child.

* This passage suggests that some association may have existed in Browning's mind between the Tower and the darkness, as well as the "penury, inertness and grimace," about it.

you be so resolute and noble-minded as to attempt the enterprise, then know that this tower lieth westward from hence about thirteen miles."²⁸ Through the darkness of the enchanted valley St. George rides the next day; he crosses a river as black as pitch, about his head fly monstrous birds, and in this dangerous manner he rides on, until he comes to the gates of the tower.²⁹ From the other episode in the *Seven Champions*, two sentences will suggest the more important connections with *Childe Roland*. "They proceeded toward the island where the knight of the Black Castle had his residence, guided only by the direction of the old man." "The champions rode to the castle where they espied a pillar of beautiful jasper stone, at which pillar hung a very costly silver trumpet, with certain letters carved about the same, which contained these words following:

'If any dare attempt this place to see,
By sounding this, the gate shall opened be . . . '

which when St. George beheld, without any more tarrying, he set the silver trumpet to his mouth."

The second book is *Palmerin of England*, which, with *Amadis of Gaul*, has been the best known of the Spanish romances in England. The events of the entire first volume are centered around a great quest called the adventure of Great Britain. The son of the king of England had been entrapped by a giant and his unlovely aunt, and by them confined in a remote tower. When his absence had become alarming, first a few and then well nigh all the knights of Christendom departed in search of him, so many, in fact, that the navies of the world had to be abandoned, and the marches left without defense. "For when the knights . . . were happened unto the unfortunate forest of Great Britain, there were very few escaped, but for the most part were lost in that unfortunate search."³⁰ At length it be-

²⁸ That Roland travelled westward and a considerable distance Browning implies rather than distinctly states. The resemblance may easily be a coincidence.

²⁹ Compare lines near the end of *Pauline*:—"I seem, dying, as one going in the dark To fight a giant."—and in *Strafford*, Act. II, Sc. 2: "I, soon to rush Alone upon a giant in the dark."—and: "—huge in the dark There's—Pym to face!"—and: "You need not turn a page of the romance To learn the Dreadful Giant's fate."

³⁰ I use Southey's translation, London, 1807.

came known, by means of a letter written by the Lady of the Lake to the Emperor of Greece, that the final victory was reserved for one man. "Many have and shall attempt, but he alone is ordained to finish this exploit." This man was Palmerin. He forthwith departed, going "strait on where it was said all adventurers were lost." At length, after some years, he came near the place. "Can you tell," he asked of a knight, "which way the fortress lies where all adventurers find their end?"³¹ and was answered, "I know not, and believe nobody knows, but as it should seem, it cannot be far hence." After he had left the knight, "he had not travelled far along the valley, when, because it was night, and he knew not well which way to take, he alighted, sitting down at the foot of a tree, where he determined to sleep until morning; but this he could not do, such was the grief he felt for his brother, with sundry other cogitations that troubled his mind"³² . . . These troublous thoughts made him the more desirous to be at the castle, where he would prove his fortune, and make an end of the adventure or of himself, as so many others had done."³³ At length he entered the valley of Perdition, so called because of the lost adventurers, and saw ahead of him a tower, which "his forebodings told him was the fortress of the giant."³⁴ When the foe came out for the combat, Palmerin, "seeing the battlement and the windows of the fortress full of his friends, and remembering that they were in captivity, and the confidence which they placed in him,"³⁵ fought with such hardiness and hardihood, that by dint of blows he laid the giant at his feet."

Memories of such books, connected by radiating lines of association to the lines in *Lear*, were probably the chief store from which *Childe Roland* was evolved. But these threads extended also into memories of other sorts, coming not so much from the printed page as from English and Italian landscapes, boyhood rambles in the fields about Camberwell, evening strolls in Asolo, and all Browning's varied experience with the actual world. Two details from this wider background Browning himself recognized; he said that the horse came from

³¹ Roland may be imagined phrasing his question to the cripple in this way.

³² Compare Roland's despair and his memories of Giles and Cuthbert.

³³ Compare *Childe Roland*, ss. 3-7 ³⁴ Compare s. 30. ³⁵ Compare ss. 32-34

one in Casa Guidi tapestry, and the squat turret from a tower in the Carrara mountains. The landscape in the poem suggests that these details are but two out of a number. The mood of the poem was undoubtedly a magnet that attracted many such memories; Roland's profound depression would suggest to Browning a variety of experiences which were clothed in his recollection with a similar atmosphere. Cockles, spurge, burrs, thistles, docks, trampled fields, torture engines, blotches, patches like boils, birds of Apollyon, and ugly heights and and heaps, impressions from early and late in his experience, were fitted by their connotations to form the background for Roland's adventure. There was a surging of images in his brain, on the crest of which were carried blind horses, squat towers, hoary cripples, foaming streams, all bound together by a unified aura of feeling.

Not only was the mood of the poem a further associative link to outlying provinces of experience, but also the theme. The theme of *Childe Roland* is a familiar one to readers of Browning; the poem expounds the philosophy of his early manhood, his interest in the apparent failure of our mundane life, and its possibilities for future triumph. In *Childe Roland* chivalric romance illustrates the same conception that in other poems is illustrated by the musings of Abt Vogler or the researches of a Renaissance grammarian. *Childe Roland*, therefore, naturally suggested to Browning the other poems that shared its theme, and it would not be strange to find him drawing unconsciously from these other poems in dealing with a situation that formed with them so fundamental a parallel.³⁶ That such was the case may be best illustrated from *Paracelsus*, a poem with which *Childe Roland* has a special kinship that extends not only to incident, but also to imagery and phraseology. It would seem that Browning, imagining the crisis of his knight's career,

³⁶ For example: the references to Giles and Cuthbert in *Childe Roland* suggest Browning's familiar attitude toward lost friends (see *Strafford*, Act I, *The Italian in England*, and *The Lost Leader*); the sunset that closes *Childe Roland* appears also at the end of *Sordello*, *Pippa Passes*, and the second book of *Paracelsus*; the corpse which Roland expects to find in the river has a parallel in *Sordello*, bk. IV; "frothy spume" is mentioned at the end of *Christmas-Eve*, and a "new tract of death, calcined to ashes" in *Easter-Day*. The corpse and the river are, by the way, probably connected with Wordsworth's *Peter Bell*.

recalled unconsciously what he had written about similar situations in the earlier poem. The lost adventurers who range themselves on the hillside to see how Roland meets his crucial test are spoken of in terms that suggest not only the lost poets who beckon to Aprile, but the sages who group themselves about the death-bed of Paracelsus. And also, when Browning imagined the cripple at the outset of Roland's journey, he gave him the expression and the impulses of Paracelsus' "leering dotards" who, he imagines, seek to mislead him with their lies. In a similar manner the description of the sterile and repugnant country, through which led the path to the Tower, seems influenced by certain metaphors in *Paracelsus*, those that mirror forth the barrenness of Paracelsus' life when subjugated to one all-absorbing aim, and those that exhibit his heart "in slow despondency's eternal sigh."³⁷

Each detail of the poem, consequently, is incredibly rich. Every character and incident is a composite from numberless sources. From the figure of the cripple (in whose picture can be seen vaguely blended the features of Italian beggars, palmers, hermits, guides, old knights, enchanters, and the malicious faces about Paracelsus' death bed) to the slug-horn at the close of the poem, every stanza drains wide areas of experience. The present analysis has undoubtedly only touched upon the material involved.

Yet, after future commentators have carried the study of Browning's sources farther, the poem will still be somewhat a mystery, and will remain so until the workings of the human mind are more clear than at present. For the poem seems the product of no ordinary process of composition. It is hard to imagine Browning seated at his desk in the full light of a winter's day, amid the commonplace surroundings of an apartment in Paris, deliberately evolving *Childe Roland* out of the *Lear* passage. Several considerations practically force one to the conclusion that Browning wrote *Childe Roland* in a manner fundamentally unlike that in which he wrote his other poems.

The difference between *Childe Roland* and the rest of Browning has caught the attention of most commentators.³⁸ From

³⁷ Such facts imply that the desolate country, as well as the blast from Roland's horn, may be regarded as indefinitely symbolic.

³⁸ For example, see Symons, *Introduction to the Study of Robert Browning*, 1 86, p. 103.

such studies as *Cristina* and *Any Wife to Any Husband*, in which the reader overhears the intimate thought revelations of a character during a crisis in his life, *Childe Roland* differs by virtue of its astonishing concreteness, its pictorial quality. He who reads *James Lee's Wife* must guess at the action which lies behind the self-communing of the speaker; in reading *Childe Roland* he sees the cripple standing cut sharply against the sunset, and feels the spray thrown up by the petulant little river moist in his face. Nor are these pictures connected, as in *How We Carried the Good News* or *The Ring and the Book*, by any consecutive scheme of narration. The highway was there—and then, it is gone. It was grey plain all around, and suddenly there is a horse. Nothing was in sight or hearing—then all at once hills crowd down, the Dark Tower in their midst, and the lost adventurers ranged along, a living frame for one more picture. Some scenes are lighted by a sunset, others are dark, and at the close the sun shines again. The poem is made up of separate tableaux, each with a new setting, a new effect of light and shade, connected with other scenes only by the figure of the main character and by a continuity of mood and theme. This mood, also, is different from the mood of other poems. The atmosphere is highly charged; awe underlies Roland's despair, and a sense of supernatural opposition tightens his nerves as he faces the crisis. A phantom emotion, such as that which shrouds remembered dreams, invests the indefinite outlines of the Tower with vague apprehensions of horror. No other poem of Browning's communicates an effect of the kind.

From Browning's other poems, this poem is differentiated also by the nature of the circumstances under which it was written. For *Childe Roland* Browning made no such preparations as for most of his literary work. He was far from his library at the time. A snatch of song was its inspiration, instead of a connected story, a prolonged study of documents, or a theme, as in the typical cases of *Gold Hair*, *Sordello*, and *Mr. Sludge the Medium*. Although his composition of poetry was usually slow and deliberate, he wrote *Childe Roland* in one day, evidently in the full heat of powerful inspiration. And on the day before, he wrote *Women and Roses*, the only poem that remotely

resembles *Childe Roland*, and that poem was the record of a vivid dream.

For these and other reasons it seems best to associate *Childe Roland* with such a poem as *Kubla Khan*. Browning himself called *Childe Roland* a "fantasy," a term which psychologists would use to designate Coleridge's vision. While this coincidence is hardly important, still the two poems, and the circumstances that surrounded their composition, are interestingly similar. Both are composed of pictures, individually vivid, mutually separated, and surcharged with a mysterious dream atmosphere. Both took their origin in a fragment of reading which the poems exceed in richness of detail and in far-flung associations with other reading and experience.³⁹ Both were quickly composed and regarded by their authors as changing children for whose origin they could scarcely account. Coleridge, it is true, recorded the circumstances of his vision with true romantic frankness; Browning, on the other hand, referred but vaguely to a vision origin for his poem.⁴⁰ This fact would indicate that not an anodyne, nor hypnosis, nor any prolonged period of concentration such as produces the hallucinations of mystics and ascetics, was the incentive force for Browning's vision, but rather that the experience was entirely normal, a dream of deep sleep or a hypnagogic illusion, such as sometimes comes, either before or immediately after sleep, to all men whose imaginations are unusually active. That many works of literature and art have been so inspired is a familiar fact. From Caedmon through Poe, Stevenson, and Swinburne, English authors have frequently owned that they saw the action and setting for their poems and tales before writing them. That Browning made no such statement regarding the experience behind *Childe Roland* may have importance only as a further instance of his reticence in all matters relating to his poems.⁴¹

³⁹ The richness of the background in *Kubla Khan* will be more apparent when Dr. J. L. Lowes' studies in Coleridge are published.

⁴⁰ When he called it a "fantasy," he undoubtedly intended, in his usual manner, that the word should imply a great deal; but just what he meant it to imply we cannot be sure.

⁴¹ It may be that Browning, sharing somewhat in a Victorian reaction to the Romantic Movement, was actually ashamed to confess a vision origin for his poem.

The best justification for thus connecting *Childe Roland* with the operations of the dream mind⁴² lies in the number of perplexing problems it explains. Not only is the unusual nature of the poem and its composition less puzzling when Browning is thought of as having recorded a vivid mental experience seemingly enacted as a pageant outside his mind, but also the relation of the poem to its sources is more clear. How Browning, in any conscious process of composition, could have drawn upon so vast a store of material without having been aware of his obligations to it, is practically impossible to comprehend. But if the associative process were subliminal, if the details "rose before his mind as *things*" without conscious effort and without awareness of their source, if the pictures of the poem came spontaneously from forgotten material in his subconsciousness, then it is entirely possible to credit his statement regarding the relation of the poem to the *Lear* passage, and at the same time to recognize that his reading and his experiences were drawn upon widely and freely. His subconscious mind not only could have access to a wider and deeper mental store than could his mind in working hours, but he would have no knowledge of its industry. Upon a return to normal consciousness he would realize only, as did Coleridge under similar circumstances, that the vision was well worth recording and that it was intimately connected with the lines he had been reading or pondering upon immediately before. The lines thus assumed in Browning's mind an unusual importance: from them came the title and the closing line; he referred to them in the initial note and cited them always as his entire inspiration. That these lines were the incentive factor for a vivid vision, a vision which Browning recorded, with more or less exactness and with much or little change, in the finished poem, seems to be the best explanation now possible for the peculiarities of *Childe Roland*.

HAROLD GOLDER

⁴² The psychological background of this paper is of a very simple and fundamental sort, representing the consensus of modern opinion rather than any particular hypothesis. See, for example, such conservative texts as: Walsh, W. S., *The Psychology of Dreams*, N. Y. 1920, esp. pp. 17, 48, 55; Jastrow, J., *The Subconscious*, Houghton Mifflin, 1906, esp. pp. 138, 179, 188, 223f.; Long, C. E., *Collected Papers on the Psychology of Phantasy*, esp. pp. 20-24; Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Dreams*, Unwin, London, 1921, esp. pp. 20, 96, 121, 122, 168.

XLVI. A METHOD TOWARD THE STUDY OF DIPODIC VERSE.

The existence of dipodic structure in English verse has been recognised by metrists only within a comparatively recent period of time.¹ There have undoubtedly been two principal reasons for this failure of theory to take into account a very old and very deep-seated characteristic of English verse. Dipodic structure was, on the one hand, until the last forty years confined almost entirely to popular verse, while its sporadic occurrences in literary poetry were usually of such half-hearted nature as easily to escape the attention of the formal metrist. On the other hand, the study of dipodic verse has been handicapped by the lack of an objective method which could translate unsupported subjective feeling into scientific metrical proof. An attempt toward the establishment of such a method for the simplest form of dipodic verse is the object of this study.

Before going farther we shall do well to establish a firmer basis of discussion by some explanation of terms. From its nature as an introductory study the present treatment confines itself to one form, which may be safely called the simplest form of dipodic verse. We may accordingly mark out the field by syllabic standards thus escaping the technical difficulties which arise with the attempt to reach a final basis for any English metrical form. In the present connection it is inexpedient and

¹ Bibliographical references to the subject of dipodic verse are surprisingly few, and the treatments in most cases are sketchy. The writers of the major works on English metrics (Guest, Schipper, Kaluza, Saintsbury) have neglected the form; Saintsbury just admits its possibility (see *History of English Prosody*, Vol. III, p. 81 note, p. 85, pp. 135ff). The first recognition of dipodic structure is, I believe, in Lanier's *Science of English Verse* (1880), pp. 126-129, 225-232. Later discussions may be found in Omond's *Study of Metre* (1903), pp. 99-106, and Andrew's *Writing and Reading of Verse* (1918), p. 23ff, p. 34. The dipodic principle is recognised throughout Verrier's *Metricque Anglaise* (1909), see in particular Vol. II, pp. 158-173. *Modern Metrical Technique* (1922) by the present writer contains a chapter (pp. 95-113) on dipodic verse; the method here used is a development of the one there briefly suggested.

unnecessary to take any position upon the various problems of stress, pitch, and time which would arise in undertaking a thoroughly satisfactory definition of dipodic structure. We can, however, by a statement of syllabic arrangement explain well enough the meaning of "dipodic" as here considered, and shall accordingly for present purposes confine ourselves to this position. Let it be understood of course that such a proceeding does not imply that this highly external characteristic of syllabic arrangement represents anything more than a convenient aid in classification.

For the present then, the simplest form of dipodic structure may hypothetically be said to occur as a result of verse arranged in the following prevailing sequence of syllables—(1) a syllable of marked (primary) stress,² (2) a syllable of very light stress (i.e. what we call commonly an unstressed or unaccented syllable), (3) a syllable of stress less than the first and greater than the second syllable (secondary stress), (4) a syllable of the same nature as the second. The structure depends of course upon the sequence, not upon its commencement at any particular point; a passage of dipodic verse may thus, theoretically at least,³ begin or end at any one of the four positions. By notation the structure may be represented

|— — —

where the primarily stressed syllable is shown by the macron following the bar, the secondarily stressed by the second macron, and the two unstressed syllables by the breves. Dipodic structure occurs most frequently in a line of four dipods; there is usually a single unstressed syllable as an anacrusis, while as a result of the requirements of rhyme the line ends with the fourth syllable of primary stress:

And garrisoned with Amazons invincible in war.

(Kipling—*The Song of Seven Cities*)

Only lines of this general type will be considered in the present discussion.

² Let stress here be defined so as to be suitable to each one's conception. However much we may differ as to what constitutes stress I do not believe that we shall quarrel much as to which syllables carry this stress, and so the question is of no importance in this connection.

³ It would rarely begin upon the second syllable, and perhaps never end upon the fourth.

With the structure of dipodic verse thus theoretically postulated, the problem in its study is to arrive at an objective method for the demonstration of the strength of this tendency toward the typical syllabic arrangement. Such a method must be prepared for attacks upon the reality of dipodic structure from two sides. On the one hand the dipod may be said merely to represent an occasional pattern of ordinary dissyllabic verse without really metrical significance, i.e. that

\cup | — \cup — \cup | — \cup — \cup | — \cup — \cup | —

is really the common septenarius.⁴

$\cup | - \cup | - \overset{1}{\cup} | - \cup | - \cup | - \cup | - \cup | -$

This postulates practical identity of the first and third syllables. On the other hand the third syllable may be identified with the second and fourth and the structure be called pænic:

ۛ|—ۛۛۛ|—ۛۛۛ|—ۛۛۛ|—

Obviously the two objections are mutually exclusive, and their very existence would point toward a common ground on which they might meet.

The problem in the study of our presupposed dipodic verse is then to arrive at an objective method for demonstration of its real qualities whatever they may be. To this end I have made use of an analysis by syllables according to the proportion in which various parts of speech occur in the four different positions. The poem must first be divided hypothetically into dipods; in the type of line at present under discussion this scarcely ever offers any difficulties or any appreciable chance for subjective differences. Second, the syllables in each position (the second and fourth may be considered together) must be counted according to the ten classes described below. Third, for each position the proportions (percentages) in each class to the whole number of syllables must be calculated. These percentages when properly compared and interpreted will make possible an almost entirely objective judgment of the nature of the verse.

The principle of the division of syllables into groups has been determined by the general relative degree of stress which the

⁴ I here place the bar before instead of after the stressed syllable. I believe this has advantages over the opposite method, but it does not inherently affect the present discussion and anyone so wishing may mark to suit himself.

various parts of speech tend to bear. Thus nouns obviously carry on the average more stress than articles, and descriptive adjectives than prepositions. For the study of dipodic verse I have found the following classes satisfactory: (1) Articles. (2) Unaccented syllables of dis- or polysyllabic words. By this is meant the syllable directly following or preceding a syllable of primary or secondary word accent, as, *alligator*, *annexation*. (3) Secondarily accented syllables of polysyllabic words, as, *alligator*, *annexation*. This case is frequently recognised by the dictionaries, but in counting I have assumed polysyllables to possess regularly this secondary accent. The general tendency of alternation of accented and unaccented syllables is, I believe, well enough recognised by English metrists to be applied without apology.⁶ Classes #2 and #3 do not depend upon parts of speech. In unaccented syllables this would of course make no difference while secondary accents would occur only in nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs which differ little in their general level of stress. (4) Prepositions and conjunctions, or their accented syllable if dissyllabic. These two may be classed together since their close relationship results in practical identity as regards stress. (5) Copulas and auxiliary verbs. When, however, the main verb is left unexpressed, auxiliaries are better counted as main verbs. (6) Verbs (i.e. their accented syllable if not monosyllabic)⁶ including all unmodified participles. (7) Pronouns and demonstrative adjectives. Since this is a neutral class (see below) ejaculations can be counted here; they are of too rare occurrence to demand separate classification while their wide range of stress renders them of no distinguishing value. (8) Adverbs. (9) Descriptive adjectives. (10) Nouns, and adjectives used as substantives.

Not to proceed farther with a discussion of method in the abstract, let us apply this apparatus of counting to a particular piece of verse. I have selected for this purpose Kipling's *Mandalay*.⁷ As an example of the hypothetical division into

⁶ See e.g. P. F. Baum: *The Principles of English Versification* (Cambridge, Harv. Univ. Press., 1922.) Page 37 f. Note also that the vowel in the secondarily stressed syllable does not sink into the neutral vowel as does that of the unstressed syllable.

⁶ This proviso applies of course to adverbs, adjectives and nouns also.

⁷ Only the four "verse" lines of each stanza have been considered. The refrain consists so largely of repetition as to be misleading for statistical pur-

dipods the first two lines may be reprinted. The syllable of primary stress (four to a line) immediately follows the upright line. The syllable of secondary stress (three or four to the line) is italicized. The unstressed syllables constitute the remainder.

'Er | petticoat was | yaller *an'* 'er | little *cap* was | green,
An' 'er | name was *Supi-* | yaw-lat—*jes'* the | same as *Thee*-baw's | Queen.

The results are as follows:

Tables for *Mandalay*

	2nd and 4th positions (unstressed)		3rd position (sec. stress)		1st position (primary stress)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
# 1 (articles)	30	18	0	0	0	0
# 2 (unacc.)	77	47	0	0	0	0
# 3 (sec. acc.)	0	0	7	8	1	1
# 4 (prep., etc.)	12	7	40	44	1	1
# 5 (aux. verbs)	12	7	0	0	4	4
# 6 (verbs)	0	0	14	15	19	20
# 7 (pron., etc.)	32	20	4	4	3	3
# 8 (adverbs)	1	1	7	8	10	11
# 9 (adjectives)	0	0	10	11	15	16
#10 (nouns)	0	0	9	10	42	44
	164	100%	91	100%	95	100%

From inspection of this table it becomes obvious that the verse in question cannot be adequately considered under either of the categories suggested above. On the one hand it cannot be the ordinary septenarius since it displays so striking a tendency to differentiate between syllables of primary and

poses, although the same general principles would apply. The dialect of the poem offers little difficulty. Since *Mandalay* is always used in the same way, I have counted it as being accented *Māndaláy*. Hyphenated words have been counted as simple words accented on the proper syllable of the first component, e.g. *palm-trees* and *temple-bells*. The meaningless (at least in English) *Kulla-lo-lo* has not been counted. The lines considered are of the type dipodic line represented above except that most of them open with two syllables before the first primary stress, i.e.,

For the temple-bells are callin' an' it's there that I would be.
 The first of these opening syllables has been counted as of secondary stress, the second as unaccented.

secondary stress. (Note differences in count of classes #3, #4, and #10.) The position of primary stress is filled almost entirely (91%) by the most heavily stressed parts of speech—verbs, adverbs, descriptive adjectives, and nouns. In the secondary position this proportion is much less (44%) while the disparity in the case of nouns is most marked (44% to 10%—i.e. 82% of all the nouns occur in this position of primary stress.) In contrast the position of primary stress is filled only once by a secondarily accented syllable (the doubtful one of *páving-stónes*), and only once by a preposition or conjunction (the dissyllabic *be'ind*), while the secondary position admits 8% of the former and 44% of the latter. On the other hand the verse of *Mandalay* cannot be considered pæanic in type since the class of syllables of secondary stress is sharply distinguished from the so-called unstressed syllables. Comparing the first and second pairs of columns we notice striking differences almost everywhere. To some of these no importance need be attached. In #2 and #3, for example, the distinction has largely been established by definition, while the failure of #5 in the secondary position is merely a coincidence for this particular poem (n.b. its occurrence in the primary position). Nevertheless if the structure of the verse were really pæanic there would be no reason why articles should not occur equally in any of the unstressed positions. And there is certainly significance in the fact that among all the unstressed syllables there is only one adverb, and no verbs, adjectives, or nouns at all, while these parts of speech frequently appear in the secondary position.

To demonstrate that these results are not a part of all English verse let us apply the same method to a poem in septenaries not possessing the marked dipodic swing of *Mandalay*. Pope's *Universal Prayer* will serve. Disregarding the conventional typography we may print the line, and divide it as before.⁸

What | Blessings *thy* free | Bounty *gives*, Let | me not *cast a* | way;
For | God is *Pay'd* when | Man *receives*, T' en | joy is *to o* | bey.

⁸ A few of the lines begin with what the eighteenth century termed an opening "trochee," e.g.

Father of all, in ev'ry age

In these cases I have counted the first syllable as the primary stress, the second syllable as the unstressed syllable, and have disregarded the third syllable. There are not enough such cases as appreciably to affect the count either way.

The results of the counting are:

	Tables for <i>Universal Prayer</i>					
	2d and 4th		3d		1st	
	positions		position		position	
	(unstressed)		(sec. stress)		(primary stress)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
# 1 (articles)	5	3	0	0	0	0
# 2 (unacc.)	57	32	0	0	0	0
# 3 (sec. acc.)	0	0	1	1	2	2
# 4 (prep., etc.)	51	29	5	7	4	4
# 5 (aux. verbs)	12	7	2	3	3	3
# 6 (verbs)	3	2	15	20	29	28
# 7 (pron., etc.)	36	20	4	5	15	14
# 8 (adverbs)	5	3	6	8	9	9
# 9 (adjectives)	6	3	6	8	13	12
#10 (nouns)	2	1	36	48	29	28
	177	100%	75	100%	104	100%

The results here show a well marked distinction of the syllables of first and third position from the others, but no such distinction preserved between the first and third positions themselves. In other words the *Universal Prayer* is not dipodic but depends merely upon a simple foot of two syllables and general alternation of strong and weak stress.

Such is in general the method by which, I believe, dipodic verse may be most readily demonstrated and studied. For and against it various criticisms may be voiced, and these may well be considered at once. In the first place let us grant that the method is slow and laborious, but since it deals with one of the subtler structures of verse this cannot well be avoided. Another characteristic of the method, at the same time a fault and its greatest virtue, is to be found in its entirely mechanical nature. Any rule of thumb fails of course to express fully the nature of English verse. Everyone realizes that the infinite modulations of our phrase structure as expressed by the speaking voice cannot be translated into terms of mere parts of speech. At times the expression of some special meaning calls for an emphasis upon an article or preposition more marked than upon an adjacent noun or verb.⁹ But in spite of such exceptions the

⁹ Examples are of course the experience of every-day conversation. Even an article may be stressed above its noun:—

general principle employed is, I believe, sound. It does not express the whole truth, but it does express a significant part of the truth.

In another respect the mechanical nature of this approach to the study of verse structure represents the greatest factor in its favor. Its mechanism renders it almost wholly objective. Anyone who has studied verse structure will realize the need for, and at the same time the difficulty of obtaining, an objective approach. It is easy to convince oneself of the particular rhythm of some piece of verse, but an entirely different matter to convince anyone else that the rhythm is that and can be nothing else. In the method developed here, the subjective element is at a minimum. There can of course be possible disputes as to the syllables upon which the stress falls or even as to the distinction of the parts of speech, but these are obviously minor matters. I do not believe that the maximum personal divergence would exceed 10%.¹⁰

Another striking advantage of the present method of study is that it permits a mathematical comparison of the relative dipodic tendencies of different poems. In this connection a word of caution is necessary. Presumably a poem if dipodic at all is entirely dipodic, that is, if the reader feels the dipodic rhythm he will read the whole poem in that manner. This psychological establishment of a metrical "tune" is constantly a factor in

"What window do you mean"?

"I mean *the* window; there is only one!"

Ordinarily prepositions are less marked than either verbs or pronouns, but in Ottima's speech in *Pippa Passes* the prepositions stand out as the two most important words in the line:

Speak to me—not of me!

The usual speaking of the sentence

He gave her a gay gold ring

would subordinate both pronouns to the verb, but the contrast of two lines in the ballad of *Hind Horn* produces just the opposite result:

He gave her a gay gold ring

But she gave him a far better thing.

(Child-I)

These are, however, only exceptions to the general tendency.

¹⁰ In more complex forms of dipodic verse there is more chance for variance in personal interpretation, but this can be considered in its own place.

metrics. Nevertheless it is possible to express mathematically the actual strength of the tendency toward dipodic structure as shown by the language itself. Some poems (such as *Mandalay*) are overwhelmingly dipodic in their tendency. Others (such as the *Universal Prayer*) are with equal certainty not dipodic. On the other hand many poems occupy an intermediate and sometimes doubtful position. In these a quantitative method of study is useful. Such poems sometimes represent cases in which the versifier lacked metrical skill, or was even approaching the dipodic rhythm unconsciously. Another case is that of song where the structure primarily depends upon the music, and is only partially inherent to the language itself. In these cases one reader would perhaps feel a dipodic tendency while another would not; an objective test is thus the more strongly demanded.

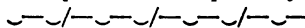
For the study and ready comparison of these doubtful types I have tried to reduce to simple numerical expression the results for the counting of syllables in the first and third positions. The unaccented syllables may henceforth be disregarded since for practical purposes very little verse is likely to be classed as paeanic—the difficulty is always on the other side. The tendency toward dipodism is thus the tendency toward regular alternation of primarily and secondarily stressed syllables. In other words the percentage of strongly stressed parts of speech in the first position must markedly exceed the corresponding percentages in the third position, while at the same time the situation must be reversed as regards the lightly stressed parts of speech. In general practice I have found the following classification to yield what I feel to be the truest results. Classes #6 and #7 (verbs, pronouns, etc.) are to be considered as neutral; they occur in about equal percentages in the primary and secondary positions.¹¹ Classes #8, #9, and #10 (adverbs, adjectives, and nouns) represent the parts of speech

¹¹ The stress value of the verb depends so to speak upon its environment. Thus a verb between nouns usually gives the effect of a secondary stress, while a verb in the vicinity of pronouns and prepositions stands out as a primary stress. Examples can be observed in *Mandalay*. Here, however, we approach the realm of subjectivism, and the purpose of the present method is to be objective even at the risk of being mechanical. It must thus depend upon the law of averages, and rest content with expressing something less than the whole truth.

which carry usually the heaviest stress; in dipodic verse the percentage of these is markedly higher in the primary position than in the secondary. The first five classes represent syllables ordinarily of light stress; in dipodic verse a larger proportion of these occurs in the secondary position. In fact the stress in #1 and #2 is so light that such syllables usually occur only in the unstressed position. For a mathematical statement of the dipodic tendency classes #1 to #5 may be considered as one group, classes #8 to #10 as another, and classes #6 and #7 may be disregarded. Proceeding with *Mandalay* as an example, we find that the syllables of heavy stress comprise 71% of the total in the primary position and 29% in the secondary position—an excess of 42%. On the contrary, syllables of light stress are 52% in the secondary position and 6% in the primary—an excess of 46%. Adding these two differences we obtain a figure of 88. The corresponding figure for the *Universal Prayer* is —13.¹²

We have here then an approximate method of mathematical comparison between different poems. The figure obtained for comparison represents of course no percentage value, and should be considered merely as an index—for convenience of nomenclature let us call it the Dipodic Index. In the two examples considered this index shows on the one hand a very strong tendency toward dipodism and on the other the absolute lack of such tendency. Fuller value of the index appears in the study of poems of more doubtful type. In general I should say that (at least to my own ear) the dipodic structure begins to be evident at an index of about 35. Thus in the case of Wilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol* (Index 32 in first 25 lines) I feel a very slight tendency to read with a dipodic swing. This of course enters the field of subjectivism which it is our purpose to avoid. By the method used, however, we are able really to make an objective statement as to the dipodic tendency of the poem. Each one may read it as he pleases, but we have proved that its actual language shows a dipodic tendency much greater than the *Universal Prayer* and much less than *Mandalay*. We may

¹² The small negative value is of no significance; even a large one could, I believe, be disregarded. The production of dipodic rhythm of the type



would be prevented by the fact that the last syllable carries the rhyme and so must usually be a strongly stressed syllable.

even venture the statement of a mathematical relation of —13, 32, and 88. The end toward which this investigation has been directed has been the establishment of a method for such comparative study.

With the presentation of this method the present study must close. A too complex problem for adequate treatment in brief space is the investigation of dipodic verse historically in English metrics—its pervasive tendency in song and popular poetry, its flourishing in the Middle Ages, and its recrudescence in the nineteenth century. Enough has already been done, I believe, to show the use and applicability of the Dipodic Index in the comparison of different poems of the simple dipodic type. *Mutatis mutandis* it is equally applicable to the less simple dipodic variations either of line or foot. Verse may occur, for instance, with seven dipodic feet to the line while the dipodic foot itself may vary at least from two to four syllables. These complex forms offer more chance for personal subjective variation, but the general principles here presented will, I have reason to trust, be found applicable in study of all forms of dipodic verse.

GEORGE R. STEWART, JR.

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The annual volume of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* is issued in quarterly instalments. It contains articles which have been approved for publication by the Editorial Committee. To a considerable extent these are selected from papers presented at meetings of the Association, though other appropriate contributions are also accepted. The first number of each volume includes, in an Appendix, the *Proceedings* of the last Annual Meeting of the Association and its Divisions; the fourth number of each volume contains a list of the members of the Association.

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The next annual meeting of the Modern Language Association
will be held under the auspices of *Columbia University*
at New York City, December 29, 30, 31, 1924.

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